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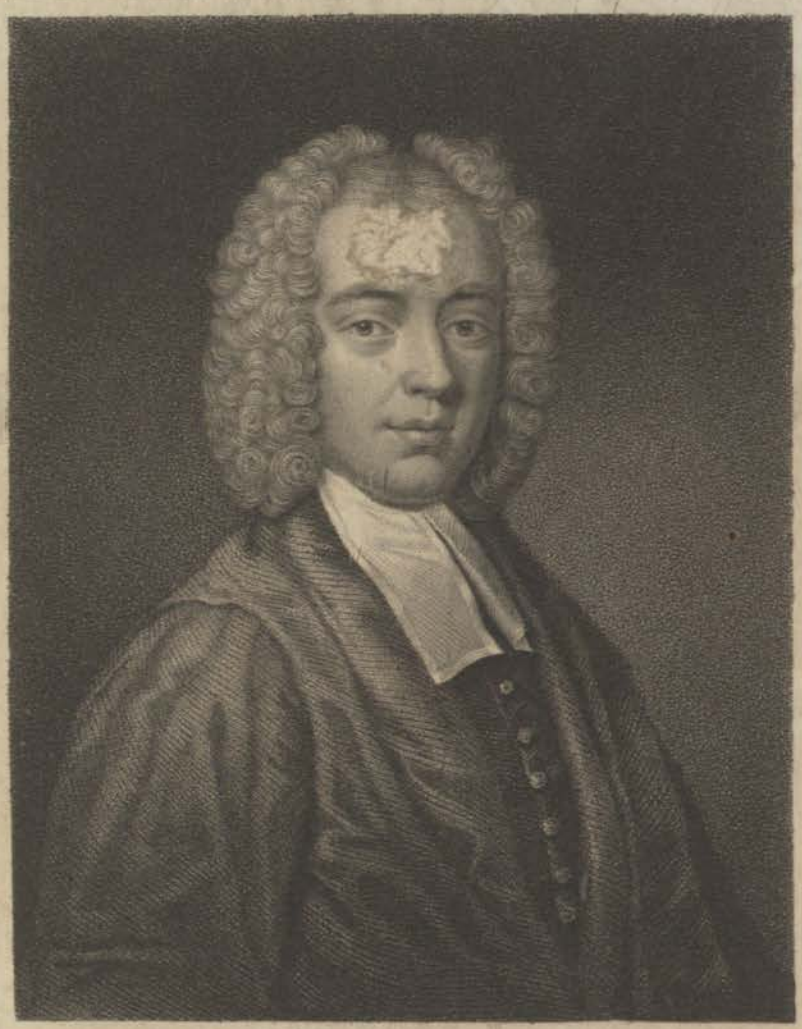

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NATHANIEL LARDNER, D.D.

Published August 1.1817. by T. Hamilton Paternoster Row.

THE

WORKS

OF

NATHANIEL LARDNER, D.D.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

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VOL. I.

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THE LIFE

OF

NATHANIEL LARDNER, D.D.

By ANDREW KIPPIS, D.D. F.R.S. & S.A.

ADVERTISEMENT.

AFTER the greatest part of the following Narrative had been composed, I received a letter from Mr. David Jennings, grand-nephew to Dr. Lardner, desiring me to withdraw my publication. This letter was written not only in his own name, but in the name of the Rev. Dr. Dickens, Prebendary of Durham, who married a niece of Dr. Lardner, a lady still living, and who joined in the requisition. At the same time I was assured, that if I persisted in my intention, they would strongly and publicly disavow their having consented to the performance. Although, for reasons which to my own mind appeared perfectly satisfactory, I refused to comply with their request, I acquainted them that I had not the least objection myself to record their disavowal, and to take upon me the disgrace of having written the life without asking their permission. Accordingly I here do this in the most express manner. I here declare, that if, in the Life of Dr. Lardner now presented to the public, there be any mistakes in point of fact, or errors of sentiment; that if it be ill written, or improperly written, its faults belong to myself alone, being chargeable upon no other person whatsoever.

I take this opportunity of informing the literary world that I am not, as many gentlemen have supposed, the editor of Dr. Lardner's works. I am only the writer of the Life. The superintendence of the edition has been consigned to a very worthy person, of approved learning and diligence, whose accuracy and care in the undertaking will, I doubt not, be sufficiently apparent.

ANDREW KIPPIS.

THE

LIFE

OF

DR. NATHANIEL LARDNER.

DR. NATHANIEL LARDNER was born at Hawkherst, in the county of Kent, on the 6th of June, 1684. His father, Mr. Richard Lardner, was a minister of respectable character among the protestant dissenters, and, for a considerable number of years, pastor of a congregation at Deal; but whether he was in that situation at the time of his son's birth does not appear: perhaps, as the toleration act had not then taken place, he might not as yet have become a settled preacher. The mother of our author was the daughter of a Mr. Collier formerly of the borough of Southwark, but who afterwards retired to Hawkherst, which is a large village, south of Cranbrook, and lying in that part of Kent which borders upon Sussex. It was probably at his grandfather's house that young Lardner was born. Where he received his grammatical education, cannot now be ascertained; though it is supposed, from his father's residence at Deal, that it might be at that place. Wherever it was, there can be no doubt, from the literature which he afterwards displayed, of his having made an early progress in the knowledge of the learned languages. From the grammar school he was removed to a dissenting Academy in London, under the care of the Reverend Dr. Joshua Oldfield. Here, however, he must have continued but a very little time; for in the latter end of 1699, being then only in the sixteenth year of his age, he was sent to prosecute his studies at Utrecht, under the professors D'Uries, Grævius, and Burman, names of no small celebrity in the literary world. Under such tutors, Mr. Lardner made a suitable improvement in various branches of learning; and he brought back with him a testimonial from professor Burman, to that purpose.

It was not uncommon, at that period, for the young men who were intended for the dissenting ministry in England, to study abroad, and particularly in the universities of Holland. Several persons, who afterwards became of no small consideration among the dissenters, and who distinguished themselves by their valuable writings, were educated in this manner. Mr. Martin Tomkins went over with Mr. Lardner to Utrecht, and they found there Mr. Daniel Neal.

After spending somewhat more than three years at Utrecht, Mr. Lardner removed to Leyden, where he studied about six months. In 1703, he returned to England, in company with Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Neal; and from that time, to the year 1709, we have no memorials concerning him. This space was probably spent by him at his father's house, who quitted Deal in 1703 or 1704, and came to reside in or near London; and we may be certain that young Mr. Lardner employed himself in a close and diligent preparation for the sacred profession which he had in view. He was not one of those who are in haste to display their talents in the pulpit; for it was not till the second of August, 1709, when he was above twenty-five years of age, that he preached his first sermon. This was at Stoke-Newington, for his friend Mr. Martin Tomkins, who had become the Minister of a congregation at that place. The subject of Mr. Lardner's discourse was taken

from Romans i. 16; "For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek." There could not have been a more proper text, for a man who was destined, in the order of Divine Providence, to be one of the ablest advocates for the authenticity and truth of the Christian Revelation that ever existed. During the four years which succeeded to this event, we have no information concerning our author, excepting, that he was a member of the congregational church under the pastoral charge of the Reverend Mr. Matthew Clark, a gentleman of eminence among the dissenting clergymen of that period, and father to Dr. Clark, a physician of character, reputation, and extensive practice, who died not long since at Tottenham, in Middlesex.

In 1713, Mr. Lardner was invited to reside in the house of Lady Treby, the widow of Sir George Treby, Knt. who had been appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1692, and had sustained that high office and dignity, with great integrity and ability, till his decease, in 1702.[a] The proposal made to our author was, that he should be domestic chaplain to her ladyship, and tutor to her youngest son, Brindley Treby. To this proposal he acceded; and it need not be said, how well qualified he was, by his knowledge, judgment, and learning, for superintending a young gentleman's education. After having conducted Mr. Treby's studies three years, he accompanied him in an excursion into France, the Austrian Netherlands, and the United Provinces, which employed four months. From a journal which Mr. Lardner kept of this tour, it was evident, that he did not lose the opportunity it afforded him of making exact and judicious observations on the manners and customs of the inhabitants whom he saw and visited, and on the edifices and curiosities of the countries through which he passed. How long he sustained the specific character of tutor to young Mr. Treby, does not appear; but he continued in Lady Treby's family till her death, which happened in the beginning of the year 1721. By this event, he was removed from a situation which seems to have been an agreeable one, and was thrown into circumstances of some perplexity and suspense. His own remarks will shew the state of his mind at that time. 'I am yet at a loss,' says he, 'how to dispose of myself. 'I can say I am desirous of being useful in the world. Without this, no external advantages relating to my-'self will make me happy: and yet I have no prospect of being serviceable in the work of the ministry; 'having preached many years without being favoured with the approbation and choice of any one con-'gregation.'[b]

It reflects no honour upon the dissenters, that a man of such merit should so long have been neglected. But it must be observed, that in elections which are dependent upon the whole body of a congregation, a regard will usually be paid, not only to internal abilities, but to external qualifications. It is not probable that Mr. Lardner, even in his best days, was possessed of a good elocution; and his simple mode of composition was not calculated to strike the multitude. Rational preaching had not then made a very extensive progress among the dissenters; and it is to be lamented, that, when it became more prevalent, it should too often be disjoined from energy and pathos.

Two years after the death of Lady Treby, Mr. Lardner met with another calamity, which greatly affected him. This was the decease of his former pupil, Brindley Treby, Esq. a gentleman for whom our author had the highest affection and esteem. Indeed, he felt so deeply the loss of his friend, that he imputed to it, in part, the increase of a deafness, which had been coming upon him for some time before. In the beginning of the year 1724, he writes as follows: 'Mr. Cornish preached; but I was not able to hear any thing he said, 'nor so much as the sound of his voice. I am, indeed, at present so deaf, that when I sit in the pulpit, 'and the congregation is singing, I can hardly tell whether they are singing or not.'[c]

Previously to this account of himself, and at least as early as 1723, Mr. Lardner was engaged, in conjunction with a number of ministers, in carrying on a course of lectures, on a Tuesday evening, at the Old Jewry. His first associates were Mr. Hughes, Mr. Chandler, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Kench, and Mr. Godwin; the two latter of whom soon resigned the connection, and their places were supplied by Mr. Calamy and Mr. Mole.[d]

[a] Beatson's Political Index, part iii. p. 74.

[b] Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the late Rev. Nathaniel Lardner, D. D. p. 4.

[c] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 11.

[d] Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Obadiah Hughes was many years minister of a congregation in Southwark, from which he removed to Westminster. By marriage he became possessed of a large fortune. He was an acceptable preacher, and printed some occasional sermons; but did not otherwise distinguish himself in the literary world.

On Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Samuel Chandler's abilities, learning, and writings, it is needless to enlarge, as they cannot be un-

At this time, and indeed some years before, Mr. Lardner was a member of a literary society, consisting of ministers and lay gentlemen, who met, on Monday evenings, at Chew's coffee-house, in Bow-lane, Cheapside. The chairman of this society, at every meeting, proposed two questions, to be freely and candidly debated; beside which, each member, in his turn, produced an essay on some learned or entertaining subject. Such institutions have been of eminent service to the republic of literature: they have given rise to many important discoveries, and to many valuable works, which otherwise would never have existed. A history of societies of this kind, which are now diffused through every part of Europe, and are extended to the Western and the Eastern world, tracing their small beginnings, their gradual increase, their more permanent establishment, and their beneficial effects, would be a very instructive and entertaining performance.

Another society, which met at Chew's coffee-house on a Thursday, and of which Mr. Lardner was a member, consisted entirely of ministers. The gentlemen belonging to this society, had a design of composing a Concordance of Things to the Bible, and began to methodize the book of Proverbs for that purpose. They had first drawn up a scheme of the whole undertaking, the different parts of which were assigned to Mr. Lardner, Mr. Cornish, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Read, Mr. Clark, Mr. Hunt, Mr. Wroe, and Mr. Savage.[a] It doth not appear that the design was ever carried fully into execution; and one impediment to it, so far as Mr. Lardner was concerned, probably arose from the more important work in which he now began to be engaged.

In one of the schemes for the Tuesday evening's lecture, which is preserved in the Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Lardner, the subjects are entirely of a practical and moral nature, and admirably

known to any of my readers. Such persons as wish to see a particular account of him, may have recourse to the third volume of the Biographia Britannica.

Mr. Harrison was a minister of the Antipædobaptist persuasion, who officiated in Wild-street. Not long after his having been engaged in the Tuesday lecture, he conformed to the church of England, and preached a sermon at St. Vedast's Foster-lane, in vindication of his conformity. The sermon, which was afterwards printed, did not obtain the approbation of bishop Hoadly. When Mr. Gough, another young dissenting minister, some years after, applied to that prelate for orders, his lordship advised him not to follow Mr. Harrison's example with regard to publication. This Mr. Gough was the author of a pamphlet on the Causes of the Decay of the Dissenting Interest, an answer to which was one of Dr. Doddridge's earliest performances. Mr. Gough published, likewise, a volume of sermons, which are sensible and judicious, and not destitute of elegance. He was of the school of Clarke and Hoadly, and was very intimate with Dr. James Foster. Mr. Harrison became insane, and died in early life: but there is no reason to believe that he was dissatisfied with his own conduct. For these particulars concerning him, the present Biographer is indebted to an excellent and learned friend, the Rev. Mr. Edward Williams, of Nottingham. The author of the Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Lardner is mistaken in asserting that Dr. Harris was one of the Tuesday evening lecturers: Dr. William Harris was then an old minister; whereas the lecture was carried on by young men.

Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Kench was, as well as Mr. Harrison, a Baptist minister, and of considerable note in his day. I do not recollect that he published any other than a few occasional discourses.

Mr. Godwin was long the respectable pastor of a congregation that met in Little St. Helen's, Bishopsgate-street. He was an intimate friend of Dr. Doddridge, and assisted him much in correcting his works from the press, and in drawing up the Index to the Family Expositor.

Mr. Calamy, the son of the famous Dr. Edmund Calamy, was an ingenious and learned man. He was for some time assistant to Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor, but declined preaching several years before his death.

Mr. Mole was first a minister at Uxbridge, then at Rotherhithe, and last of all at Hackney. At length he retired to Uxbridge, where he died not many years since. In point of learning, he might be ranked with Lardner, Benson, and Chandler. He was the author of some valuable publications, and employed the latter part of his days in writing, in Latin, a life of the celebrated Laurentius Valla, including the religious and literary history of the time. The manuscript of this work Mr. Mole's executors, with an inattention which can never be justified, permitted to be sold with his books at a common auction.

[a] Mr. Cornish was assistant to Mr. Joshua Bayes, sen. and continued in that capacity till his death, which happened when he was under forty years of age.—Mr. Hughes I have already mentioned.—Mr. James Read preached to a society in New Broad-street, behind the Royal Exchange, first as assistant to Dr. John Evans, author of the "Christian Temper," and other useful publications, and afterwards as joint pastor with Dr. Allen. He had a brother, Mr. Henry Read, who, to a very advanced age, was minister of a congregation which met in St. Thomas's, Southwark; and of whom the following character was given, between twenty and thirty years ago, in some verses that were written upon the six Tuesday Salters Hall Lecturers of that period.

"Through youth, through age, O Read, thy honest heart
"Hath never quitted the consistent part.
"Thy thoughts are useful, though thy style is plain,
"And genuine goodness breathes through all thy strain."

Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Samuel Clark settled at St. Alban's, where he lived many years, and died, with great reputation. He was the author of a collection of Scripture Promises, with a discourse prefixed concerning the proper use and application of them. This work, which has gone through several editions, and has afforded no small degree of consolation to many pious Christians, was recommended by Dr. Watts. Dr. Clark published, likewise, three sermons on the folly, sin, and danger of irresolution in religion. It is to the honour of this gentleman, that he was the early patron of Dr. Doddridge, who ever retained for him a filial regard and affection. He was the father of the late excellent Mr. Samuel Clark, of Birmingham. Both father and son will probably be noticed when Dr. Doddridge's life shall come to be written in the Biographia Britannica.

Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Jeremiah Hunt, of Pinners Hall, was a very judicious divine, and the author of several learned and valuable publications. Some account of him will be found in the discourses of Dr. Lardner, who preached his funeral sermon.—Of Mr. Wroe I am not able to give any intelligence.—Mr. Savage was a worthy and sensible minister, who settled at Edmonton, where he continued to the time of his decease. I do not recollect that he published any thing, besides a few occasional sermons.

calculated for instruction and improvement in that view. But besides treating upon subjects of this kind, the gentlemen who carried on the lecture, preached a course of sermons on the evidences of natural and revealed religion. In this course, the proof of the Credibility of the Gospel History was assigned to Mr. Lardner; and in the latter end of the year 1723, and the beginning of 1724, he delivered three sermons on that most important object of Christian enquiry. Here it was that the foundation was probably laid of his great work. Certain it is, that from this time he was diligently engaged in writing the first part of his Credibility. His modesty, however, was such, that he was doubtful about the publication of it, and greatly regretted that, by the decease of his dear friend and pupil, Mr. Treby, he was deprived of his advice, on this and other occasions. It is hence evident how much Mr. Treby had profited by the instructions which had been given him, since his tutor could thus look up to him for his opinion and assistance.

Notwithstanding Mr. Lardner's diffidence, he took courage to proceed in his undertaking, and in February, 1727, published, in two volumes, octavo, the first part of 'The Credibility of the Gospel History; or, the 'facts occasionally mentioned in the New Testament confirmed by passages of ancient Authors, who were 'contemporary with our Saviour, or his Apostles, or lived near their time.' An Appendix was subjoined, concerning the time of Herod's death. It is scarcely necessary to say how well this work was received by the learned world. Not only was it highly approved of by the Protestant dissenters, with whom the Author was more immediately connected, but by the clergy in general of the Established Church; and its reputation gradually extended into foreign countries. It is, indeed, an invaluable performance, and hath rendered the most essential service to the cause of Christianity. Whoever peruses this work (and to him that does not peruse it, it will be to his own loss), will find it replete with admirable instruction, sound learning, and just and candid criticism. It was not long before a second edition was called for, and a third was published in 1741.

In the beginning of February, 1728, the course of Mr. Lardner's studies was interrupted, and his life threatened, by the attack of a violent fever, which proved of long continuance. For some time his recovery was despaired of by his relations and friends; but he was relieved, and, at length, happily restored to health, by the divine blessing on the prescriptions of Dr. (afterwards Sir Edward) Hulse, who was called in to consult with the other physicians. Mr. Lardner's own remark upon this occasion was as follows: 'I think 'God put it into my mind to send for Dr. Hulse, for from that time forwards I mended.' His pious sentiments after his recovery are thus expressed: 'I thankfully acknowledge the great goodness of God, who raised me 'up again, and desire that this great mercy may be had in perpetual remembrance by me. May I serve him 'the remainder of my time in this world with inviolable integrity, unshaken in my steadfastness by all the 'snares of a vain and uncertain world.'[a]

With all Mr. Lardner's merit, he was forty-five years of age before he obtained a settlement among the dissenters. On the 24th of August, 1729, he happened to preach for the Rev. Dr. William Harris at Crouched Fryers; and the consequence of it was, that he was unexpectedly invited by the congregation to be assistant to their minister. After mature deliberation he accepted the offer, which, as he declared in his letter of acceptance, was peculiarly agreeable to him, because it allotted him a part of service, in the work of the gospel, with their honoured pastor, for whom he had entertained, from his early youth, a high regard and esteem. On the 14th of September, he entered upon his new charge; and the subject of his first sermon was taken from 2 Cor. v. 20. "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ: as though God did beseech you by us, we pray you, in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." In Mr. Lardner's prayer before sermon, after the intercessions for the public, and for Dr. Harris in particular, he proceeded to pray for himself, in the following strain of integrity and piety: 'And we beseech thee, do thou graciously assist thine unworthy servant, whom, 'by thy providence, thou hast also called to serve thee in this place. Grant that he may take great heed 'unto himself and his doctrine, that he may save himself, and them that hear him. Do thou enlighten him 'more and more in the knowledge of the truth; and grant that he may be faithful to thee, and speak the 'word with all boldness, not shunning to declare the whole counsel of God, so far as he is acquainted 'therewith. And may the hearts of thy people be opened to receive the truth with all readiness: may they 'carefully and impartially examine the things which they hear, and embrace what is agreeable to thy will.

[a] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 11.

'O Lord, our hope is in thee! do thou strengthen us, and make us sufficient for what thou callest us to. 'Let thy strength be made perfect in our weakness: cause thy face to shine upon us; let us see thy power 'and thy glory in the sanctuary. May some who are yet in darkness and ignorance be here enlightened; 'may some be converted; and may thy people be comforted, and continually edified more and more in 'their most holy faith. May we meet with thee in thine house, and have joy and pleasure in drawing near 'unto thee. May we, by all thy ordinances, by prayer, by the ministry of thy Word, and by thy Sacraments, 'be made more meet for all the events of providence; for all the services and sufferings of this life; and 'for the state of perfection and glory in the world to come.' His account of this prayer is succeeded by the subsequent ejaculation. 'May God hear my earnest prayers, in enabling me to perform this service he 'has called me to, so as may be for his glory, and the edification of his people.'[a]

The religious world was at this time engaged in an important controversy, relative to the Christian revelation. That of which I am speaking had been begun by Mr. Woolston, who, perhaps, was rather an enthusiast and a madman than an infidel. By reading Origen, and other mystical writers, he had been led to embrace the allegorical mode of explaining the scriptures, which, at length, he carried to a most extravagant and ridiculous excess. After several absurd publications, he contended, in a tract, intitled, 'The 'Moderator between an Infidel and an Apostate,' to which two supplements were added, that the miracles of our Lord were not real, or ever actually wrought. For this work a prosecution was commenced against him, in 1726, by the Attorney General; but, in consequence of Mr. Whiston's intercession, it was laid aside. Mr. Woolston was not induced by this indulgence to continue in silence. He pursued the subject through the years 1727, 1728, 1729, and 1730, in six discourses, and two defences of them; in which he not only maintained the same principles he had done in his 'Moderator,' but treated the miracles of our Saviour with a licentiousness, buffoonery, and insolence, that had all the appearance, if not the reality, of malignant infidelity. The prosecution, therefore, was renewed against him; and, being tried before Lord Chief Justice Raymond, he was condemned in one year's imprisonment, and a fine of a hundred pounds.

A far better method of confuting Mr. Woolston was adopted by many learned divines at that period. The pamphlets written against him were, indeed, very numerous; and among the rest of the defenders of revelation, Mr. Lardner appeared to no small advantage. His work upon this occasion, which was published in the latter end of the year 1729, was intitled, 'A Vindication of Three of our blessed Saviour's Miracles, '*viz.* The Raising of Jairus's Daughter, the Widow of Naim's Son, and Lazarus.' It was in answer to the objections of Mr. Woolston's fifth discourse, that this piece was composed. Mr. Lardner had drawn it up for his own private satisfaction, without any immediate view to publication; and his modesty was such, that for a time he did not think of printing it, because his colleague, Dr. Harris, had subjoined to two discourses on the reasonableness of belief in Christ, and the unreasonableness of infidelity, some brief remarks on the case of Lazarus. It was to the advantage of the public that our author changed his opinion. His vindication was undoubtedly one of the best treatises which appeared in the controversy with Mr. Woolston; and it is no exaggeration to say, that it abounds with admirable and judicious observations, and contains a complete defence of three of the most important of our Lord's miracles. Accordingly, it was very favourably received by the learned world, and soon came to a second edition.

Mr. Lardner was not one of those who approved of the prosecution which was carried on against Mr. Woolston by the civil magistrate. In his preface, therefore, he has made some excellent remarks on the subject of free inquiry and discussion. If men be permitted to deliver their sentiments freely in matters of religion, and to propose their objections against Christianity itself, he declares it to be his opinion, that there would be no reason to be in pain for the event. 'On the side of Christianity,' says he, 'I expect to see, as 'hitherto, the greatest share of learning, good sense, true wit, and fairness of disputation; which things, I 'hope, will be superior to low ridicule, false argument, and misrepresentation.' He farther observes, that all force on the minds of men, in the matters of belief, is contrary to religion in general, and the Christan religion in particular; and that severity, instead of doing good, has always done harm. Dr. Waddington, at that time bishop of Chichester, who was highly pleased with the whole of Mr. Lardner's vindication of the three miracles, was not equally satisfied with his preface, and therefore wrote to him upon the subject. To the

[a] Memoirs, p. 12, 13, 14.

bishop our author sent an answer, which produced a second letter from his lordship and a reply in return. These four letters, which were written with great mutual civility and respect, are given in the Appendix;[a] and it will now be little doubted, on what side lay the advantage of the argument.

Another correspondent, occasioned by the Vindication of the Three Miracles, was the Lord Viscount Barrington; who had made some remarks, and suggested some difficulties concerning the death of Jairus's daughter. These remarks are unhappily lost; but Mr. Lardner's letter, in answer to them, is preserved, and will be found in the Appendix.[b] His lordship, who possessed a very enlightened mind on the subject of religious liberty, highly approved of Mr. Lardner's preface; and the approbation of so good a judge was received by our author with peculiar satisfaction. 'I have a great deal of reason,' says he, 'to rejoice, that 'the manner in which the argument for free writing is managed in the preface, is not unacceptable to 'your lordship; for as to the principles themselves, I had no doubt but they would be agreeable to your 'judgment, however they may be suspected or disliked by others, who have less studied the Christian 'doctrine. A true Christian may suffer on the account of his religion, but he can never make others suffer 'on account of theirs: whatever may be the consequence of it, we are not to support Christianity by force. 'Our blessed Saviour, rather than make use of compulsion, would choose to be without a follower.' 'John vi. 67.'[c]

Though Mr. Lardner's time was chiefly employed in his preparations for the pulpit, and in carrying on his great work, he nevertheless found leisure to write other occasional pieces, besides his Vindication of the Three Miracles. In 1730 he sent a letter to Mr. Laroche, to be inserted in his Literary Journal, a periodical work, which besides giving an account of books, admitted short original communications, consisting of critical disquisitions and dissertations. The subject of the letter was a difficulty concerning the omission of the history of our Saviour's ascension, in the gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, though it is related by St. Mark and St. Luke. This difficulty our author has removed with his usual good sense and discernment, as the reader may see by having recourse to the Appendix.[d] In the same year he wrote his Letter on the Logos. It was not composed with a view to publication; and indeed, was not published till nearly thirty years after, when I shall have occasion to mention it again. From a passage in the Vindication of the Three Miracles, I collect that Mr. Lardner had very recently embraced the doctrine advanced in the Letter, or at least had not long come to a final determination on the subject. For in that passage he asserts, that our Saviour 'descended 'from the height of glory he had with the Father.'[e] Or is it to be considered as an incidental expression, which dropped from our author, though he might for some time have had his doubts and difficulties with regard to the pre-existence of Christ?

In 1733 appeared the first volume of the second part of 'The Credibility of the Gospel History; or the 'PRINCIPAL Facts of the New Testament confirmed by passages from ancient authors who were cotemporary 'with our Saviour, or his apostles, or lived near their time.' It was Mr. Lardner's original intention not to publish a part of the evidence for the principal facts of the New Testament, until the whole work was completed. But he was diverted from this purpose by the importunities of his friends. He could have wished, however, to have exhibited at once the whole evidence of the two first centuries of Christianity; but he thought it expedient to break off sooner, that he might not render the volume of an inconvenient size. Our author took this opportunity of expressing his gratitude for the favourable reception which had been given to the former part of his work. Besides its being universally well received at home, it was so much approved abroad, that it was translated by two learned foreigners; by Mr. Cornelius Westerbaen of Utrecht, into Low Dutch, and by Mr. J. Christopher Wolff of Hamburgh, into Latin. 'I cannot but esteem it,' says Mr. Lardner, 'as an uncommon happiness, that my thoughts have been so justly represented by persons well 'known in the republic of letters, for compositions of their own.'

The testimonies produced and considered, in the first volume of the second part of the Credibility, were those of St. Barnabas, St. Clement, Hermas, St. Ignatius, St. Polycarp, Papias, Justin Martyr, Dionysius of Corinth, Tatian, Hegesippus, Melito, St. Irenæus, and Athenagoras. Our author has also treated on a fragment called St. Clement's second epistle, the relation of St. Polycarp's martyrdom, the evangelists in the reign of Trajan, the epistle to Diognetus, and the epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons. In the introduc-

[a] Appendix, No. I. [b] Appendix, No. II. [c] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 32.
[d] Appendix, No. III. [e] See Vol. v. p. 352.

tion he hath given an admirable summary of the history of the New Testament. Among other proofs of approbation and regard which Mr. Lardner received in consequence of this publication, he could not avoid being pleased with the following affectionate remarks by his learned and valuable friend, the Rev. Mr. Joseph Hallet, jun. of Exeter. 'Your new volume, with which you have now obliged the world, will, I am persuaded, do good service to the cause of Christianity. You cannot be ignorant of my opinion of it, from the conversation I had the honour to have with you about it in your study.—Your method, upon the whole, pleases me much better than Mr. Jones's, because he hardly ever does more than refer to chapter, verse, and page; whereas you write the words of the text and of the quotation at length; and when he has a huddle of references, you in the case of Irenæus, prudently choose *one plain quotation* of each book of the New Testament cited by him. When the work shall be all finished in that manner, it will be worth its weight in gold, and all the Christian world will be obliged to thank you for it.'[a]

In 1735, was published the second volume of the second part of the Credibility of the Gospel History. The subjects of this volume were, Miltiades, Theophilus of Antioch, Pantænus, St. Clement of Alexandria, Polycrates, Heraclitus, and several other writers near the end of the second century, Hermias, Serapion, Tertullian, a number of authors who required only to be shortly mentioned, and certain suppositious writings of the second century; such as the Acts of Paul and Thecla, the Sibylline Oracles, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Recognitions, the Clementine Homilies, and the Clementine Epitome. Among these different articles, those which relate to St. Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian are peculiarly important, and the remarks on the apocryphal works are very curious and useful. The farther Mr. Lardner proceeded in his design, the more did he advance in esteem and reputation among learned men of all denominations. Even the adversaries to religion could not withhold their testimony to his merit. The noted Dr. Morgan, (afterwards the writer of the 'Moral Philosopher,' in which revelation was attacked with the greatest virulence, and which hath received many noble and satisfactory answers) in a letter to our author, containing some objections to the first chapter of St. Luke's gospel, compliments him highly on his integrity, impartiality, and candour. This letter, together with Mr. Lardner's sensible and judicious reply, will be found in the Appendix.[b]

In November 1736, our author was attacked by another severe and dangerous fever. The effects were such, that he did not recover his health, so far as to be able to preach, till late in the spring of 1737. In that year, he published his 'Counsels of Prudence for the use of young People; a Discourse on the Wisdom of the Serpent and the Innocence of the Dove: in which are recommended general rules of prudence; with particular directions relating to business, conversation, friendship, and usefulness.' This discourse was generally and justly admired. Indeed it contains most excellent advice to young persons; advice resulting from the union of wisdom, integrity, and knowledge of the world, and which, if followed, would be the best foundation of happiness, both here and hereafter. If, from the mention of this discourse, any single youth should be engaged so to attend o the directions it contains, as to reduce them to practice, the present Life of Dr. Lardner will have been written to a most valuable purpose.

Dr. Secker, bishop of Oxford, was highly pleased with the Counsels of Prudence. In a letter to our author he expressed himself in the following terms: 'I am also in your debt for those excellent Counsels of Prudence, which you published some time ago, and would recommend it to you, to relieve yourself now and then from your great work, and oblige the world with some of these little pieces. One would hope they might do a great deal of good in it, and I am sure there is great need of doing every thing that can be done to promote seriousness and mildness among men.' After giving this testimony to Mr. Lardner's discourse, the bishop adds, that the number of religious persons was dreadfully lessened, and that those who remained were very far from preserving a due moderation and charity one towards another. 'I am very sorry,' says he, 'for faults of this kind, which we of the establishment fall into; and too many of you, I fear, are not less faulty, though I do not take the spirit of some papers to be the spirit of the dissenters. May God make us all wiser and better; and may he long preserve your health, dear sir, to be useful to his church.' Here Dr. Secker had a reference to the controversy which was then carrying on with regard to the justice, propriety, and expediency of retaining or repealing the corporation and test acts; in which controversy, as is usual in

[a] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 49. [b] Appendix, No. IV.

such cases, some warm things (and perhaps warmer than was reasonable and prudent) might be advanced by several of the advocates for the dissenters, as well as by their opponents. In answer to the latter part of the bishop's letter, Mr. Lardner wrote as follows: 'I have not received any information concerning the writer or 'writers of the papers to which your lordship refers. But I believe your lordship to be in the right in sup-'posing that there are many dissenters, by whom they are not approved. So far as I know, the dissenters 'are generally in a good temper. Some, indeed, were soured by a late disappointment. And they were 'chiefly of those who used to be reputed men of moderation and charity, and who were far from being dis-'affected to the church of England. For these, as it seems, were the men who were most earnest in the affair: 'though all such did not engage in it with equal earnestness. Perhaps this may deserve to be considered.'[a] It is hence sufficiently apparent, that our author did not approve of the refusal that had been given to the repeal of the corporation and test acts, though he has expressed himself with his usual mildness of sentiment, and gentleness of language.

In 1738, Mr. Lardner was enabled to give to the world the third volume of the second part of the Credibility. This volume carried the evidence down to the year 233, and included Minucius Felix, Apollonius, Caius, and others, Asterius Urbanus, St. Alexander bishop of Jerusalem, St. Hippolytus, Ammonius, Julius Africanus, Origen, and St. Fermilian. Some of these articles are of great consequence, and I need not inform my readers that this must be peculiarly the case with respect to the account of Origen.

Our author, in this same year, drew up a paper, containing 'Remarks upon some Difficulties concerning the Christian Doctrine.' These remarks were in answer to a friend, who had made certain objections to the excellence and usefulness of several of the precepts of our holy religion. Mr. Lardner's paper, which is inserted in the Appendix, displays his customary good sense, and sagacity of observation.[b]

In 1739, there was only one publication by our author, which was entitled 'A Caution against Conformity to this World.' It consisted of two discourses, which had been preached from Romans xii. 2, and which may justly be considered as a sequel to the Counsels of Prudence. The directions and cautions given in these sermons will be found useful at all times; and an attention to them would be highly seasonable at present; when, without indulging satirical reflections upon the age, it may too truly be asserted, that the influence of general custom and fashion is not always favourable to those dispositions and habits which are recommended by wisdom, piety, and virtue.

Early in January 1740, appeared the fourth volume of the second part of the Credibility. Our author began this volume with an account of various writers of less note in the former part of the third century, and then proceeded to the consideration of Noetus, and others who were called heretics at that period; such as the Valesians, the Angelics, the Apostolics, and the Origenists. But the volume was chiefly devoted to St. Gregory, bishop of Neocæsarea; Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria; and St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage. The two last articles are very copious and curious.

On the 17th of January Mr. Lardner lost his father, who departed this life in the 87th year of his age. With his worthy parent our author had resided ever since he had quitted Lady Treby's family; and how much he was affected by his decease, will strongly be manifested from what he wrote upon the occasion. 'I 'am,' says he, 'full of grief, and find it very difficult to bear up under the affliction. I entreat the Lord 'Almighty to be my father and protector, to support me, and to guide me in the remaining part of my life, 'so as that I may live to his praise and glory. I entreat and pray that he will enable me to behave as a Chris-'tian, and one persuaded of his fatherly care and protection; and that this affliction may be improved by me 'for my farther humiliation and repentance; for engaging in a closer dependance on God; for quickening 'my preparations for another and better world.' He farther writes: 'I find this affliction sit very heavy upon 'me. My dearest brother, Richard Lardner, died in April 1733, some little time before I published the first 'volume of the second part of the Credibility. The fourth volume of this work was published but a few days 'before my father died.'[c]

Considering the great age of old Mr. Lardner, that he had been weakened for some years before by a paralytic disorder, and that the deafness of his son must have been some obstruction to their mutual conversation, it may perhaps be thought that the grief which our author has expressed above was rather too exces-

[a] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 66—68 [b] Appendix, No. V. [c] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 87—89.

sive. But whoever reflects upon the matter will be sensible, that there must have been something very excellent both in the father and the son, and very engaging in their manner of living together, when a separation, which so long must have been expected, could have been thus painful to the survivor. Such parental and filial regard cannot but appear beautiful and delightful to every well-regulated mind. Dr. Lardner was finely attempered to the social affections; and he has recorded, in his Vindication of the Three Miracles, that, for his own part, he never loved stoical principles or dispositions.[a]

A character of old Mr. Lardner was drawn up by Mr. Neal, and will be found in the Appendix.[b] It may be observed by the way, that Mr. Richard Lardner, our author's only brother, was a counsellor at law. They had but one sister, Elizabeth, who was married to the Rev. Mr. Daniel Neal, now mentioned; a gentleman who, not to speak of his other writings, is well known to the learned world by his History of New England, and still more by his History of the Puritans.

Mr. Lardner's excellent friend, Mr. Hallet, entered deeply into his feelings on the death of his father, and wrote him a letter upon that event, which was full of sympathy and piety.[c] On the 25th of May, in this same year, our author met with another affliction, in the decease of his highly valued colleague, Dr. William Harris. On this occasion, it naturally fell upon him to preach the funeral sermon, which he did from 2 Thess. i. 10. In the discourse, which was printed, and will be found in his works, he gave a high, and I doubt not, a just character of Dr. Harris. The Doctor was, indeed, for a great number of years, a very eminent minister among the protestant dissenters. He had been chosen pastor of the congregation at Crouched Fryers, in 1698, when he was only in the 23d year of his age, and continued in that relation to his death in 1740. It appears that he was a gentleman of various accomplishments, being a man of the world, as well as a scholar. In his writings he paid a greater attention to neatness and elegance of composition than was done by some of his brethren; and his discourses on the Messiah have been held in much reputation. A funeral sermon for him was likewise preached and published by Dr. Grosvenor.

Soon after Dr. Harris's decease, Mr. Lardner had an unanimous invitation to undertake the pastoral charge of the Society at Crouched Fryers, in conjunction with some other minister of whom they should make a choice. Upon receiving this invitation, he consulted with his friend Mr. Hallet, who strongly urged him to accept of it; and endeavoured to remove the difficulties he might feel on that head, and especially those arising from his deafness. Mr. Hallet wished him to acquire a larger concern in directing the affairs of a congregation than he had hitherto done, and to appear at the Fund, and other places, as one of the chief among the dissenting ministers, according to his real deserts.[d] Whatever were Mr. Lardner's reasons, he declined taking a share in the pastoral office. It is probable that his deafness contributed, among other causes, to this determination. In November, Mr. (afterwards Dr.) George Benson was chosen sole pastor of the Society, and our author continued assistant preacher.

It was not till the year 1743, that Mr. Lardner was enabled to give to the public the fifth volume of the second part of the Credibility. This volume comprehended St. Cornelius and St. Lucius, bishops of Rome, Novatus, Dionysius bishop of Rome, Commodian, Malchion, Anatolius and three others, bishops of Laodicea, Theognostus, Theonas bishop of Alexandria, Pierius presbyter of the church of the same city, two Doritheuses, Victorinus bishop of Pettaw, Methodius bishop of Olympus in Lycia, Lucian presbyter of Antioch, Hesychius bishop in Egypt, Pamphilus presbyter of Cæsarea, Phileas bishop of Thmuis in Egypt, Philoromus receiver-general at Alexandria, Peter bishop of Alexandria, and the Milesians. In an advertisement, prefixed to the volume, our author expresses his apprehensions that some persons might be ready to charge him with prolixity in the conduct of his undertaking. But he hath offered such reasons for the method he has pursued, as will satisfy every reflecting mind. Among other things, he observes, that the particular design of his work was to enable persons of ordinary capacities, who had not an opportunity of reading many authors, to judge for themselves concerning the external evidence of the facts related in the New Testament. 'I write,' says he, 'chiefly for gentlemen, and such others as are not possessed of large libraries; and there-'fore I produce passages of ancient authors at length, and oftentimes transcribe also the original words at the 'bottom of the page, that this evidence may at once appear in a clear and satisfactory light.'

In the same year the world was indebted to Mr. Lardner for another valuable performance, the title of

[a] See Vol. V. p. 355. [b] Appendix, No. VI. [c] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 89—91. [d] Ibid. p. 91—95

which was, 'The Circumstances of the Jewish People an Argument for the Truth of the Christian Religion.' It consists of three discourses on Romans xi. 11; in which the grand points insisted upon by our author, and maintained with great perspicuity and success, are, that the present state of the Jews was foretold by our Lord; that it is agreeable to many prophecies in the Old Testament; that it affords reason to believe that the Messiah is already come; that it furnishes an argument for the divine authority of the gospel; and that it exhibits an attestation to divers things, upon which some evidences of Christianity depend.

Mr. Lardner sustained this year a domestic affliction, in the decease of his brother-in-law, the Reverend Daniel Neal, M. A.; and in the next year (1744) he had the calamity of losing a most intimate and beloved friend, and a distant relation by marriage, Dr. Jeremiah Hunt. This gentleman died on the 5th of September, and was justly lamented by many of the most respectable dissenters in the city of London. Mr. Lardner preached his funeral sermon, from John xiv. 2; and hath drawn his character at length, and with great affection. Indeed, he appears to have deserved every encomium. Among his other qualities, he had an uncommon talent at communicating instruction by conversation, which he carried on in so perspicuous and pleasing a manner, that it mightily engaged the attention and won the hearts of young people. I have seldom known more enlightened and judicious Christians than those who enjoyed, in early life, the friendship of Dr. Hunt. The Doctor, whose learning was very extensive, and whose knowledge of the Scriptures was profound, entertained a great contempt for Infidels, who pretend to condemn revelation, without ever having applied to it a careful study and consideration. Though they are apt to give themselves airs of superior knowledge, he looked upon the whole body of them, as a sort of men, who had only a very superficial acquaintance both with scripture and antiquity. To this ignorance of theirs he in part ascribed their infidelity; for he used to assert, that all antiquity confirms and corroborates revelation.[a] These sentiments of Dr. Hunt have their foundation in reason. It cannot, indeed, be denied, that a number of ingenious men, of extensive knowledge in certain respects, are sceptical with regard to religion. But then they have not examined this particular subject with a becoming seriousness and impartiality. They have not thoroughly studied the various external and internal evidences which have been urged in proof of Christianity; and especially, they have not searched into the scriptures themselves, thence to deduce the real doctrines of the gospel; but have assumed their ideas of them, and conceived a dislike to them, from the abstruse systems and formularies which all establishments have adopted. Dr. Hunt had a strong persuasion that the age succeeding that in which he lived would be as remarkable for enthusiasm, as his own was for infidelity. His prediction hath already, in some degree, been accomplished. Enthusiasm hath strongly seized a part of the people, while infidelity has prevailed among others; so that, betwixt them both, rational religion has suffered not a little. But let not her friends be discouraged; for, in the due order of Providence, she will, I doubt not, revive with fresh lustre and beauty, and, at length, draw all men after her.

In 1745, Mr. Lardner favoured the public with another volume of his great work, being the sixth of the second part. Excepting one chapter, relative to Archelaus bishop in Mesopotamia, the whole volume was devoted to the Manichees; and the account of them is eminently curious and instructive. When our author began his work, he declined writing the history of the heretics of the two first centuries, because of the difficulty of the subject, and for some other reasons; not intending to omit it entirely, but deferring it till another opportunity. But when he came lower, these reasons no longer operated; and, therefore, from the beginning of the fourth volume, he introduced, as occasion offered, a number of writers who were deemed heretical, and whose testimonies contributed to his main design.

In the same year, Mr. Lardner revised and published a volume of posthumous sermons of the Reverend Mr. Kirby Reyner, of Bristol. This was done at the request of the family; and in serving the family, he did service to the cause of religion; for, if I am not mistaken in my recollection, Mr. Reyner's discourses are of that plain and practical nature, which renders them excellently adapted for the use of common Christians.

It was in the beginning of this year, that Mr. Lardner received a diploma from the Marischal college of Aberdeen, conferring upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity. The diploma was voted in the most

[a] See Vol. V. p. 62.

obliging manner, and was rendered agreeable by its having the cordial and unanimous signature of the professors of the college. This was an honour which our author did not solicit, but which, when it was bestowed upon him, he did not think it unbecoming in him to accept; preserving herein the due medium, between seeking for such a distinction, and despising it when offered. His own remark, in the case of Dr. Hunt, deserves notice: 'In the year 1729,' says he, 'the university of Edinburgh, out of a regard to his distinguished merit, complimented him with the highest honorary title in their gift; *a piece of respect, not to be slighted by any man of letters.*'[a] When we consider Dr. Lardner's extraordinary attainments and learning, the reflection which he made, on receiving his degree, displayed an extraordinary humbleness of mind. 'I pray God,' said he, 'I may not be elevated by any acceptance my labours meet with; but that I may proceed with humility, diligence, and integrity in the whole of my life.'[b]

With relation, in general, to this academical distinction, it may be observed, that when it is conferred without merit, it cannot give honour; that when it is bestowed upon merit, it becomes a proper mark of respect; and that merit, untitled, can shine by its own lustre. Though the friends of the late Reverend Hugh Farmer did not procure for him a diploma, his abilities and learning will carry down his name with reputation to posterity. The title of Doctor could not have added to the celebrity of such men as Richard Hooker, John Hales, Joseph Mede, and William Chillingworth, in the church of England; or of Matthew Poole, John Howe, and Richard Baxter, among the dissenters.

Dr. Lardner, in 1746, was appointed one of the correspondent members at London, of the Society in Scotland, for propagating Christian knowledge, and protestant principles, in the northern parts of that country, and the numerous islands which are situated near its coasts. This tribute of respect was probably the result of some service or benefaction to that excellent and useful Society.

In 1748, our author was engaged in superintending a new edition of the two first volumes of the second part of the Credibility; and in the same year he published the seventh volume of that part. The persons of whom an account was given, and whose testimonies were recited in this volume, were Arnobius, Lactantius, Alexander bishop of Alexandria, Arius and his followers, and Constantine the Great, the first Christian emperor. There were, likewise, two chapters on the Donatists, and on the burning of the scriptures, in the time of Dioclesian's persecution. It will appear, from the names I have mentioned, that most of these articles are of peculiar importance. The character of Constantine is stated and estimated with equal candour and judgment; and the observations on the story of that emperor's having seen in the heavens, nearly at mid-day, the trophy of the cross, placed above the sun, consisting of light, with an inscription annexed, BY THIS CONQUER, are very sagacious and convincing. Credulity not having been Dr. Lardner's foible, he was on that account the more eminently qualified for the execution of the great work he had undertaken. There was an Appendix to this volume, in answer to some remarks which Mr. Jackson had made upon our author's fifth volume, relative to the rise of Sabellianism, and the name of Novatus. Whoever is disposed to look into the Appendix, which in the present edition is subjoined to that part of the Credibility to which it more immediately belongs, will have little hesitation in determining on what side lay the advantage of the argument.

This year Dr. Lardner lost his sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Neal; whose decease drew from him the following pious and affectionate reflections. 'I am the oldest of the three children which God gave to my honoured 'parents. I am still preserved: but now all worldly friendships fade, and are worth little. I have lately 'published the seventh volume of the second part of the Credibility: but a temper and conduct worthy of 'the gospel, are more valuable than any written defences and apologies for it, or explications of it. I beg 'that I may be more and more possessed of that temper of humility and meekness which shall bear good 'fruits: and I have great reason to think of another world, and the change which I must pass under. I cannot 'expect, any more, such tenderness and affection as have been shewn me by my father, mother, brother, and 'sister, now no more in this world.'[c]

A new edition of the third volume of the second part of the Credibility was called for in 1750; and in the course of the same year appeared the eighth volume. This volume began with the council of Nice,

[a] See Vol. V. p. 59. [b] Memoirs of Lardner, ubi supra, p. 96. [c] Ibid. p. 97.

and then proceeded to Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea. The other persons and objects treated of were, Marcellus bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, Eustathius bishop of Antioch, Athanasius bishop of Alexandria, a dialogue against the Marcionites, Juvencus, Julius Firmicus Maternus, Cyril of Jerusalem, the Audians, Hilary of Poictiers, Aerius, the council of Laodicea, Epiphanius bishop in Cyprus, and the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons. In this volume, the two first articles are of peculiar importance. At the conclusion of the account of the council of Nice, are some admirable reflections on the conduct of that council, and on the pernicious effects of introducing subscriptions, authority, and force into the Christian church. In the history of Eusebius, which is very copious, we meet with a number of excellent observations concerning the divisions of the sacred books, the character of the writers of them, and the employment of the apostles, and apostolical men. With these Bishop Secker was highly pleased; but he was not equally satisfied with what our author had advanced in relation to the council of Nice. The letter which his lordship wrote to Dr. Lardner upon the occasion, together with the Doctor's answer, may be seen in the Appendix.[a] Dr. Secker's letter marks the turn of his mind, and will furnish matter of reflection to the curious reader, who has a talent at discerning the nice discriminations of character.

In this same year, our author published a volume of sermons, the subjects of which are entirely of a practical nature. These sermons, as might be expected from Dr. Lardner, are very judicious and instructive, and the perusal of them cannot fail of being acceptable and useful to candid and serious Christians. Our author having presented these discourses, together with the eighth volume of the Credibility, to Dr. Doddridge, that gentleman wrote a letter of acknowledgment in return, which is inserted in the Appendix.[b] Dr. Doddridge's letter is rather curious; partly as it displays something of the sentiments and disposition of that excellent man; and partly as it exhibits a small foible in his character, which was that of representing with too much parade the various employments and business wherein he was engaged.

Dr. Lardner, in 1751, resigned the office of morning preacher at Crouched Fryers. His reasons for this determination were, the continuance and even increase of his deafness, the smallness of the morning auditory, and the importance of redeeming time for carrying on his long work. Dr. Benson, whom he had acquainted, by letter, with his purpose of resignation, wrote thus to him in return. 'I was so much affected, on Monday 'evening, upon reading your letter, that I had very little sleep that night; and my mind still remains greatly 'affected with the thoughts of parting with you. For though I cannot but own I feel the weight of your 'reasons, yet I must frankly tell you, I do not expect ever to have an assistant, in whom I can place so 'thorough a confidence, and for whom I can entertain so warm an affection, and so high an esteem. I thank 'you heartily for all your friendly, kind, and obliging treatment of me, especially since I came to Crouched 'Fryers; and I earnestly desire that our friendship may never be interrupted.'[c]

Our author, adhering to his resolution, preached his last sermon on the 23d of June; having been assistant at Crouched Fryers nearly twenty-two years. His farewell discourse was taken from 2 Cor. iv. 18. "While we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal." These words afforded a fine subject for the conclusion of Dr. Lardner's pious and faithful labours in the pulpit. In a letter written to him by a friend, in 1748, are some observations, concerning his character as a preacher, and the cause of his not being generally acceptable, which it may not be amiss to transcribe. 'It has often grieved me to see so few per-'sons attend your public administrations, and puzzled me to assign a reason for it. When I consider the 'simplicity, propriety, and purity of your language; the justness of your sentiments; the importance of the 'subjects you handle; the seriousness and solemnity that animates every part of your performances; that 'you never meddle with any of the disputable points that divide and alienate Protestants; nay, have treated 'even Popery itself in such a manner as shews you to be indeed an imitator of the meekness and gentleness 'of Christ; what can be the reason? I can think of none but this, that there is some little imperfection in 'your speech. Your voice is naturally strong, clear, and agreeable; but it is not difficult to perceive, in 'forming some sounds, that the organs of speech are weak. But I take this to be the least part of the 'defect; which, from long and careful observation, I think consists in two things, viz. Indistinctness, or

[a] Appendix, N° VII. [b] Appendix, N° VIII. [c] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 107.

'slipping over now and then a word or syllable; or running them too close together, especially at the end of 'a sentence; and usually at the same time lowering your voice. This is most remarkable in your prayer, 'less so in your sermon, and still less in your reading.'[a]

It is certain that Dr. Lardner's mode of elocution must have been very unpleasant. That, from his early and extreme deafness, he could have no such command of his voice, as to give it a due modulation, those who were personally acquainted with him well knew. When to this it is added, that he dropped his words greatly in the pulpit, it cannot be a matter of surprise that he was not popular. Some few judicious persons, who could raise their minds above all external advantages, admired him extremely: but such hearers can never be numerous.

The ninth volume of the second part of the Credibility appeared in 1752. In the preface to it our author assigns the reason why, with regard to a few names, he had been obliged to transgress the order of time. He was desirous that Ephrem the Syrian should be in the former volume; and the chapter was completed as far as it could be done from the Greek edition of his works at Oxford, and the first two volumes of the edition then begun at Rome. But Dr. Lardner having been informed that the remaining volumes of the Roman edition might be expected in a short time, he determined to wait for them; and they did not come to his hands till several months after the publication of the eighth volume. Ephrem being laid aside, he took Epiphanius; and the Apostolical Constitutions naturally followed, which requiring a long chapter, some other articles, of smaller consequence, were for the present excluded. The persons treated of in the ninth volume were, Rheticius bishop of Autun, Triphyllius, Fortunatianus, Photinus, Eusebius bishop of Vercelli, Lucifer bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia, Gregory bishop of Elvira, Phæbadius bishop of Agen, Caius Marius Victorinus Afer, Apollinarius bishop of Laodicea, Damasus bishop of Rome, Basil bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Gregory Nazianzen, Amphilochius bishop of Iconium, Gregory bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia, Didymus of Alexandria, Ephrem the Syrian, Ebedjesu, Pacian bishop of Barcelona, Optatus of Milevi, Ambrose bishop of Milan, Diodorus bishop of Tarsus, Philaster bishop of Brescia, Gaudentius bishop of the same city, Sophronius, and Theodore bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia. There is, also, a long and curious chapter concerning the Priscillianists, and a shorter one, relative to a Commentary upon thirteen of St. Paul's epistles, ascribed by many to Hilary deacon of Rome. To this volume were subjoined, 'Remarks upon Mr. Bower's Account of the Manichees, in the second volume of his History of the Popes.' Mr. Bower had retailed the common calumnies with regard to these hereties, which are refuted by our author with his usual candour, good sense, and knowledge of antiquity. The remarks, in the present edition, are annexed to the history of the Manichees. In this year (1752) a second impression was called for of the Discourses on the Circumstances of the Jewish People.

The next year produced the tenth volume of the second part of the Credibility; in which the persons treated of are few in number, but very important with respect to their character, works, and testimony. They are Jerome, Rufinus, Augustin bishop of Hippo Regius in Africa, and John Chrysostom bishop of Constantinople. A short chapter is introduced, on the Third Council of Carthage. Two other publications came from Dr. Lardner in the same year. The first was, 'A Dissertation upon the two Epistles ascribed to Clement of Rome, lately published by Mr. Wetstein; with large extracts out of them, and an argument showing them not to be genuine.' At the close of this judicious and elaborate dissertation, our author has made some observations concerning the design of his great undertaking, which the reader will probably not be displeased with perusing. 'When,' says he, 'tidings were first brought hither, that Mr. Wetstein had received 'two new epistles of Clement out of the East, several of my friends and readers signified their desire, that 'when they should be published, I would observe the testimony therein afforded to the books of the New 'Testament; which service I have now performed, according to my ability. They supposed it to be a ne-'cessary part of the work, in which I have been long employed: which is not barely a bibliotheque of ec-'clesiastical authors, or memoirs of ecclesiastical history, but was begun, and has been carried on with 'a view of sowing the truth of the Christian religion; particularly, the truth and credibility of the

[a] Memoirs, p. 107—109.

'evangelical history, and the antiquity, genuineness, and authority of the books of the New Testament, the 'original records of the doctrine and miracles of our Saviour and his apostles. And all along great care has 'been taken, to distinguish genuine from supposititious writings; which I now reflect upon with much satis- 'faction. In this method, witnesses, when produced, appear in their true time and character; and every one 'is able to judge of the value of their testimony.'

The other production of Dr. Lardner, which came out in 1753, appeared without his name, and was intitled, 'An Essay on the Mosaic Account of the Creation and Fall of Man.' By the misfortunes of the bookseller, almost the whole impression was lost; so that, in the present edition, it has the recommendation of novelty. Our author adopts the literal sense of the history of our first parents, and, after having critically explained the narration, deduces from it a variety of important observations.

Dr. Lardner was now drawing to the conclusion of the second part of the Credibility. In 1754, the eleventh volume of it was published, containing a succinct history of the principal Christian writers of the fifth, sixth, and following centuries, to the beginning of the twelfth century; with their testimony to the books of the New Testament. The persons introduced in this volume were more than forty in number, it not being necessary to make the articles so large and particular, as had been requisite at a more early period. An Appendix was added, giving an account of the ecclesiastical histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret.

It had begun to be suggested, by some persons, that our author had carried down his testimonies lower than was needful to the purpose of his main argument. But such a suggestion was not the result of a due consideration of the matter. The Rev. Dr. Henry Miles of Tooting, an eminent dissenting minister, and a respectable member of the Royal Society, expressed his sentiments to Dr. Lardner upon the subject in so judicious a manner, after reading the eleventh volume, that they well deserve to be inserted. 'I thank God,' says he, 'who has enabled you to finish your design in a collection of ancient testimonies, &c. for the 'service of the Christian cause; the benefit of which the present generation and future ages will reap. The 'more I consider the characters of the writers, cited by you, in the former, and this volume, the more am I 'satisfied you did right to bring your work down so far as you have done. Those who have been, or are 'otherwise minded, do not seem to me to have well considered the distance of time at which we are removed 'from the period to which your last volume reacheth; nor how far it was necessary to preclude the cavils 'and exceptions, which our enemies, and their successors, may be ready to make to the truths of the Gospel 'History: nor is it considered, that the distance will be continually growing. For my part (setting aside 'the consideration of your principal view) I cannot help looking upon it as a very useful and desirable 'undertaking, if we regard it as a branch of ecclesiastical history; of which we have nothing in our language 'that can render it unnecessary; and moreover, if we consider it as containing a variety of important 'instructions, which no careful reader can overlook, in the characters and conduct of the writers, mentioned by 'you. Sure I am, this lesson all may naturally be taught; how absolutely necessary it is for us to regard the 'inspired writings as the rule of our faith and practice, and not the dictates or conduct of fallible men in 'former or later ages.'[a]

As such a quantity and variety of matter were comprehended in our author's great work, an epitome of it became very desirable, to assist the recollection of the memory, and to display in one view the force of the argument. Accordingly, this was undertaken by Dr. Lardner himself, who, in the twelfth and last volume of the second part, which was published in 1755, gave a general review of his design, and an admirable recapitulation of the eleven preceding volumes, with some new additional observations. Lists were added, of various readings, and of texts explained; together with an alphabetical catalogue of Christian authors, sects, and writings, and an alphabetical table of principal matters.

About this time, Dr. Lardner, in conjunction with Dr. Chandler, Dr. John Ward, and the Rev. Mr. Edward Sandercock, was engaged in perusing, and preparing for the press, some posthumous dissertations of the Rev. Mr. Moses Lowman, a learned dissenting minister at Clapham. Various works were written by this gentleman, among which three have been held in considerable esteem by the public. These are, a Treatise on the Civil Government of the Hebrews, another on the Ritual of that people, and a Commentary on the

[a] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 110, 111.

Revelations. He wrote also a short piece, drawn up in the mathematical form, to prove the being and perfections of God by the argument a priori. Dr. Chandler, in his funeral sermon for Mr. Lowman, asserted that it was an absolute demonstration. Perhaps it came as near to it as any thing that has been written upon the subject: but I dare not pronounce that there is no flaw in the reasoning, or that it will produce undeniable conviction. It was as an author that Mr. Lowman excelled, and not as a preacher. His discourses in the pulpit were so obscure, that a gentleman of great intelligence, one of his congregation, said he could never understand him.

Early in the spring of the year 1756, I had the happiness of commencing an acquaintance with Dr. Lardner, and the honour of its being sought for on his side, in consequence of the favourable opinion which his candour had led him to form of me, from the first sermon I ever printed, on the advantages of religious knowledge. In the same year, the Doctor published the first and second volumes of the Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History. It fell to my lot to be the Monthly reviewer of these volumes; and the accounts which I gave of them were so fortunate as to obtain our author's approbation. He did not know, at the time, from whom they came. To what circumstance it was owing that the review of the work was consigned to me, I cannot now recollect, it not being till long after, that I could with any justice have been deemed a periodical critic. When the third volume of the Supplement appeared, which was in 1757, Dr. Lardner himself drew up a short and simple state of the contents of it, which was inserted in the Review, with a slight addition by way of encomium; for nothing that had the least tendency to praise came from his own pen.

The first volume of the Supplement contained general observations upon the canon of the New Testament, and a History of the Four Evangelists, with the Evidences of the Genuineness of the Four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, and an Examination of the Times in which these books were written. There is, likewise, a chapter concerning the time when the Apostles left Judea, to go and preach the Christian religion to other countries; which event, our author thinks, could not have taken place until after the council at Jerusalem. He concluded the volume with a discussion of the question, Whether any one of the first three Evangelists had seen the gospel of the others before he wrote his own? and here Dr. Lardner hath determined, with great appearance of reason and argument, that St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, did not abridge or transcribe from each other, but are distinct, independent, and harmonious witnesses. The second volume comprehended the history of St. Paul, displayed the evidences of the genuineness of his fourteen Epistles, particularly that to the Hebrews, and ascertained the times in which they were written. Through the whole were interspersed many curious remarks; and the two concluding chapters were employed in shewing, that the epistle inscribed to the Ephesians was actually addressed to them, and that the churches of Colosse and Laodicea were planted by St. Paul. In the third volume the seven Catholic Epistles, and the Revelation of St. John, were considered, and histories given of St. James, St. Peter, and St. Jude. The order of the books of the New Testament is examined, and proofs afforded that they were early known, read, and made use of by Christians. In conclusion, it is shewn, that there is no reason to believe that any of the sacred books of the New Testament have been lost.

It would not be easy to say too much in praise of the Supplement to the Credibility. The several questions discussed in this work are determined in consequence of a depth of investigation, and an accuracy of judgment, which are highly worthy of admiration. It is remarkable, that in various points the opinions of our author are very different from those which his former colleague, Dr. Benson, maintained, in his History of the Acts of the Apostles, the prefaces to his Paraphrases, and the dissertations annexed to them. True criticism, we believe, will usually decide in favour of Dr. Lardner.

I cannot avoid strongly recommending the Supplement to the Credibility to the attention of all young divines. Indeed, I think that it ought to be read by every theological student before he quits the university or academy in which he is educated. There are three other works which will be found of eminent advantage to those who are intended for, or beginning to engage in the Christian ministry. These are, Butler's Analogy, Bishop Law's Considerations on the Theory of Religion, and Dr. Taylor's Key to the Apostolical Writings, prefixed to his paraphrase on the epistle to the Romans. Without agreeing with every circumstance advanced in these works, it may be said of them, with the greatest truth, that they tend to open and enlarge the mind;

that they give important views of the evidence, nature, and design of revelation; and that they display a vein of reasoning and enquiry which may be extended to other objects besides those immediately considered in the books themselves.

It must not be forgotten, that the Supplement to the Credibility has a place in the excellent collection of treatises in divinity which has lately been published by Dr. Watson bishop of Landaff. For a collection which cannot fail of being eminently conducive to the instruction and improvement of younger clergymen, and for the noble, manly, and truly evangelical preface by which it is preceded, this great prelate is entitled to the gratitude of the Christian world.

May I not be permitted to add, that there is another collection which is still wanted; and that is, of curious and valuable small tracts, relative to the evidences of our holy religion, or to scriptural difficulties, which, by length of time, and in consequence of having been separately printed, are almost sunk into oblivion, or, if remembered, can scarcely at any rate be procured? The recovery of such pieces, and the communication of them to the public, in a few volumes, and at a reasonable price, would be an acceptable, as well as an useful service to men of enquiry and literature.

The Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History completed one grand part of Dr. Lardner's design, which was, to produce, at large, the testimonies of Christian writers to the books of the New Testament. What he had already executed had employed him thirty-three years; and it was contrary to his expectation that his life was spared to the accomplishment of so much of the eminently important scheme which he had in view. Providence, however, preserved him for still farther usefulness. There was one part of his plan which he never carried into effect. It was his intention to allege the testimonies of Christian writers, not only to the books, but also to the principal facts of the New Testament, such as the birth, miracles, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the mission of the Apostles, and the miracles wrought by them: to which were to be added such considerations as might give weight to these testimonies, and confirm their truth. This our author designed to be the second book of the second part of the Credibility, and he supposed that it might be comprized in a single octavo volume; on which account it is rather the more surprising that it was not completed. Perhaps, upon reflection, he might judge, that almost every thing which he wished to say in this respect, would be found in the volumes already published.

This year (1757) Dr. Lardner, in conjunction with the Rev. Mr. Caleb Fleming, revised for publication, and introduced with a preface, a posthumous tract of Mr. Thomas Moore, intitled, 'An Enquiry into the 'Nature of our Saviour's Agony in the Garden.' Mr. Moore was a woollen-draper, in Holywell-street, near the Strand, a thinking man, and studious in the scriptures. The design of his pamphlet was to account for our Lord's agony, from the series of events which befell him during the latter part of his ministry, without supposing it to have been the result of any præternatural inflictions.

In the year 1758, appeared two productions from the pen of our author. The first was, 'The Case of the 'Demoniacs, mentioned in the New Testament; being four discourses upon Mark v. 19, with an Appendix for the farther illustration of the subject.' Dr. Lardner, in this work, maintains the hypothesis which was supported by Mr. Joseph Mede in the last century, by Dr. Sykes and others in the present, and still more recently, in a very elaborate manner, by the late Rev. Hugh Farmer. This scheme, which supposes the demoniacs to have been only diseased or lunatic persons, and not actually possessed by evil spirits, seems to gain ground; and will probably be found to be most agreeable, not only to the principles of sound philosophy, but to the genuine language of antiquity and scripture, when rightly understood. The Treatise on the Demoniacs having been considered by our author as an appendix to the first part of his Credibility, relative to the facts occasionally mentioned in the New Testament, it is subjoined to that work in the present edition.

The other publication of Dr. Lardner's, this year, was a short one, without his name, the title of which was, 'A Letter to Jonas Hanway, Esq.; in which some reasons are assigned, why houses for the reception of penitent women, who have been disorderly in their lives, ought not to be called Magdalen Houses.' Mary Magdalen, as our author shews, was not the sinner who is recorded in the seventh chapter of St. Luke, but a woman of distinction and excellent character, who for a while laboured under some bodily indisposition, which our Lord miraculously healed. To call, therefore, a hospital for repenting prostitutes a Magdalen-

house was, he thought, a great abuse of the name of a truly honourable and valuable woman. If Mary's shame had been manifest, and upon record, she could not have been worse stigmatized. Such was the delicacy of Dr. Lardner's mind, that, independently of the case of Mary Magdalen, he disliked the use of the word "prostitutes" in the title of a place of reception for females who had been of bad characters. Speaking of a proper inscription, he says, 'I shall propose one, which is very plain: A Charity House for Penitent 'Women: which, I think, sufficiently indicates their fault; and yet is, at the same time, expressive of 'tenderness, by avoiding a word of offensive sound and meaning, denoting the lowest disgrace that human 'nature can fall into, and which few modest men and women can think of without pain and uneasiness. Or, 'if that title is not reckoned distinct and particular enough, with a small alteration it may be made, for penitent 'Harlots.'[a] The letter to Mr. Hanway produced no effect; and perhaps it came too late. Besides, though the highest regard ought ever to be paid to the memory of that gentleman, as a most excellent and philanthropic citizen, he was not, I believe, easily disengaged from what he had once adopted.

In 1759, Dr. Lardner published, but without his name, 'A Letter written in the year 1730, concerning the question, Whether the Logos supplied the place of a human soul in the person of Jesus Christ.' To this letter, which I have mentioned before, and which is supposed to have been originally addressed to Lord Barrington, were now added, 'two Postscripts: the first, containing an Explication of these words, the Spirit, the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God, as used in the Scriptures: the second, containing Remarks upon the third part of the late Bishop of Clogher's Vindication of the Histories of the Old and New Testament.' In this treatise, our author opposes the Arian hypothesis, to which he acknowledges that he had once, for a while, been much inclined, but which he now entirely disliked, thinking it to be all amazing throughout, and irreconcilable to reason. The point which he labours to prove is, that Jesus is a man appointed, anointed, beloved, honoured and exalted by God above all other beings. It is observable, that Dr. Lardner did not derive his opinions upon this subject from the study of the Socinian authors. 'I have not,' says he, 'been greatly conversant with the writers of that 'denomination. I have never read Crellius de uno Deo Patre; though I believe it to be a very good book. 'There is also, in our own language, a collection of Unitarian tracts, in two or three quartos. But I am not 'acquainted with it, nor can I remember that I ever looked into it. I have formed my sentiments upon the 'Scriptures, and by reading such commentators, chiefly, as are in the best repute. I may add, that the 'reading of the ancient writers of the church has been of use to confirm me, and to assist in clearing up 'difficulties.'[b] In the preface, our author declares, that though he is not without a just concern for such things as appear to him to be of importance, he hopes, the whole is written in the way of reason and argument, with meekness and candour, without acrimony and abuse. The truth of this declaration will not be denied by those who disagree the most with Dr. Lardner; and surely it is not saying too much to add, that he has displayed great knowledge of Scripture, and of scriptural phraseology. His intimate friend Mr. Hallet did not adopt his opinion; and several letters were exchanged between them on the subject. Their different views with regard to what they apprehended to be divine truth, did not, however, produce the least diminution in their mutual affection. One of Mr. Hallet's letters was concluded in terms which reflect honour on his character. 'The consideration of these matters,' says he, 'is so far 'from lessening my friendship and regard for you, that I reverence and esteem you more than ever; and 'you shall never find me say one word inconsistent with the highest respect and friendship.—May God long 'preserve your usefulness!'[c]

I do not recollect that the letter on the Logos made any great impression, at the time of its first publication. The sentiments advanced in it were then confined to a few persons; and others were not readily disposed to embrace them. It is not necessary to inform my readers, that a period of less than thirty years has produced a surprising alteration in this respect. The fact is equally allowed by those who rejoice in, and by those who deplore the progress of Socinianism. What are the doctrines of the New Testament, with regard to the person and præ-existence of Christ, is the grand controversy of the day; a controversy that is warmly agitated, and which is not likely to be soon brought to a conclusion. Were I to indulge to the observations which arise in my mind on this occasion, I should be led into a digression incompatible with my

[a] Vol. V. p. 464. [b] Ibid. p. 373, 374, 383. [c] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 113.

present undertaking. If Providence should spare my life, it is my wish, when certain pressing engagements are discharged, to impart to the public a few candid reflections on some late, and indeed still subsisting theological disputes. I cannot, however, dismiss the subject, without remarking the coincidence of opinion which sometimes takes place between persons extremely different in their religious professions and connections. The celebrated Father le Courayer, author of the Dissertation on the Validity of English Ordinations, continued to the end of his life in the communion of the Roman Catholic church. Nevertheless, in the declaration of his last sentiments on the doctrines of religion, recently published, he has delivered such views of things respecting the Trinity, as Dr. Lardner himself must have highly approved. The passage is so striking, and breathes so liberal a spirit, that I shall insert it below.[a]

[a] The doctrine of the Unity of God, so true, and so evident, has served for a pretext to many, to try to inspire aversion at Christianity, as if it affected this truth by its doctrines of the Trinity, and the Incarnation. The writings of some of the fathers, and the wretched philosophy of the schools, may, in fact, have given ground to some people to draw such a consequence: but there is nothing in the gospel which does not tend, on the contrary, to confirm us more and more in the knowledge and worship of one God; and nothing is less opposite to this truth than the doctrines, which are thought to destroy it effectually.

Of all the modes of explaining the doctrine of the Trinity, I know of none more contrary to the true doctrine of Christianity, than that which supposes in the Deity an existence of three substances distinct, however collateral, however subordinate. It is, in my apprehension, to re-establish Polytheism, under the pretext of explaining a mystery. The unity of God, is the foundation of the gospel; and every thing that may in any way affect this truth is dangerous. As Jesus Christ and his apostles have laboured, on the one hand, to reclaim the Gentiles from the belief and from the worship of many gods, and have supposed, on the other hand, that the Jews thought soundly in the article of Deity, in which they never distinguished different substances; it seems to me a departure from the simplicity of the gospel, and a voluntary inclination to corrupt the idea of a clear truth, by singular explications, which it becomes necessary to abuse at least, in order to combat.

I believe, therefore, that there is but only one God; that his Spirit is not a substance distinct from him; and that Jesus Christ, to whom divinity was very intimately united, is his Son in virtue of that union. This is all the Trinity that I find in the gospel; and I cannot conceive that any other Trinity can accord with the Unity of God. I know that many ancient writers have had recourse to the multiplication of substances, to give us an idea of this mystery; and others have imagined other systems, more philosophical than evangelical, that have less served to clear up this matter than to obscure it. But I distinguish these systems from that of the gospel: and, inasmuch as I find this last worthy of respect, it therefore appears to me little essential to adopt notions which often have much obscurity, and sometimes are even involved in contradiction.

The Incarnation has nothing any more contrary to the doctrine of the Unity of God, than the Trinity. Accordingly, it is extremely remarkable, that neither Jesus Christ nor his apostles have ever represented to us these mysteries as including incomprehensible things, and which it was impossible to reconcile to reason. God, willing to draw men from their errors and to purify them from their sins, filled Jesus Christ with his wisdom, invested him with his power, communicated to him his authority, and gave him his Spirit,[a] not by measure, as to the prophets, but united himself so intimately with him, that Jesus Christ appeared in the form of God;[b] that he was made Lord and Christ;[c] Prince and Saviour;[d] that he was filled with wisdom and with grace;[e] that all the fulness of the godhead resided corporeally in him;[f] and that he received the glory, the honour, the virtue, the strength, and the blessing, of his Father;[g] who, by the participation which he gave him of his power and authority, made him enter, at the same time, into a participation of his glory, in such a manner, that he who honours the Son honours the Father who sent him.[h] Thus God, referring always every thing to himself, and not terminating in Jesus Christ, who is no otherwise regarded than as the organ and the instrument of the mercy of his Father, is always God alone, who is the object of our adorations; and there is nothing that shocks us in conceiving, that He can communicate himself to a man as fully, and as intimately, as he judges it necessary for his own glory, and for the salvation of mankind.

This is the explication of that intimate union of divinity with humanity in Jesus Christ, which, perfectly simple as it is, has so much divided all Christendom. From a willingness to find, in this intimate union of divinity with humanity in Jesus Christ, all that we experience in the union of the body and the soul, we have been thrown into embarrassments and contradictions, which it is impossible either to explain or to conciliate. We talk of hypostases, of personalities, of idioms, and of every thing that a dark philosophy could imagine, to render things credible, of which it was unable to give us any notion. Some have made a ridiculous mixture of the divinity with the humanity. Others, in discriminating too nicely the difference, have seemed to place Jesus Christ only in the rank of ordinary prophets. Hence the Nestorianism, the Eutycheism, the Apollinarism, and the Monothelisme, which have excited such fatal schisms in the church, and which have, perhaps, as much favoured the progress of Mahometanism in the East, as the ignorance of these nations, and the victorious arms of the Saracens.

To avoid these excesses, we must abide in the simplicity of the gospel, and content ourselves with acknowledging, that God to bring the world back to his knowledge, and to his worship, gave birth to Jesus Christ in a miraculous manner, and united Himself to him in a way the most close and intimate, so that it might be said, that Jesus Christ was in God,[i] and God in him; that all that appertained to the Father[k] was in the disposition of the Son, by the communication which the Father had given him of His power; that he had resigned all judgment to him;[l] that, as the Father could raise the dead to life, the Son could do so also;[m] that the doctrine of Jesus Christ was not his own, but that of his Father who sent him;[n] that he was only the same thing with him;[o] that it was the Father who abode in him, and who did all his works;[p] in one word, that he was the Son of God,[q] because that God, on sending him into the world, had sanctified him to such a degree, that he who saw him,[r] saw his Father, and that he who believed in him, believed also in God.

When one has once acknowledged the truth and the holiness of the gospel, all this doctrine concerning the person of Jesus Christ appears to me so simple, that I cannot conceive how it was possible to corrupt it by so many explications, which are good for nothing, but to make Christianity appear less reasonable, and full of contradictions. In consequence of a continual desire to find new mysteries, an infinitude of imaginations have been consecrated; and it is still more lamentable, that these imaginations are become a part of religion, by the authority of some, and by the acquiescence of others; so that a man passes for an unbeliever, or an irreligious person, if he does not subscribe to the predominant system, and if he happens to have too much understanding to submit to received prejudices, or too much fortitude to be overawed by violence.

It is not so much the person of Jesus Christ, as his doctrine, that is the object of the Christian religion; and though we ought to honour the Son as we honour the Father, because he

[a] John iii. 34. [b] Phil. ii. 6. [c] Acts ii. 36. [d] Acts v. 31. [e] Luke ii. 40. [f] Coloss. ii. 9. [g] Apoc. v. 12. [h] John v. 23.

[i] John x. 38. [k] John xvii. 7, 10. [l] John v. 22. [m] John v. 21. [n] John vii. 16. [o] John x. 30. [p] John xiv. 10. [q] John x. 36. [r] John xi. 44, 45.

A second volume of Sermons, on various subjects, was published by our author in 1760. The discourses in this volume, though always applied to practical purposes, are more curious and critical than those which he gave to the world ten years before. Several important circumstances, relative to the history of our Saviour, and the doctrines of the gospel, are considered and explained; and it would not be easy to find, in the same compass, a greater treasure of Christian knowledge. This year a second edition was demanded of the eleventh volume of the Credibility, and of the two first volumes of the Supplement. The fifth volume had been reprinted in 1756, and the fourth and sixth in 1758.

Deeply engaged as Dr. Lardner was, in preparing his own works for the press, he could not resist the solicitations which were made to him to revise occasionally the productions of other persons. About this time, at the request of his friend, Mr. Caleb Fleming, he corrected the manuscript of 'A Criticism upon modern notions of Sacrifices; being an Examination of Dr. Taylor's Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement examined.' The author of the tract here mentioned, was a Dr. Richie, a physician, and a dissenting minister, somewhere in the north of England. By the same gentleman was afterwards published, in two volumes, quarto, an elaborate work concerning the peculiar doctrines of revelation, relating to piacular sacrifices, redemption by Christ, and the treatment of moral characters by the Deity. It was the production of a man who had applied himself diligently to the study of the scriptures, and who has taken immense pains to ascertain his own views of things; notwithstanding which, it is now little known, and still less read. The different fate of books would furnish matter for a curious and a copious disquisition.

Another work, the manuscript of which Dr. Lardner revised, at the desire of the writer, for whom he had a particular esteem, was a Treatise on the true Doctrine of the New Testament concerning Jesus Christ. This treatise, which has come to a second impression, was the composition of the Rev. Mr. Paul Cardale, a dissenting minister at Evesham, in Worcestershire. It is introduced by a long discourse on free enquiry in matters of religion, and contains a full defence of what is called the Socinian scheme. I believe that it has been of some considerable influence in drawing over persons to the author's opinion. Mr. Cardale, I remember, is very large in endeavouring to shew, that the great blessings of the gospel do not depend upon the question concerning our Lord's præ-existence; and that no stress is laid upon it, in the account which is given in the New Testament of the benefits we derive from our divine master. A sentiment which I should earnestly wish to be generally impressed is, that the glory of our holy religion stands firm on every scheme. Writers are apt to express themselves, as if the Christian revelation would be of little value, unless their particular systems are adopted: but this is a kind of language which is extremely injudicious, and which ought to be avoided and discouraged. The apostle, St. Paul, speaking of Jesus Christ, saith: "Who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."[a] To this account of things every Christian, of every denomination, gives a most ready, and cordial assent. But can any man be said to think meanly of the evangelical dispensation, or to detract from its excellence and dignity, who believes that God is the author of it, that it was communicated by Jesus Christ, and that he conveys to us knowledge, pardon, holiness, and eternal life? These are blessings of unspeakable importance; blessings which render the gospel a pearl of invaluable price: and as such it will be esteemed by all who assent to its truth and divine authority, whatever sentiments they may embrace concerning matters of more doubtful disputation.

In 1761, and 1762, Dr. Lardner condescended to make some communications to a periodical work, then carrying on, intitled, 'The Library,' which consisted entirely of original pieces, and was conducted by some of the younger dissenting ministers of the city of London. His papers, which were four in number, are inserted at the end in the volume of tracts, in the present collection.[b] A new edition of the tenth volume of the second part of the Credibility came out in 1761, and of the twelfth volume in 1762. Not again to resume the subject, it may here be mentioned, that the eighth volume was reprinted in 1766.

It was in 1762 that our author published his 'Remarks on the late Dr. Ward's Dissertations on several Passages of the sacred Scriptures; wherein are shewn, beside other things, that St. John computed the

had his mission, and was cloathed with his authority, it is, however, to God only that Jesus Christ reclaims our attention; and he assumes no other consequence to recommend himself to the Jews, than as having been sanctified by his Father, to come and announce his doctrine, and to instruct us in truths unknown to the Gentiles, and very much altered by the Jews.—Le Courayer's "Declaration of his last Sentiments on the different Doctrines of Religion." The English translation, p. 14—26.

[a] 1 Corinth. i. 30.

[b] Vol. V. of this edition.

Hours of the Day after the Jewish Manner; who are the Greeks, John xii; who the Grecians, Acts vi; the Design of the apostolic Decree, Acts xv; that there was but one Sort of Jewish Proselytes; wherein lay the Fault of St. Peter; and how St. Paul may be vindicated.' Of these Remarks it is sufficient to say, that they display Dr. Lardner's usual skill in whatever relates to the critical knowledge of the New Testament. He has particularly confuted the notion of two kinds of proselytes, which had not only been adopted by Dr. Ward, but which, for some time before, had been a favourite opinion with Lord Barrington, Dr. Benson, and other writers, so as to lead them into various mistakes. A long intimacy had subsisted between Dr. Ward and our author; and accordingly, throughout the whole of his Remarks, he has treated the memory of his friend with the greatest regard and respect.

Dr. Lardner, in 1764, communicated to the world, without his name, some strictures on another eminent New Testament critic, Dr. James Macknight, who had recently published his Harmony of the Four Gospels. The arrangement of the circumstances relative to our Lord's resurrection, had for several years engaged the attention of Christian writers. Mr. Gilbert West had treated the subject very much at large, and was supposed to have thrown great light upon it, by having recourse to a different interpretation of some of our Saviour's appearances, recorded by the Evangelists, from what had hitherto been given. A new vein of criticism was opened by him, which was pursued by other persons. Dr. Macknight, in particular, bestowed extraordinary labour upon the matter, in the conclusion of his Harmony. The efforts of his ingenuity and diligence had not the good fortune to satisfy Dr. Lardner. It appeared to him, that certain suppositions, which had been made by Dr. Macknight, were altogether without foundation. He thought proper, therefore, to publish, in a letter to the author, Observations upon his Harmony, so far as related to the History of our Saviour's Resurrection. It cannot be denied that this tract is a piece of masterly criticism. The account which is given in it, of the various appearances of our Lord after his resurrection, comes recommended by such a simplicity of truth, as calls for the warmest approbation. I have reason to believe, that there were other points in which Dr. Lardner did not agree with Dr. Macknight. In matters liable to difficulty, and involved in some degree of obscurity, a diversity of sentiments will take place between the most upright, able, and serious enquirers after truth.

Amidst these various productions of a smaller nature, Dr. Lardner continued the prosecution of his grand object. Accordingly, soon after the publication of his Observations on Dr. Macknight's Harmony, and in the same year, he gave to the world, in quarto, the first volume of 'A large Collection of ancient Jewish and Heathen Testimonies to the Truth of the Christian Religion.' This volume contained the Jewish testimonies, and the testimonies of heathen authors of the first century. In the preface, Dr. Lardner has given an account of those who had gone before him in the same design; from which account it will appear, that the subject, comparatively speaking, had hitherto been but imperfectly considered. As he was apprehensive that his work might be charged with prolixity, he has made an apology for it, which must effectually silence every objector. 'I aim,' saye he, 'to be distinct and particular. These things have already been slightly 'touched upon by many. I propose to enlarge, and set them in a fuller light. I allege passages of ancient 'authors at length: I settle their time: I distinguish their works, and endeavour to shew the value of their 'testimonies. I intend likewise to allege the judgments of divers learned moderns, who have gone before me 'in this service. All the persecutions of this time are a part of my subject, as they were appointed by edicts 'of heathen emperors, and were carried on by heathen governors of provinces, and officers under them. I 'shall have an opportunity to shew the patience and fortitude of the primitive Christians, and the state of 'Judaism, Gentilism, and Christianity, in the first four centuries. As most of the authors to be quoted by 'me are men of great distinction in the republic of letters, some occasions will offer for critical observations, 'which cannot be all declined: but nice and intricate questions will be carefully avoided, that the whole may 'be upon the level with the capacities of all who are inquisitive, and disposed to read with attention.' Such is our author's representation of his purposes; and it will be almost deemed superfluous to add, that they are executed with the greatest accuracy, learning, candour, and judgment.

The heathen testimonies, considered in the first volume, were, the pretended Epistle of Abgarus king of Edessa, to Jesus, and the Rescript of Jesus to Abgarus; the knowledge which the Emperor Tiberius had of our Saviour Jesus Christ; a Monumental Inscription concerning the Christians in the time of Nero; Pliny

the elder; Tacitus; Martial; Juvenal; and Suetonius. But this volume began with, and was chiefly employed upon, the Jewish testimonies; among which the famous historian Josephus is the principal object. The third chapter, relative to the fulfilment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the destruction of the temple and the city of Jerusalem, and the miseries of the Jewish people, is of peculiar importance; and accordingly, it has justly obtained a place in Bishop Watson's collection. It was a necessary part of Dr. Lardner's plan, to examine the celebrated passage with regard to the Lord Jesus Christ, which is now found in all the copies of Josephus. This passage, therefore, our author has discussed with his usual sagacity and diligence; and he has pronounced it to be an interpolation. Dr. Samuel Chandler, who was not convinced by what he had advanced upon the subject, wrote to him a letter on the occasion, to which he returned a short answer. The letter and the reply may be seen in the Appendix.[a] Several learned writers among us were disposed, about this time, to maintain the authenticity of the passage in question. Dr. Chapman had done it in his Eusebius. The same cause had been defended by Dr. Nathaniel Foster, in a dissertation published at Oxford, in 1749. Nor is it without very eminent support in the present day. Mr. Bryant has exerted all the efforts in vindication of the passage, which ingenuity and literature could supply: he has done every thing but producing conviction. I have been favoured with a letter from the Rev. Mr. Henley, of Rendlesham in Suffolk, containing a communication from the Abbé de Voisin, and some observations by the late Abbé Bullet, relative to the testimony of Josephus, which I insert with great pleasure in the Appendix.[b]

Without taking it upon me to decide concerning the authenticity of this famous passage, I must be permitted to remark, that it can never be of any real advantage in a controversy with the enemies of our holy religion. Of what avail can it be to produce a testimony so doubtful in itself, and which some of the ablest advocates for the truth of the gospel reject as an interpolation? An infidel must revolt at such an argument. It ought, therefore, to be for ever discarded from any place among the evidences of Christianity, though it may continue to exercise the ingenuity and critical skill of scholars and divines.

The second volume of the Collection of Jewish and Heathen Testimonies appeared in 1765; containing the heathen testimonies of the second century. In the preface to this volume, some farther observations were made upon the paragraph in the works of Josephus, concerning our blessed Saviour. Dr. Foster's dissertation, and Dr. Chandler's private letter, furnished the occasion for these additional observations; in which our author strenuously defends his former opinion. The persons treated of in this volume are, Pliny the younger, and Trajan; Epictetus the stoic philosopher, and Arrian; the Emperor Adrian; Bruttius Præsens; Phlegon, Thallus, and Dionysius the Areopagite; the Emperor Titus Antoninus the pious; the Emperor Marcus Antoninus the philosopher; Apuleius; the early adversaries of Christianity, and particularly Celsus; Lucian of Samosata; Aristides the sophist; Dion Chrysostom, and Galen. Of the chapters relative to these persons, the longest, and the most important, are those concerning Pliny, Marcus Antoninus, and Celsus. Whoever peruses them, will find in them a noble treasure of curious and valuable information. I cannot forbear transcribing a short passage, from the article on Pliny and Trajan, which beautifully displays the candid mind of Dr. Lardner. The evidence before him had obliged him to say some things that are unfavourable to Trajan's character; after which he adds: 'It ought not to be thought by any that I take 'pleasure in detracting from the merit of those who have been distinguished by their high stations, or their 'eminent abilities, or their useful services to mankind of any sort. For, indeed, the disadvantageous part of 'this detail has been made, and carried on, not without great reluctance, much diffidence, and tenderness; whilst 'commendable things have been cheerfully acknowledged. And if we now think, and judge, and act, better 'than many in former times, it is owing to our superior advantages; such especially as we have received from 'the Christian Revelation, by which our minds have been enlightened and enlarged: for which we ought to 'be ever thankful, still thinking modestly of ourselves, and giving God the glory of all.'[c]

The third volume of the Collection of Testimonies was published in 1766, containing an account of the Heathen writers and writings of the third century, whence arguments may be deduced in support of the truth of the Christian religion. This volume, which extended to the conversion of Constantine the Great,

[a] Appendix, No. IX. [b] Appendix, No. X.
[c] See the present edition of Dr. Lardner's Works, Vol. IV. p. 39.

abounded, like the two former ones, with much valuable information. The persecutions to which the professors of the gospel were exposed, and particularly that under the emperor Diocletian, are here amply considered. A peculiar attention is, likewise, paid to Porphyry, and to his objections against the authenticity of the book of Daniel. In the chapter that relates to Diogenes Laertius, our author has introduced a very curious Criticism on the Altar to the Unknown God, at Athens, which is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.

The fourth volume of the Testimonies appeared in 1767. In this volume were contained the testimonies of Heathen writers of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries; to which was added, the state of Gentilism under Christian emperors. Among the persons who here passed in review before Dr. Lardner, Julian, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Libanius, are particularly distinguished. The accounts of these, and of contemporary authors, are very entertaining; though, as witnesses in favour of our holy religion, they are not so important as Celsus, and other writers of an earlier period. Nevertheless, they deserved to be collected, and to be put together in their proper order. Hence our author had an opportunity of displaying the last struggles of expiring Gentilism, and of relating some attempts to restore it, after it had been for a while exploded with scorn and disdain. He has, likewise, introduced to the acquaintance of his readers, not a few men of great learning, and fine abilities, who were still tenacious of the ancient rites, and fond of all the fables upon which they were founded, and by which they had long been upheld and encouraged.

In the copious article concerning Julian, a very important point came under Dr. Lardner's consideration, which was, the account of that emperor's attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem, and of the defeat of the attempt, by a divine and miraculous interposition. This account has been given not only by three contemporary Christian writers, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and Ambrose, but also by the Heathen historian Ammianus Marcellinus. It is mentioned, likewise, by Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and other ancient authors. Accordingly the story has obtained an almost universal credit; and scarcely any learned man had dared to suggest a doubt concerning it, excepting Basnage, in his History of the Jews. It is well known that Bishop Warburton wrote a very elaborate treatise in defence of the miracle; and that this treatise has been esteemed one of his capital productions, in point of judgment, as well as of literature. Dr. Lardner, however, after the fullest examination, was obliged to hesitate upon the subject. His difficulties he has stated with his usual simplicity and candour; and it must be acknowledged that the considerations proposed by him have great weight. Perhaps many who read them will be induced, for the future, to lay but little stress upon a narration, which has heretofore been so generally admitted. I need not say that our author had no intention to weaken the evidences of Revelation. He was influenced by nothing but that sacred and impartial regard to truth which he maintained in all his enquiries. Some of the reflections which occur in his criticism will probably here be read with pleasure, as they finely display the temper of his mind. 'Let not any be offended,' says he, 'that I hesitate about this point. I think we ought not too easily 'to receive accounts of miraculous interpositions, which are not becoming the Divine Being. There are 'many things said of Julian, which all wise and good men do not believe.—The truth of history is not at all 'affected by rejecting improbable relations. Nor is the cause of Christianity at all hurt by our refusing to 'assent to some things, which Christian writers have said of Julian. That he pretended favour for the Jews, 'and sometimes talked of rebuilding their city and their temple, is allowed. But that he actually attempted 'it, and ordered money for the work out of the public treasury, when he was setting out upon the Persian 'expedition, and that his attempt was frustrated by many miraculous interpositions, is not so certain. Though 'these things should be contested or denied, it can be of no bad consequence. Other histories, which are 'void of the like improbabilities, are not affected by it. And the Evangelical history remains firm and in-'violate, having in it all possible marks of truth and credibility.

'Finally, to put an end to these critical observations. Julian's favourable regards for the Jewish people, 'and his intention (or desire at least) to rebuild the city of Jerusalem, and the temple there, are manifest, 'and fully attested by contemporary witnesses, and by his own writings. It is as manifest, that his design to 'rebuild Jerusalem and the Jewish temple, was never accomplished, but was frustrated and defeated. 'Whether it was owing to miraculous interpositions, or to his expensive preparations for the Persian war, and 'other circumstances of his affairs, and to his death and defeat in that war; the overruling providence of

'God ought to be acknowledged in the event. And the argument for the truth of the Christian religion, 'taken from the fulfilment of our Saviour's predictions in the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow 'of the Jewish people by Vespasian and Titus, and their continued dispersion, remains in all its force. It is 'an argument which I never intended to weaken: it is, I think, a demonstrative argument for the truth of 'the Christian religion; and, as I have often hinted in this work, deserving the attentive regard and serious 'consideration of all mankind.'[a]

The fourth volume of the collection of Jewish and Heathen Testimonies completed another capital part of our author's original design. It was published ten years after he had finished his Credibility; so that this grand object, with the interruption arising from some smaller productions, occupied him during the space of forty-three years. A reflection presents itself on this occasion; which is, that works of great consequence are not of speedy execution. Although Dr. Lardner led a very retired life; though he entered but little into public business; though he was a stated preacher only twenty-one years, and that but once a day; yet we see how long a time he was employed, and diligently employed, in accomplishing the end he had in view. Those who are not themselves engaged in important and extensive literary undertakings, can have but an imperfect conception of the difficulties to be surmounted, the disappointments to be incurred, the books to be procured and waited for, the dates to be settled, the facts to be ascertained, and the various other causes which often occasion delays, that must be far more unpleasant to the writer than they can possibly be to any reader whatever.

Though our author's life and pen were so ardently devoted to the public good, he never received any thing that could deserve to be regarded as a recompence for his labours. The salary he had, whilst he continued to be a preacher, was very inconsiderable; and his works were often published by him to his loss, instead of his gain. This was particularly the case with respect to the latter volumes of the Credibility. At length he parted with the copy-right of that performance, together with all the remaining printed copies of it, for the trifling sum of a hundred and fifty pounds. Such a sum was by no means an equivalent for the expenses he had incurred; but he consented to the agreement, in the hope that the work would be rendered more extensively useful, when it became the immediate interest of the booksellers to promote its sale.'[b] From the scarcity of the separate volumes, and the immense price to which complete sets of the Credibility have since arisen, it is to be presumed that these gentlemen have had no reason to repent of their bargain. As to Dr. Lardner, his work is with the Lord, and his reward with his God.

Whilst our author submitted patiently to various disadvantages, in order to serve the interests of truth and virtue, and to maintain the honour of the Christian religion, he was not insensible that he had not met with the support and encouragement to which he was entitled. He particularly complained of the neglect of the rich dissenting laity, in purchasing his volumes.[c] This I remember his having once mentioned to me in a letter; in which he took notice, that he had never received any mark of favour from the dissenters; 'not,' said he, 'so much as a trust.' He here referred to Dr. Daniel Williams's charities and library, the trustees of which consist of thirteen ministers and ten lay gentlemen. It was not to the honour of that body, that Dr. Lardner was never chosen to be one of their number. His deafness, I believe, was considered as an objection, but surely without sufficient reason; for no person could have been better qualified to give advice on most occasions, and especially with reference to books. If I had not believed that his nephew, Mr. Nathaniel Neal, was influenced by a principle of extreme delicacy, I should have thought him somewhat to blame in the affair. That gentleman was not only a trustee, but agent for the trust, and had a great sway in all its concerns. If, therefore, he had intimated, that the election of his uncle would be a desirable measure, it could scarcely have met with an objection. I should be unwilling to suppose that any little bigotries, with

[a] Testimonies, Vol. IV. p. 67, 68, 70, 71.

[b] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 129.

[c] That excellent and munificent citizen, Thomas Hollis, Esq. must be exempted from this charge. In 1764, Dr. Lardner requested him, by letter, to subscribe to his Collection of Jewish and Heathen Testimonies. Upon this application, Mr. Hollis sent the good man a bank-note of twenty pounds, which the Doctor told to a friend, was the greatest sum he had ever received from any of his benefactors.[a] There can be no doubt but that several of the wealthy dissenters purchased our author's writings, though this was not done by them so generally as might have been expected, and as the merit of the works deserved.

[a] Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq. Vol. I. p. 253.

regard to Dr. Lardner's theological sentiments, contributed to his being neglected. It is certain that no such narrowness of spirit is found in the present trustees.

The last work of our author, that was published during his life-time, was the fourth volume of his Testimonies. As, however, some posthumous pieces of his have since made their appearance, I shall mention them in this place. There came out, in 1769, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Lardner, to which were annexed, eight sermons upon various subjects. The four first of them had by himself been transcribed for the press. On the fifth and sixth, though not fairly transcribed, he had written as follows; 'Perused, 'and, so far as I am able to perceive, all is right; and I humbly conceive ought to be published.' These two discourses are on the internal marks of Credibility in the New Testament, and are admirably worthy of perusal. They are the sermons which he had preached in 1723 and 1724, at the Tuesday evening lecture, and contain, in some degree, the outlines of his great work, and especially of that part of it which relates to the facts occasionally mentioned in the Evangelical and Apostolical writings.

In 1776 was published, a short Letter, which our author had sent, in 1762, to Mr. Caleb Fleming, upon the Personality of the Spirit. It was printed at the end of Mr. Cardale's Enquiry whether we have any Scripture warrant for a direct Address either to the Son or to the Holy Ghost.

It was a part of Dr. Lardner's original design, with regard to the Credibility of the Gospel History, to give an account of the heretics of the two first centuries. To the arrangement, therefore, of his collections upon this subject he applied himself, after he had finished his Jewish and Heathen Testimonies; but he did not live to complete his intentions. Some parts, indeed, of the work were fitted for the press, having received his last corrections; whilst in other parts only a few hints were written. It was doubted, for a time, whether the progress he had made in his undertaking was sufficient for it to be laid before the public. However, upon mature deliberation, his papers were put into the hands of the Rev. Mr. Hogg, a worthy, learned, and judicious dissenting minister at Exeter, who, in the additions which he made to Dr. Lardner's materials, did not introduce a relation of any person, excepting where the Doctor himself had drawn up a part of it, or had left some hints or references. In consequence of Mr. Hogg's revisal and assistance, there appeared, in 1780, in one volume, quarto, 'The History of the Heretics of the two first centuries after Christ: containing 'an account of their time, opinions, and testimonies to the books of the New Testament. To which are 'prefixed, general observations concerning Heretics.' Though this volume is not, upon the whole, so valuable and important as some of the former ones, it is possessed, nevertheless, of very considerable merit. It recites the testimonies of heretics, rectifies a variety of mistakes concerning them, and refutes many groundless charges to which they were exposed from the ignorance, false zeal, and bigotry of their adversaries.

The last posthumous publication written by Dr. Lardner, appeared in 1784. It is intitled, 'Two Schemes 'of a Trinity considered, and the Divine Unity asserted.' This work consists of four discourses upon Philippians, ii. 5—11. The first represents the commonly received opinion of the Trinity, the second describes the Arian scheme; the third treats on the Nazarean doctrine; and the fourth explains the text according to that doctrine. Our author had himself transcribed these sermons for the press, with particular directions designed for the printer. The manuscript having come into the possession of Mr. Wiche, a very respectable dissenting minister, of the Baptist persuasion, at Maidstone in Kent, he gave it to the public. Even those who are far from agreeing in sentiment with Dr. Lardner, have applauded the candour, the simplicity, and the love of truth, which these discourses evidently discover. Indeed, they are chiefly estimable for the temper and spirit with which they are composed. It was not to be expected that they could contain much new matter, on points which, of late years, have been so frequently and copiously discussed.

Providence spared the life of Dr. Lardner to a long term; and, his hearing excepted, he retained, to the last, the use of his faculties, in a remarkably perfect degree. At length, in the summer of 1768, he was seized with a decline, which carried him off in a few weeks, at Hawkherst, the place of his nativity, and where he had a small paternal estate. He had been removed thither, in the hope that he might recruit his strength by a change of air, and relaxation from study. The day of his decease was the twenty-fourth of July, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. His remains were conveyed to town, and deposited in Tindal's

burying-ground, commonly called Bunhill Fields. At his particular request, no sermon was preached on occasion of his death.[a] Thus did his modesty and humility accompany him to the last moment of his earthly existence. Some time after his decease, a stone was erected to his memory, with an English inscription.

In looking back upon the life and character of Dr. Lardner, and comparing them with those of other men, we shall find few names that are more truly entitled to be remembered with veneration and applause. The sincerity of his piety has been seen in a variety of circumstances which I have had occasion to mention. Indeed, a regard to God appears to have been ever the governing principle of his actions. His piety, too, was of the most rational kind, being founded on just and enlarged views concerning the nature of religion. What his ideas were in this respect will be found in many parts of his writings, and may be discerned in two extracts from letters of his to Lord Barrington, which are inserted below.[a]

Correspondent to our author's piety was his love of truth, as is manifest from the whole of his works. No one seems ever to have preserved a greater impartiality in his enquiries, or to have been more free from any undue bias. He followed truth wherever it led him; and for the attainment of truth he was admirably qualified, both by the turn of his disposition and his understanding. With a mind so calm and unprejudiced, with a judgment so clear and distinct, he could scarcely fail of forming right apprehensions concerning most of the subjects which the course of his studies enabled him to investigate.

The candour and moderation with which Dr. Lardner maintained his own sentiments, constituted a prominent feature in his character. Those he differed from in opinion, he always treated with gentleness and respect; and in the controversies he carries on with them, there is no severity of censure, no harshness of language. This circumstance is the more worthy to be mentioned and applauded, as it is so different from what we often meet with in the present day. Many of our writers seem to be reverting to that abuse of each other, which was common among scholars some time after the revival of literature. They are not satisfied without casting illiberal reflections on the persons of the men whose tenets they oppose, and arraigning the motives of their conduct. What renders this disposition the more ridiculous is, that it is frequently exerted

[a] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 136.

[b] The Extracts are as follows:

"I have ever had a good deal of curiosity, which, I apprehend, usually accompanies a love of truth. But I have learnt a necessity of restraining, or at least of regulating and governing that curiosity. The capacities of men are limited, and even small in comparison of the whole compass of things. The most important matters ought to be first preferred. A few certain principles are better than a great many, if only obscure and uncertain. When evidence is not full and clear, it is best to suspend and doubt. Religion is the concern of all men; it ought therefore be clear and plain. And obscure religion is of little or no value: indeed, it seems to be one of the greatest absurdities that can be conceived. If God make a revelation, intended for the general benefit of mankind, one would expect it should be clear. We find in the Old Testament predictions of a dispensation, under which men should not need to teach one another, saying, "Know the Lord: for all should know him, from the least to the greatest." I have a strong persuasion that the Gospel was plain at first. It is contained in the four Gospels and Acts, which are plain books. If Christianity is not plain now, I apprehend it must be our own fault, some way or other. A doctrine that contains plain directions of duty, and plain promises of a reward, sufficient to encourage to duty in all circumstances, to strengthen against temptations, to give comfort under afflictions, to calm the affections, and can be easily proved to be certain, is indeed an excellent doctrine. This is true religion. This is a pearl of great price, a treasure indeed, for which a man may reasonably part with all that he has to buy it. I say, easily proved to be certain. But it requires a sincere and honest disposition. Such a mind, with good instruction, will learn more in a few hours, than the prejudiced and selfish, in an age. Indeed, such as these can never receive the truth, unless mixed with other matters that subvert it.

I am the more discouraged in the pursuit of speculations in matters of religion, because I observe our blessed Saviour (who knew all things) and his Apostles enter not into many particulars of the future life, and deliver no abstract notions about any thing, nor say any thing whatever to gratify mere curiosity, but only matters of the utmost consequence to the happiness of men. I have also observed, that the obscure and difficult principles of the philosophers, the great variety of opinions they had, and the uncertainty of them, were great defects in their philosophy, and objections against it. And I have been not a little concerned to see the state of Christianity among us resemble so much the state philosophy was in at the time the Christian religion first appeared in the world. There is still the more reason for those who sincerely desire the interest of religion, to keep to plain, certain truths, if possible; because of the prodigious, the almost universal indolence of mankind, who continually catch at every thing, that may countenance their neglect of enquiry and examination; who seek nothing but this world, how they and their families may enjoy ease, riches, and grandeur. For all which reasons, it may be best not to advance any obscure and uncertain matters in religion; or, if for some special reasons they are advanced, that they be proposed as uncertain and doubtful, and that little stress be laid upon them."

In a subsequent letter, he thus writes:

"A principal occasion of my writing as I did about curiosity, was (as far as I remember) the subject-matter of debate or enquiry, the future reward of good men. I apprehend some ill consequences from too nice and curious enquiries about that, since God has not plainly revealed to us, as I supposed, the place of that happiness. But whatever I said about curiosity, I never intended to discourage a diligent and careful search after truth. There is scarce any thing more disagreeable and offensive to me, than the common indolence of mankind about religion, and truth in general. And therefore another reason, why I spake against needless enquiries, was, because I feared that the rendering religion abstruse and difficult, and multiplying questions in divinity (especially in those things which are of importance), might be improved by mankind, as a pretence to countenance their lazy and indolent disposition."*

* Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Lardner, p. 130—134.

on the most trivial occasions. Apprehended mistakes in philology, or diversities of judgment in matters of mere taste, are treated with as great a bitterness as if they were crimes of the deepest dye. How much more beautiful, and more worthy of imitation, was the manner of conducting disputable questions which was pursued by Dr. Lardner! Such a method will be found, in the end, more favourable to the diffusion of truth, and more conducive to a lasting reputation. Circumstances, indeed, may arise, in which a sharpness of chastisement may appear to be justifiable. Uncommon insolence and uncommon bigotry may deserve to be strongly exposed: and yet, even here, a manly neglect and contempt of unmerited censure may be the most honourable and the most useful mode of behaviour.

Benevolence, as well as piety, entered deeply into Dr. Lardner's character. Though his retired life prevented him from taking a very active part in public designs, he was ready to promote every good work. To persons in distress he was ever willing to contribute, to the highest degree which his fortune would admit. On some occasions, he exerted himself with great vigour and success. When a gentleman came to London, in 1756, to solicit contributions towards building a church for the Protestants of Thorn, in Poland, our author was particularly serviceable to him, both by his advice and recommendation. He, in a great measure, took upon himself the management of the affair; on which account he afterwards received the thanks of the president and fellows of the college of Thorn, in an elegant Latin letter. Near the time of his decease, he was engaged in assisting and recommending the Rev. Mr. Finman, minister of the reformed congregation at Rutzow, in the dutchy of Mecklenburg Schwerin, who had come over to England for a like purpose. Upon this occasion, a letter was written to Dr. Lardner, by Dr. Secker, archbishop of Canterbury, which was the conclusion of a very long correspondence between two eminent persons, who were now each of them on the verge of dissolution.[a] As this letter displays the archbishop's state of mind at that time, and the continuance of his regard for our author, it will be inserted below.[b]

In his private deportment, Dr. Lardner was very amiable. His manners were polite, gentle, and obliging; and he was attentive, in every respect, to the laws of decorum. It has been justly remarked, that he 'seemed 'carefully to observe the rules laid down in his Counsels of Prudence.'[c] Perhaps it may not be disagreeable to my readers, to be informed of the mode in which he carried on conversation. Paper, pens, and ink, being immediately brought in when visitors came to his house, they wrote down such intelligence as they had to communicate, or the observations and questions which they wished to propose. To these, as they were severally written, he replied with great freedom and chearfulness, and in a way that was both instructive and entertaining. As the paper contained the unconnected answers and remarks of the different guests, upon different subjects, it formed what would have appeared to a stranger to be a very heterogeneous mixture. It was, however, carefully preserved by the Doctor, to be perused by him when his visitors were gone; and the perusal of it often led him to objects of farther consideration and enquiry.*

Our author was not one of those scholars who are unacquainted with mankind. He had seen much of life during his residence with Lady Treby; he was continually visited by persons of various professions and countries; and he possessed that sagacity of observation, which is the principal requisite towards obtaining a knowledge of the world. Nor is it uncommon for eminent men, who live in retirement, to have some people near them, who are fond of conveying to them every kind of information which it is in their power to collect. Whether such information may not occasionally derive a tincture from the mistakes and prejudices of the communicators, I stay not to examine.

On the learning of Dr. Lardner it is not necessary to enlarge, since his character in this respect is known to all the world. With regard to that species of literature which was cultivated by him, he was accurate and profound in the greatest degree. Some branches of knowledge there were to which he did not apply his at-

[a] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 127, 128.

[b] 'Good Dr. Lardner.

'I would have seen Mr. Finman, and answered your first letter, if I had been able. But it pleased God to afflict me, for 'many months past, with so constant, and so severe a pain in 'one of my hips, that I am almost incapable of any attention 'to any thing else. Become quite useless, and nearly worn out, 'I beg you will pray God to give me patience, and such degree 'of ease as he shall think fit: and can only add, that as I hope 'my spirit is truly Christian towards all who love the Lord Jesus 'in sincerity, so I am, with particular esteem and thankfulness 'for the whole of your obliging behaviour to me through life,

'Your faithful friend and servant,

'Lambeth, July 13, 1768. 'THOMAS CANT.'*

* Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 128, 129.

* Memoirs, p. 130.

tention; for who is adequate to every object? But as a divine, and especially with relation to his acquaintance with the New Testament, and with Christian antiquity, perhaps he never had his equal. The works of our author being thus valuable, and relating to objects of the highest importance, it is not surprising that they should be held in great esteem, not only at home, but abroad. I have already mentioned, that the first part of the Credibility was translated into Low Dutch by the Rev. Mr. Cornelius Westerbaen of Utrecht, and into Latin by the Rev. Mr. John Christopher Wolff of Hamburgh. A German translation of it appeared at Berlin and at Leipsic, in 1750, by the Rev. Mr. David Bruhn of Memel in Prussia, and Mr. John David Heilman; and it was accompanied with a large Preface, by the Rev. Professor Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten. The second part of the Credibility was likewise translated both in Holland and in Germany. In 1751, the German translation of the fourth volume was printed, and the whole design may probably have since been completed. The Vindication of the three Miracles was also translated into German, by the Rev. Mr. Meyenberg, and published at Zell, in 1750, together with a Preface, written by the Rev. Dr. Plesken. A translation of the Discourses on the Circumstances of the Jewish people appeared at Halle, in 1754; and of the Treatise of the Demoniacs, at Bremen, in 1760.[a]

The literary connections of Dr. Lardner were extensive; and he was particularly on a very friendly footing with his learned contemporaries among the dissenters. This has already been sufficiently apparent in the notice which, in the course of the present narrative, there has been occasion to take of Lord Barrington, Dr. Hunt, Mr. Tomkins, Mr. Hallet, Dr. Ward, Dr. Benson, Dr. Chandler, and Dr. Doddridge. Our author had a high regard and esteem for Mr. Mole, and they freely communicated to each other their opinions and remarks on subjects of religion and literature. He corresponded with Mr. Brekell of Liverpool, the writer of some valuable tracts on points of Biblical criticism. In the latter part of his life, Dr. Lardner's greatest personal intimacy was with Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Caleb Fleming. This gentleman lived within a few doors of him, and there was a perfect conformity betwixt them with respect to their theological sentiments. Residing so near to each other, for between twenty and thirty years, their intimacy grew up to the most unreserved confidence. My friend Dr. Towers has favoured me with the perusal of a series of letters, written to Dr. Fleming by Dr. Lardner, in which he freely disclosed his thoughts concerning men and things. Dr. Fleming was a man of great integrity, and of an acute and vigorous understanding, but in regard to learning, not by any means to be named with his friend. He was for a time minister to a small congregation at Bartholomew Close, after which he succeeded the celebrated Dr. James Forster at Pinner's Hall. Few people have written a greater number of pamphlets, some of which, being published without his name, were but little noticed by the world. Others of his tracts were better received, and several of them are curious and valuable. There are instances in which he was singular, not to say whimsical, in his positions. His writings might have been more generally acceptable and useful, if they had been free from a certain quaintness and obscurity of style. Aiming at originality and strength of expression, he often lost perspicuity, and never attained to elegance. He was a determined enemy to civil and ecclesiastical tyranny, and a very zealous Socinian.

Dr. Lardner's connections and friendships were not confined to persons of his own religious communion. He was conversant with several respectable clergymen of the church of England, and received from them testimonies of their esteem for his character, and approbation of his works. The letters which passed between him and bishop Waddington, and his long and uninterrupted acquaintance with archbishop Secker, have already been mentioned. He maintained a large correspondence both at home and abroad; and particularly in America and Germany. In consequence of the reputation he had acquired by his publications, he was visited by most of the learned foreigners who came over to England; and, after their return to their own countries, many grateful acknowledgments were transmitted to him of the friendly reception he had given them, and the assistance they had derived from him in their literary designs and pursuits.[b]

Such being the excellencies which Dr. Lardner possessed, both as a writer and a man, it was natural that he should often be spoken of in terms of respect and applause. Lord Barrington concluded his correspondence with him, concerning Jairus's daughter, in the following language: 'Thus I think our controversy ends. But our friendship and correspondence I hope never will, but with our lives: and our

[a] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 125, 126. [b] Ibid.

'friendship, I hope, then but for a season. I have had so much satisfaction and instruction from your 'great learning and judgment, and from your patience, candour, openness, and obliging manners, that, when- 'ever I have difficulties to put, in the future course of my enquiries, or want to see what difficulties my senti- 'ments are liable to, I shall take the liberty to trouble you, unless you forbid me; or (if your great civility will 'not allow you to do that) I forbear, from the sense I have of how much I rob the world, in the result of the 'learned pursuits they justly expect from you, by such kind of interruptions as those I have given you.'[a]

This was a tribute paid to Dr. Lardner's merit in early life; since which he has been justly applauded by a variety of respectable writers. Dr. Benson speaks of our author as 'his highly esteemed friend;' and refers his readers to the Credibility, as a fair, full, and impartial account of the testimonies of the ancient Fathers.[b]

'With respect to the external evidence of Christianity,' says Dr. Jebb, 'it may be observed, that the 'works of the very learned and ingenious Dr. Lardner, are calculated to produce a firm persuasion of the 'truth of those historical facts which form the foundation of the Christian institution.'[c]

The bishop of Carlisle (Dr. Law) has prefaced a quotation from our author, in the following terms: 'I 'shall only beg leave to introduce the testimony of a candid and judicious writer, who appears to entertain 'right notions both of the nature of the Christian institution, and of the best means for the propagation and 'support of it; and who has supplied us with the most valuable collection of ancient evidences of its truth.'[d]

In an anonymous tract, known to be written by Mr. Lindsey, that gentleman observes, 'that the publica- 'tion of the letter on the Logos, in 1759, soon made a great revolution in the opinions of learned men.[e] For 'the piece was soon known to be his, though without his name; and his numerous writings were already in 'the highest request; his character also for probity, impartiality, for critical skill, and the knowledge of the 'scriptures, and of ecclesiastical history, inferior to none; and in some of these respects, superior to any of 'the age.'

The same gentleman, in the same publication, has drawn Dr. Lardner's portrait somewhat at large; and it is with particular pleasure that I present it to my readers. 'To praise the living would be invidious and 'awkward: but of those who have finished their course well, we may speak freely, and be heard. Is there a 'literary character that stands higher upon the lists of fame, as a man, a Christian, and a divine, than the 'late Dr. Lardner? After an education in a university abroad, at that time not inferior in learned tutors to 'either of our own, on his return to his own country, he became early acquainted with the worthy and 'learned in the church established, and out of it. Archbishop Secker, bred a dissenter like himself, cultivated 'and courted his friendship through life. His Vindication of some of our Lord's miracles against Mr. Wool- 'ston's attacks, is among the first upon that occasion, and the most candid. But his Credibility of the 'Gospel, in seventeen volumes, octavo, and Jewish and Heathen Testimonies to its Truth, in four volumes, 'quarto, have exhibited such a mass of evidence for it, and established it on so broad a foundation, as nothing 'can shake. In this he gives continually, curious and useful instances of critical skill and judgment: but his 'love of truth and impartiality are without example, in fairly representing every argument and objection, 'without the least discernible bias to any opinion or party. His piety and humility are conspicuous in all 'his writings, and particularly in his sermons, some of which are among the best models for pulpit-discourses 'in our language, in explaining important passages of the gospel, and pointing out the easy and natural 'instruction to be deduced from it.'[f]

Bishop Watson, in his Catalogue of Books of Divinity, having mentioned Dr. Lardner's Letter on the Logos, immediately subjoins some reflections, which are so admirable, that they cannot be omitted. 'Newton 'and Locke,' says his Lordship, 'were esteemed Socinians, Lardner was an avowed one; Clarke and Whiston 'were declared Arians; Bull and Waterland were professed Athanasians. Who will take upon him to say 'that these men were not equal to each other in probity and scriptural knowledge? And if that be admitted,

[a] Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 41, 42.

[b] Benson's Paraphrases, vol. i. p. 326, and vol. ii. p. 376. second edition.

[c] Short Account of Theological Lectures, quarto, 1772. p. 17, note.

[d] Considerations on the Theory of Religion, p. 30, note, seventh edition.

[e] I do not agree with the worthy and learned writer in this assertion. It does not appear to me that the influence of the Letter on the Logos was speedy, but slow and gradual, and in conjunction with other publications; among which may be mentioned Mr. Cardale's Treatise on the true Doctrine of the New Testament concerning Jesus Christ.

[f] Examination of Mr. Robinson's Plea for the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. Preface, p. xviii. xxvi. xxvii.

'surely we ought to learn no other lesson, from the diversity of their opinions, except that of perfect moderation and good-will towards all those who happen to differ from ourselves. We ought to entertain no other wish, but that every man may be allowed, without loss of fame or fortune, *et sentire quæ velit, et quæ sentiat dicere.* This absolute freedom of enquiry, it is apprehended, is the best way of investigating the sense of scripture, the most probable mean of producing an uniformity of opinion, and of rendering the gospel dispensation as intelligible to us in the eighteenth century, as, we presume, it was to Christians in the first.'

The ingenious writer of the Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq. has mentioned a short, but beautiful encomium, which was passed on Dr. Lardner, and one of his eminent contemporaries, by a very learned person, who has often said, that if he were sentenced to imprisonment for seven years, he would not desire to take any books with him into his confinement besides the works of Jortin and Lardner.[a]

As several of our author's publications were of course subjected to the examination of the different literary journals which this country produces, the conductors of them were necessarily led to give, on various occasions, their sentiments concerning him; which, I believe, has uniformly been done in terms of approbation and respect. In one place, the Monthly Review thus speaks: 'Before we present our readers with a view of what is contained in this volume (the first volume of the ancient Jewish and Heathen Testimonies), we cannot, as friends to the religion of our country, forbear expressing the grateful sense we have of the eminent service our learned and worthy author has done to the cause of Christianity, by his excellent writings in defence of it. Of the many able writers that have appeared in the present age, as advocates for the truth of the Christian religion, there are none, in our opinion, that deserve to be preferred to Dr. Lardner; few, indeed, that can be compared with him. In point of learning, his merit is very considerable: but what is much more valuable than mere learning, there is a pleasing simplicity in his manner of writing, and a very uncommon degree of candour and impartiality. He seems to have nothing in view but the discovery of truth; scorns the mean and contemptible arts of misrepresentation, or concealing objections and difficulties, and gives his readers a clear and full view of the subject. How amiable is such a character! how worthy of imitation![b]

In another place, the Monthly Reviewers have expressed themselves in the following language: 'From the great service rendered to Christianity by the laborious pursuits and learned compilations of Dr. Lardner, his name will ever be distinguishedly honoured in the history of the Christian church. Dr. Priestley, when he speaks of this most learned and excellent man, generally calls him, 'the prince of modern divines;' and we think this tribute to his illustrious merit not improperly paid. To the most elaborate and extensive investigations of ecclesiastical antiquity, he added all that knowledge of Greek and Roman literature, which enabled him so thoroughly to discriminate the comparative worth and excellence of the sacred and profane writers. To the learning of the scholar he added also the veracity of the historian; while the amiable candour and humility of the Christian gave a pleasing lustre and embellishment to his more eminent accomplishments.'[c]

Language to a like purpose occurs in different parts of the Critical Review; but I shall content myself with referring to one place, in which Dr. Lardner is described as master of a great extent of reading; as possessing a clear head to collect and state facts and evidences, and a sound judgment to determine concerning the weight of them; and as having spared no time or pains in his laborious task.[d]

In consequence of the recent original of the English Review, it hath had but one opportunity of characterizing our author; but that opportunity it hath embraced with distinguished zeal and energy. 'The name of Lardner,' says the reviewer, 'is well known in the literary world. No writer, from the very existence of Christianity, ever conferred so essential service upon true religion, or contributed more to clear up its evidence and elucidate its antiquities. Accordingly, there is no country, where the Christian religion is professed, in which his name is not held in the greatest esteem. Every church would have been proud to boast of him as their member, and his voluminous productions have been translated into almost all the languages of Europe.

'Dr. Lardner certainly possessed a very clear and sound understanding, and great shrewdness of judg-

[a] Memoirs of T. Hollis, Esq. vol. i. p. 254.—I am indebted to my excellent friend, Dr. Disney, for collecting and presenting me with the preceding testimonies.

[b] Monthly Review, vol. xxxii. p. 1.

[c] Monthly Review, vol. lxiv. p. 33.

[d] Critical Review, vol. iv. p. 517.

'ment. His industry in the pursuit, and perseverance in the investigation of truth, are without example. 'But the quality by which he was chiefly distinguished, and which was perhaps of more service to him than 'all the rest, was the candour and ingenuity of his mind. He examined every thing without prejudice. 'Seated, as it were, in a more elevated sphere than other men, he was not subject to have his understanding 'darkened by the clouds, and jaundiced by the noxius mediums, of partiality, bigotry, and enthusiasm. 'He 'has, therefore, been as successful in refuting the false and suborned evidences of Christianity, as in asserting 'and illustrating the true. Thus he has contributed, more than all the mistaken zeal and the pious frauds of 'a thousand saints and pontiffs could have done, to the rendering it that simple, venerable, attractive, and 'engaging structure which God and Jesus intended it. It is no longer obscured by impostures, and dis-'figured by the false props and buttresses that were brought to support it.'[a]

A manuscript eulogium on Dr. Lardner has been put into my hands by a friend, Ebenezer Radcliffe, Esq. the principal part of which is inserted at the end of this narrative.

I have only recited the testimonies given to our author by writers of our own country; but foreigners have not been deficient in spreading forth his praise. Those who have translated his works have introduced them with proper encomiums on their merit; and different learned men have taken occasion to express their sense of the excellence and value of his productions. Walchius, in his Bibliotheca Theologica Selecta, calls the 'Credibility' *insigne opus*; and it is highly spoken of in the Bibliotheca Germanica, and the Bibliotheque, ancient and modern, of Le Clerc.[b]

Every well-disposed reader must contemplate with pleasure, on a life which was so admirably and usefully spent as was that of Dr. Lardner. Such a life presents us with a beautiful proof of the dignity to which the human mind is capable of ascending, when it is formed on right views of the Supreme Being, and on the true principles and spirit of the Gospel. Nor may a character like this be reflected upon with pleasure only, but with the greatest advantage. The private virtues of Dr. Lardner may justly be recommended to universal imitation. His love to God and benevolence to man, his regard to truth, his integrity, his purity, his moderation, his candour, his meekness, and his humility, it would be the honour and happiness of Christians in general to select as the models of their temper and conduct.

Dr. Lardner may be held out, in particular, as a fine example to those of his own profession. It is not, indeed, in the power of every one to attain to the same extent of learning, or to perform the same services to Christianity; but it should be the ambition of such as are engaged in the work of the ministry, to follow after him with diligence and zeal, though they may not be able to do it with equal steps. As the dissenters had the honour of producing Dr. Lardner, he will naturally be the object of emulation to the dissenting clergy. They will so far look up to him as their pattern, as to endeavour to qualify themselves for appearing, when occasions call for it, in the great departments of literature, and especially in the cause of religious truth and liberty, and in the defence and explication of the sacred writings. Some among them, at least, will, it is hoped, always be inspired with this disposition; in consequence of which they will not only gain reputation to themselves, and reflect credit on the body to which they belong; but, what is of infinitely greater importance, will unite with the wise, the learned, and the good of every denomination, and of every country, in promoting such a knowledge of religion in general, and of the Christian religion in particular, as will be found eminently conducive to the truest improvement and comfort of the present life, and to the everlasting felicity of human beings.

[a] English Review for December 1785, p. 423.

[b] From the obliging information of the Rev. Dr. Gosset.

EXTRACT

FROM

A MANUSCRIPT EULOGIUM

ON

NATHANIEL LARDNER, D. D.

BY EBENEZER RADCLIFF, ESQ.

THE Christian religion being founded on facts, to establish them, and the credit of their relaters, is of the utmost consequence. Our author, therefore, thought the highest respect he could pay to it was, to bring it to the test of history; and the result of his enquiries was, that, so far from depending upon the forged miracles, pious frauds, and spurious testimonies of the ancient fathers, or the metaphysical casuistry of modern defenders, he found it to be the weaker for their alliance; and, like a skilful engineer, he demolished the buttresses, which an officious or timorous zeal erected, that the Gospel, having nothing to defend but its own fortress, might be the more firm and impregnable.

So delicate were his sentiments respecting religion, and so jealous was he of its honour and purity, that, so far from conniving at any flaws in its character, he could not bear it should be suspected; and, I am persuaded, he would not, even for the immortality it proposes, have consented to admit one unfair or unsound argument in its defence.

While his extensive learning qualified him to try the merits of every evidence, his unbiassed integrity, and sacred veneration for truth, enabled him to pass an impartial sentence.

As his testimony was honest, so it was disinterested. He had none of that literary pride and ambition which are a disgrace to the pursuit of truth, and lessen the credit of its champions. His profession debarred him from worldly emoluments and honours, and he aspired to no recompence, but that which flows from the nature of true religion, and the approbation of its divine author. So that, if I were disposed to rest my faith on any human authority, it should be his.

I should regard the sanction of his decision as the next in credibility to inspiration itself, and almost entitled to implicit veneration. But this was what he never wanted; and he has so clearly and candidly represented the grounds of his own belief, that every person has an opportunity of judging for himself: and if there are any who, after such a discussion, can remain enemies or neuters, we must leave them to God and their own consciences, without entering into their hearts or determining the motives by which they have been governed.

It must be acknowledged, that revelation has met with many able and learned advocates, who have set the various evidence of it in the most striking points of view. Its internal excellence, and consistency with the divine perfections, have been clearly illustrated. The expediency of divine interposition has been fairly deduced from the errors and imperfections of philosophy. The propriety of the time of Christ's appearance has been proved from a concurrence of a multitude of circumstances; and the agreement betwixt reason and scripture has been fully ascertained: and many other arguments strongly presumptuous, though not decisive, in its favour, have furnished occasion for the display of much ingenious but unnecessary reasoning.

Let but the faithfulness of the sacred records be established, and the truth of those extraordinary facts which attested the divine mission of Christ be confirmed, and we may challenge the world to dispute the conclusions which are deducible from them.

The gospel he taught must be the oracle of truth, the rule of our faith and conduct, and the ground of our immortal hopes and expectations.

This important task was reserved for this learned author, and Providence seems to have blessed him not only with talents and fidelity, but with an extent of life equal to the execution of it.

To vindicate the evangelical historians from ignorance, incapacity, and collusion; to fix the credit of the sacred records by the concurrent testimony of Jews and Gentiles, scoffers and apostates; to trace the progress of the church through several successive ages; and to shew the regular and faithful transmission of the Scriptures without innovation or corruption, were the great objects of his studies for many years: and such is the perspicuity with which he describes and illustrates the transactions of Christ's ministry, that he appears more like a contemporary with the apostles than an inhabitant of later ages.

If to this we add, that cloud of witnesses which he collected from all quarters, to give their sanction to the miracles, doctrine, moral sublimity, and wonderful effects of the Christian religion, it must be allowed, that he has erected a monument to his great Master and himself, which shall last as long as the world endures.

As his writings justified and explained the leading facts of the New Testament, his character was a living pattern of its rules and precepts. His heart was full of the generous warmth of its benevolent spirit; but his sentiments were cool and dispassionate, the result of calm enquiry and steady conviction.

When he thought it his duty, and for the honour of revelation, to call in question common opinions, he did it with unaffected candour and modesty, and, at the same time, with that integrity and simplicity, which, if it did not bring over his adversary, never offended him. He was respectful without ceremony, friendly without officiousness, and obliging without mean compliances. He preserved a dignity of character without reserve, and united the acuteness of the critic with the manners of a gentleman and the spirit of a Christian.

The goodness of his temper excited a prejudice in favour of his principles; and as his writings were free from acrimony, his life was clear of reproach.

On the whole, when I consider his ardour for truth, yet tenderness for error, his learning mixed with so much diffidence and humility, his zeal tempered with so much prudence, and his faith accompanied with so much benevolence; when I observe the simplicity of his deportment, his uniform and unaffected piety, his attachment to his divine Master, and good-will to mankind, I cannot help saying, "This was the disciple whom Jesus loved."

APPENDIX.

No. I.

LETTERS BETWEEN DR. WADDINGTON, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER, AND MR. LARDNER.

Reverend Sir, Eton, near Windsor, Nov. 14, 1729.

I HAVE received at this place your most agreeable present of a Vindication, &c. against Mr. Woolston, and do beg leave to return you my most sincere and hearty thanks for it; you have certainly took a very proper and Christian way with him, and I wish it may have the designed effect upon him: I have no manner of objection to make against any one line in the book; you have pursued both him and his Jew very closely; and if they are capable of conviction, you seem to be the man whom God has raised up for that great service: I cannot say less of your excellent performance; and what I have said comes, I assure you, from the sincerity of my heart.

Will you then, dear Sir, give me leave as sincerely, to take notice of a passage or two in your preface which as yet I cannot so well digest, if I take you right in them, and I am sure I have no intention to mistake you wilfully.

Page 4, you have these words, 'If by way of such a reply he 'means a reply without abusive railing terms, or invoking the 'aid of the civil magistrate;' and a line or two after you oppose 'solid reasons and arguments' to 'pains and penalties:' Now these are passages that I own I cannot perfectly approve of: you seem in the first to put abusive railing terms, upon the same foot with invoking the aid of the civil magistrate; and in the latter, to intimate as if pains and penalties had been demanded by somebody or other to be inflicted upon Mr. Woolston, to supply the place of solid reasons and arguments. If I am right in putting this interpretation upon your words, I must beg leave to say, that, in my poor opinion, there is no occasion for them; I don't know any one person of character, who, in writing against Mr. Woolston, has invoked the aids of the civil magistrate to inflict pains and penalties upon Mr. Woolston, for being an Infidel, or writing against the Christian religion; but only for writing against it in such a blasphemous, abusive, scandalous manner, as I think may very justly raise the indignation and resentment of every honest man, whether Christian or not. The two bishops of London and St. David have expressly declared this in print; and I believe it is the sentiment of many more of that order in the church, if not of all, that (as you very well express it in the 11th page of your preface) 'it is the plea-'sure of Christ that men should not be compelled to receive 'his law by the punishments of this life, or the fear of them; 'but that they should be left to propose their doubts and ob-'jections—provided it be done in a grave, serious manner.' But give me leave, dear Sir, to ask you, with some concern, whether Mr. Woolston has proposed his doubts and difficulties in a grave, serious manner? and if you say he has not done it, as I believe you will, do not you seem to intimate yourself, by putting in that reserve, as if you thought the civil magistrate might punish him for not observing it; or at least, that there is nothing, in punishing him for the breach of all the laws of Christian charity and common decency, contrary to the will and pleasure of Jesus Christ? This then is the difficulty that sticks with me in respect to these passages in your preface: and as I have very freely, and yet, I hope, in a very friendly manner, mentioned them to you, so I doubt not but you will, in the same free and kind way, endeavour to remove them; which will make me perfectly easy; for I am sorry to meet with any thing in your writings (so truly serviceable to the Christian religion) that may give the least occasion of offence to the sincere lovers of Jesus Christ and his gospel. I am, with the utmost respect, esteem, and gratitude,

Reverend Sir,
Your affectionate
faithful friend,
EDWARD CHICHESTER.

To this Mr. Lardner answered as follows:

My Lord,

I HAVE received the favour of your very kind and friendly letter, for which I am greatly indebted to your Lordship. As your approbation of what I have written in the defence of Christianity affords me the highest satisfaction, so it is no small concern to me that there has been any thing said in the preface which is offensive to a person of your Lordship's known judgment and integrity; who have also expressed so much kindness to me, beyond my desert or expectation.

I believe (and think, I may be positive), that when I wrote those expressions (preface, page 4), I had no regard to a demand made by any one, of a punishment on Mr. Woolston for his writings. I only intended to disown, in plain terms, which might not be mistaken, the principles of persecution, which he had charged upon so many of his adversaries. As when I mentioned a reply without abusive terms, I had no reference to any reply written in that way (for I have seen no such, nor has he complained of any thing of that nature that I know of, besides his being called an Infidel, whereas, he says, he is a Christian), so when I wished his conviction without pains and penalties, I had no reference to any demand made of them. But I do own, that, in the first paragraph of page 11, I had a reference to a demand, which I thought had been made for punishing him for his writings. And, I suppose, if he should be punished, it will be for writing against Christianity, and not for his manner of doing it.

I am far from thinking that Mr. Woolston has written in a grave and serious manner: and I have strongly expressed my dislike of his manner in the latter end of page 11, and page 12.

Your Lordship freely declares, he ought not to be punished for being an Infidel, nor for writing at all against the Christian religion; which appears to me a noble declaration. If the governors of the church and civil magistrates had all along acted up to this principle, I think, the Christian religion had been before now well-nigh universal. But I have supposed it to be a consequence from this sentiment, that if men have an allowance to write against the Christian religion, there must be also considerable indulgence as to the manner likewise. This has appeared to me a part of that meekness and forbearance, which the Christian religion obliges us to; who are to reprove, rebuke, and exhort with all long-suffering. The proper punishment of a low, mean, indecent, scurrilous way of writing, seems to be

neglect, contempt, scorn, and general indignation. Your Lordship has observed (in my opinion) extremely well, that this way of writing is such as may justly raise the indignation and resentment of every honest man, whether Christian or not. This punishment he has already had in part, and will probably have more and more, if he should go on in his rude and brutal way of writing. And if we leave all further punishment to Him, to whom vengeance belongs, I have thought it might be much for the honour of ourselves, and of our religion. But if he should be punished farther, the stream of resentment and indignation will turn; especially if the punishment should be severe; and it is likely, that a small punishment will not suffice to engage to silence, nor to an alteration of the manner of writing.

I truly think, that the Christians of this nation are at present under a great trial; and I heartily wish we may behave so under it, as may be most for the lasting honour of our religion. It seems to me much better for us as Christians, to err somewhat (if it be an error) on the side of tenderness and meekness, rather than on the side of severity; nothing having done the Christian cause greater prejudice, than the severities practised by some who have bore the name of Christian. It has seemed to me (as I have said) to be a consequence of permitting men to write against Christianity, that we must also shew indulgence toward the manner, in some measure. But no one is to be allowed to say any thing injurious to men's characters: this is properly a breach of the peace. I am persuaded, that no man has been more sensibly grieved and offended than myself, at the abusive treatment that has been given to men of the highest order and greatest merit in the church. And if any thing of this kind has been said, cognizable by the laws, no man can complain of a just punishment.

I have, my Lord, freely represented my sentiments, which are submitted to your Lordship's consideration with the greatest humility and deference. I hope, I have nothing more at heart, than the general interest of the Christian religion. And if I have declared in favour of too great lenity, it has been purely because I have supposed it would be, in the end, most for the advantage of that good cause.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's
Most obliged, most humble,
and obedient Servant,
N. LARDNER.

Nov. 22, 1729.

To which his Lordship answered:

Reverend Sir, Eton College, Nov. 25, 1729.

I HAVE received yours of the 22d, and am very well satisfied with the explication you have been pleased to give me of your meaning in those passages in the 4th page of your preface, which, upon the first reading, seemed to me to have a more particular view than you now declare they had, and I can very readily believe what you now assert to be true, and should indeed beg your pardon for my mistake (though it was by no means a wilful one) if the candour that appears in every part of your letter did not tempt me to think you have granted it without my asking.

I don't see that you and I are likely to differ much, as to any other points touched upon in your letter; our general principles, with respect to the true method of propagating and defending our holy religion, are, I believe, the same; and I wish as heartily as you can do, that no other had ever been followed by ecclesiastical or civil governors; but still I am at a loss how to understand what you are pleased to say, 'That there must be likewise 'considerable indulgence allowed as to the manner of writing 'against the Christian religion.' I am not sure whether, if Mr. Woolston heard this, he would not say, it is all the indulgence he desires; for he has declared, 'that he cannot write 'otherwise than he has done already;' and if for that reason, because he cannot write otherwise, he must be indulged in writing in his own way, there is no doubt but that he will go on in writing after such a manner, as you seem to think may justly raise the indignation and resentment of every honest man, whether Christian or not; and for which I cannot, I own, think that bare contempt is a sufficient punishment; considering the great mischief such a way of writing must do, and daily does in the world: I am willing to indulge such writers as far as ever Christian meekness and charity require me to go; but I would just beg leave to ask, what opinion you think St. Paul, or any other truly primitive Christian, would have had, of any person writing in *those* days (and that while he still professed himself a Christian) in such a manner as Mr. Woolston does in *these?* what do you imagine their conduct would have been? whether they would have carried the Christian principles of meekness and tenderness so far as to have indulged him in such a manner of writing, in hopes of working his conviction in that way? It does not appear, by those instances we have in the epistles of the exercise of Christian discipline in those days, that they were then indolent in matters of such consequence to the Christian religion! nor do I think we are under any obligation to do so now, and therefore I should be unwilling to give any indulgence at all to 'such a manner' of writing, much less a 'considerable 'one,' as your words (considering the occasion on which they are used, and to which they must refer) seem to imply that we should. You, indeed, add afterwards, 'That no man is to be 'allowed to say any thing injurious to men's characters, and 'that if any thing of this kind has been said, no man can com-'plain of a just punishment, for this is properly a breach of the 'peace.' Now no one who has read Mr. Woolston's books or prefaces can surely have the least doubt upon his mind, but that he is in this respect guilty to the highest degree; and therefore, in your opinion, deserves a just punishment; but besides this, I think a sincere Christian may, and ought to go farther; he may very justly be concerned for the honour of his blessed Saviour, and have some real stirrings in his breast for preventing such abuses of that holy name as have no sort of argument in them to persuade and convince; cannot be the result of any fair reasoning against the Christian religion, but must necessarily proceed from a spirit fit to be abhorred by all mankind, and can never be a humane way of 'propagating truth,' whether for or against Christianity. These, dear Sir, are my free and impartial thoughts upon that particular passage in your letter which mentions the 'considerable indulgence' that ought to be made as to the 'manner' of writing against Christianity. And I hope, upon the whole, that you and I don't differ so much, even on this point, as we may seem to do. What punishments are proper for such a manner of writing, or whether it may be looked upon as a breach of the peace in a 'Christian society,' and so by your own allowance punishable by the civil magistrate, are points I shall not enter into now, any farther than to declare freely my opinion, that such a writer ought to be punished by the ecclesiastical censure of the church, and declared excommunicate by a proper authority; and if he could be farther restrained from writing on in the same 'outrageous manner' by the civil magistrate (with a liberty still to use reason instead of railing), I don't see how this could be any prejudice to the Christian religion, any contradiction to the true forbearing spirit of it, any injury to the just liberties of mankind, or any injustice to the writer himself, but in my poor opinion the greatest kindness that could possibly be done him. I heartily thank you, good Sir, for the present you have made me of your additions to your former excellent book, which, I am sure, I shall read with a great deal of profit, as well as pleasure, as soon as they come to hand. You will be so good as to excuse me in not transcribing this long letter, which indeed (considering the many corrections in it), I should do, but such compliments between friends will, I hope, not be expected, nor am I sure if I should attempt it, not to commit again as many faults as I mend. I am, therefore, without any more ceremony, and with the greatest sincerity and respect,

Reverend Sir,
Your very faithful Friend,
and humble Servant,
EDWARD CHICHESTER.

Mr. Lardner answered:

My Lord, December 2, 1729.

I HAVE the favour of your letter of the 25th of November, which, I hope, your Lordship will permit me to say, is a pattern of condescension and goodness; nor can I help esteeming it an honour to me, that my sentiments are so agreeable to that truly Christian spirit expressed in your letter.

The reasons of my saying that it was a consequence of permitting men to write against the Christian religion, 'that there 'must be likewise considerable indulgence as to the manner of 'writing,' were chiefly these: that the permission of writing

against the Christian religion contained in it so much, that the 'manner' of it also should be bore with, in a considerable degree; and secondly, the cause of those who oppose Christianity is so bad and desperate, that they who argue against it are naturally, and almost necessarily, led into an unfair way of arguing. If men are so weak, or so wicked, as to write against Christianity, I expect to see them make use of some bad arts to support their cause. The fact has been agreeable to this supposition. The writers in the defence of Christianity have actually exceeded their adversaries, not only in their arguments and reasons, but also in the manner of arguing and reasoning.

If what Mr. Woolston says, that he 'cannot write otherwise,' be true, it farther confirms this supposition, and is a shameful truth for him and his cause, publicly acknowledged by himself.

To your Lordship's question, What I think would have been the conduct of St. Paul, and other primitive Christians, in a like case? I readily answer, my Lord, that, I believe, they would have pronounced a sentence of excommunication, and it would, in my opinion, be justly pronounced upon Mr. Woolston. The sentiments advanced by him, and his manner of defending them, do both together, and each of them singly, deserve that sentence.

Mr. Woolston has writ in a most abusive and injurious manner to men's characters, but I did not know that he had been prosecuted for it, though I thought he well deserved it.

I have also the honour to agree with your Lordship, that we ought to have a very great zeal and concern for the honour of our blessed Saviour, and an abhorrence of all ways, 'not humane, of propagating truth, whether for or against' Christianity; or that have a plain tendency to destroy a sense of religion and virtue in men's minds.

I conclude with humbly acknowledging your Lordship's goodness in communicating to me your sentiments upon these matters in so kind and friendly a manner.

I am, my Lord,
Your Lordship's
'Most obliged, most humble,
and obedient Servant,
N. LARDNER.

APPENDIX, N° II.

LETTER OF MR. LARDNER TO LORD BARRINGTON.

My Lord, March 7, 1729-30.

I AM very sensible of the honour done me by your Lordship's approbation of the "Vindication of three Miracles, &c." and have a great deal of reason to rejoice, that the manner in which the argument for free writing is managed in the preface is not unacceptable to your Lordship; for, as to the principles themselves, I had no doubt but they would be agreeable to your judgment, however they may be suspected or disliked by others, who have less studied the Christian doctrine; a true Christian may suffer on account of his religion, but he can never make others suffer on account of theirs. Whatever may be the consequence of it, we are not to support Christianity by force. Our blessed Saviour, rather than make use of compulsion, would choose to be without a follower. John vi. 67.

I will briefly go over all your Lordship's difficulties relating to the death of Jairus's daughter, and then offer some considerations in favour of the common opinion.

I. 'There is not the conclusive evidence that Jairus's daughter was dead, &c.' The evidence is conclusive and satisfactory here. If they might be mistaken in her case, so they might in Lazarus, when buried: and if buried, while in a deliquium or sleep, he might have continued in it several days.

II. Σώθήσεται in the text is a general word. It does not directly express healing barely, but that she should do well, let the case be never so desperate; and this was as much as it became our Saviour to say at that time.

III. Our Saviour, your Lordship knows very well, did not speak in Greek, but in Syriac. Probably he used one and the same word, when he said "Lazarus sleeps," and the "Maid sleeps." That the Evangelists have used καθεύδω in one place, and κοιμέομαι in another, is of no manner of importance; since the disciples understood him to speak of natural sleep, when he said, "Lazarus sleepeth."

IV. The saying, she was "not dead," as well as she "sleeps," does not appear to strengthen the assertion. It is all one and the same thing. I think we ought to make no scruples here, now we have the story of Lazarus, in which it is related, first, that Christ said, this sickness is not "unto death," and yet he did die: and then "our friend Lazarus sleeps:" meaning at the same time, that Lazarus was dead, and he would raise him up. As when he said Lazarus's sickness "was not unto death," he must be understood of a final death; so when he said, the maid "is not dead," he must be understood also of a final death, since all her friends knew she was dead.

V. The matter of the fifth objection serves, in my opinion, to shew the propriety of the common interpretation. "Be gone," for there is no occasion for you; the maid is not to be buried, she is not finally dead, but will be raised up, as out of a sleep; therefore your lamentations are not seasonable.

VI. The last objection is taken from the circumstances. I perceive no impropriety at all in the action of taking her by the hand, supposing her to be dead; nor in the ordering 'meat to be set before her.' This last indeed would have been very improper in the case of the two other persons raised to life, who were abroad, but she was at home. Their life, health, and strength, would also appear sufficiently in walking home before the company present, with all the vigour and agility becoming men. But as this other case was in a woman, who cannot with decency show strength and vigour by leaping, or agility in walking, and as she was at home, eating was a very proper sign to be given of her health and strength. Moreover, as her resurrection was performed before so few witnesses, it was very proper to have some more near, close witnesses of her life and health; and such the servants and friends of the family would be, when they immediately saw her eat.

The considerations whereby I would support the common opinion, are these:

I. If Jairus's daughter was not dead, Matthew and Mark have given no instance of a resurrection to life by our Saviour; which would be very strange, since there were several, and they appear to know there were. Another consequence is this: If it be supposed, that Jairus's daughter was not dead, 'tis impossible to prove to an infidel, that the other two persons were dead. Her friends supposed her dead; Matt. ix. 24. When Jesus said, the maid was not dead, "they laughed him to scorn:" Mark v. 40; "and they laughed him to scorn." Luke viii. 53; "they laughed him to scorn, knowing she was dead." We must take the cases of those Christ healed or raised as they are brought to him, or represented to him by those who may be reasonably supposed to know what their cases are; or we overthrow all evidence, and weaken the credit, not of this only, but of all the other miracles of our Saviour.

II. Matthew and Mark thought she was dead, and that this miracle was a resurrection to life, or else they would have related some other miracle of this sort.

III. All the three Evangelists represent her dead. Matt. ix. 18. 24. Mark v. 35. 40. Luke viii. 49, 53.

IV. The common paraphrase of, "the maid is not dead, &c." that is, she is not finally dead, so dead as to be buried, but shall be raised, as out of a sleep, is very agreeable to our Saviour's way of speaking upon some other occasions; and is extremely suitable to silence those weepers and lamenters to whom he spoke.

I intended to have concluded here; but, upon a review, I fear your Lordship may think I have not paid a sufficient regard to the first circumstance of the sixth objection, viz. 'that our Saviour takes her by the hand, before he says, "Arise!" which is not an action suited to raise one absolutely incapable to help herself." There is no more assistance given to a lame man than to a dead man by taking him by the hand to enable him to walk alone. No action or word is used in working a

miracle, because there is any virtue in the word spoken, or the action used, of taking hold by the hand, or in any other action assignable. All the virtue is owing to the infinite, almighty power of God alone, who graciously performs the work, when those words are spoken, or those actions are done by his servants, by his orders.

Again, 'That our Saviour takes her by the hand, before he says, Arise!' Perhaps, the taking by the hand, and the word arise, were simultaneous, or the word arise was spoken immediately after Christ took her by the hand, as soon after as could be. But I shall shew presently (as I apprehend) the propriety of the different method taken by Christ and Peter; though it is by no means necessary, that we should be able to assign the precise propriety of every word or action recorded in the history of these matters. It seems to me, not becoming Peter to make use of any action, that looked like helping a man perfectly impotent (such as taking him by the hand) before he first pronounced these, or the like words: "In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, arise and walk:" but after that it was proper enough for him to use an action, which is a sort of token of kindness, and take him by the hand.

When Peter raised Dorcas, he first went to prayer, and did not take her by the hand till after she had opened her eyes, and sat up; that is, was perfectly restored to health and life by the Divine Being. It is too arrogant for an apostle, in the case especially of a dead person, to use an action that has an appearance of giving help, before he has been at prayer, or made some other address to God. But in our blessed Saviour it was highly proper and becoming, to take by the hand, in a kind and friendly manner, even a dead person, as if she were alive. Though no one would reasonably say there was any impropriety in Christ's saying Arise! to Jairus's daughter, before he took her by the hand, yet there does appear to me a peculiar propriety in our blessed Saviour's taking by the hand this dead young woman, before, or at the very instant, that he said, Arise!

I hope there is no reason for me to add a caution, that it ought not to be objected to me, that there was no such action used in the case of Lazarus, or the young man at Nain; because the circumstances of these cases are perfectly different. It would have been the highest impropriety for Christ to take Lazarus by the hand, whether he had himself gone into Lazarus's sepulchre, or Lazarus had been first brought up to him; it would also have been highly improper for our Saviour to have gone so near the young man at Nain, as to be able to touch him. He did as much as was proper before he raised him, in ordering the bier to stop. But as the young woman was laid in her chamber, and Jesus was brought thither, near to her, his taking her by the hand is highly proper; it is one of the beauties and proprieties of our Lord's actions in this story, which ought not to have been omitted, and with which I am now much delighted, and heartily thank your Lordship for helping me to it. It demonstrates the plenitude of divine power, and divine goodness, that were and are in him. It is an affecting, endearing specimen of the love and friendship of the Son of God, and in him of God himself, to poor mortal men.

But whether I am in the right or not in those thoughts just mentioned, with which I now please myself (but, however, do not think them of any great importance,) I apprehend I may except against an interpretation of a single phrase or expression, which is inconsistent with the rest of the narration. And I own, that I think this way of interpreting scriptures, would lead us into innumerable mistakes. I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most humble and obedient servant,

N. LARDNER.

APPENDIX, N° III.

LETTER SENT BY MR. LARDNER TO MR. LA ROCHE.

Sir,

THE exact care with which you read the books of the New Testament, appears not only in the judicious remarks and observations, which I have received from you, but also in the difficulties which you sometimes propose to me. As for the difficulty mentioned in your last, concerning the omission of the history of our Saviour's ascension, in the gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, though related by St. Mark, xvi. 19, and St. Luke, xxiii. 51, I might say, in behalf of St. John, that he had read St. Mark's and St. Luke's gospels: and that one main view he had in writing was, to put down those things which the other Evangelists had not mentioned: but I do not insist upon this. This omission may be accounted for by other considerations, which will justify St. Matthew as well as him.

'I. The design of all the Evangelists in their gospels, was to write such a history of Jesus, as would prove him to be the Christ.' That this was their design appears from the gospels themselves. And St. Luke has expressly said, that it was his, chap. xx. 31, "These things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God."

II. That Jesus is the Christ, is sufficiently shewn by his 'miracles, the extraordinary appearances from heaven in his 'favour during the course of his ministry, and by his resurrec-'tion from the dead, recorded by all the Evangelists.' Our Saviour had himself put the truth of his mission upon his resurrection, as a decisive proof of his claim; Matt. xvi. 4, compared with Luke xi. 29, 30; John ii. 18—22. And St. Paul says, Rom. i. 4, that Jesus was "declared to be the Son of God by the resurrection from the dead." See also Acts xvii. 3.

'III. By our Saviour's resurrection is always intended a resur-'rection to an endless life, without dying any more; and his 'ascension to the Father follows thereupon:' unless this had been the case, his resurrection, without any mention of his ascension, could not have been made (as it often is) the principal article of the Christian doctrine. "To be a witness with us of his resurrection." Acts i. 21.—"With great power gave the apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus." Chap. iv. 33.—"If thou shalt confess with thy mouth, and believe in thine heart, that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." Rom. x. 9. See also Acts xxvi. 23. 2 Tim. ii. 8.

But I will detain you a little longer upon this head, to shew both these things particularly.

'I. By our Saviour's resurrection is always intended a resur-'rection to an endless life, without dying any more.' This is sometimes expressed; when not expressed, it is implied. "Whom God has raised up (saith St. Peter,) having loosed the pains of death, because it was not possible that he should be holden of it." Acts ii. 24.—St. Paul at Antioch, in Pisidia: "And as concerning that he raised him from the dead, now no more to return to corruption." Acts. xiii. 34.—"Knowing that Christ, being raised from the dead, dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him." Rom. vi. 9.

When not expressed, it is implied. St. Peter, in his discourses to Cornelius, makes no express mention of Christ's ascension, but preaches only his resurrection, as a proof that he was made Lord of all. Acts x. 40, 42. And the same apostle saith, that "God has begotten us again to a lively hope, by the resurrection of Christ from the dead," &c. 1 Pet. i. 3, 4. St. Paul often argues in the same manner. At Athens he proves a future judgment by Christ, from his resurrection. Acts xvii. 31. And, Rom. xiv. 9. "To this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the quick and dead." And 1 Cor. xv. 12. and 20. Once more, 2 Cor. iv. 14.

I might likewise shew this to be agreeable to the style of the Evangelists, in their gospels. When our Lord, in St. Matt. xii. 40, publicly foretels his resurrection, saying "As Jonas," &c. it is implied that he should be no longer in the state of the dead. This is implied also in what he said to the disciples, Matt. xxvi. 32. It would be tedious to refer you to all the passages to this purpose in our Saviour's last discourses with his disciples, recorded by St. John: "I go to prepare a place for you," John xiv. 2. "Because I live, ye shall live also." ver. 19.

'II. Our Lord's ascension to heaven was also supposed to 'follow upon his resurrection.' This is evident from John xx. 17,

when he says to Mary Magdalen, "Touch me not! for I am not yet ascended to my Father," or, I do not immediately ascend to my Father. It seems, she supposed that being risen, he would presently ascend to heaven: he therefore assures her, that there would be other opportunities for her to converse with him, and to examine whether it was really he himself, or not; and for him to communicate to her, or others, what was needful they should be further informed of by him: "But go to my brethren, and say unto them, that I ascend to my Father, &c.;" which words shew, that, "I am about to ascend" to God, or, "I am risen," are in a manner equivalent terms. This is also evident from Acts ii. 23—35, particularly ver. 32, 33. God's "raising him up," was an assurance that he was also exalted, or very soon to be exalted.

'III. There was no absolute necessity, that the disciples, or 'any other persons, should see Christ ascend, or leave this 'earth.' For his exaltation to power was fully ascertained to the disciples by his resurrection (of which they had distinct proof), and by the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them: to others, by the testimony of the disciples, concerning his resurrection, by the gifts of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon them, and by the miracles they performed.

'IV. But though there was no necessity of it, yet there was 'great wisdom and goodness in our Saviour's granting the disciples a sight of his ascension from this earth;' as hinted by St. Mark and St. Luke in their gospels, and somewhat more particularly related, Acts i. 9—11;—because it was of use to confirm them, and to encourage them in the difficult work they were soon to enter upon. It is also of use the more to satisfy us, and all in after times, of the truth of his resurrection, and exaltation, though there are other things sufficient without it.

Upon the whole, it seems to me, that the Evangelists have acted wisely, and as the case required, in insisting chiefly on more important matters, than the sight the disciples had of Christ's ascension from this earth. And the conclusion of St. Matthew's gospel (to say nothing more of St. John's) after the evidences of our Saviour's resurrection, is a very proper conclusion of a history of Jesus, written to prove that he was the Christ. "And Jesus came, and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

I am your's, &c.

N. LARDNER.

APPENDIX, N° IV.

LETTER FROM DR. MORGAN TO MR. LARDNER, WITH HIS ANSWER.

Reverend Sir,

I HAVE lately read your Credibility of the Gospel History with a great deal of pleasure, and profit: I observe in it a spirit of candour and impartiality, not very common in works of this kind; and I think you have deserved very well of the learned world, by removing several considerable difficulties, which might seem to affect the evangelical history. It is a great unhappiness to your friends in general, and to me as much as any man, that by the nature of your disorder, we are deprived of the advantages we might otherwise reap from your conversation.

From what I had heard of your work, and of your known character, I had a curiosity to see what you had offered towards removing the difficulties concerning the historical and chronological account of Christ's birth and baptism, as related by the two Evangelists Matthew and Luke, or rather of St. Luke himself; for, as the matter now stands, the whole difficulty rests upon him, who places the birth of our Saviour in the days of Herod the Great, and at the time of the first taxation of the whole country of Judea by Cyrenius, and this by a decree issued out under the sole authority of Augustus, without the least mention of Herod's name; and with this farther chronological character, that Jesus was full thirty in the fifteenth of Tiberius. I must own that this has always appeared an unsurmountable difficulty to me, and that I am not yet able to get rid of it, after a careful consideration of all that you have observed and offered concerning it.

That any taxation, enrolment, or census should be laid upon the whole country by the sole authority of Augustus, while Herod was still king of Judea, and in high favour with the Emperor, seems to me incredible; and I think no such instance can be given, or any thing parallel to it, with respect to any country where the Romans owned a king.

The thing here speaks itself, and no man could doubt of it if he had not some prejudice or prepossession to the contrary. But our chronologers, in this point, have been forced to offer violence to Josephus, and to give up all his historical and chronological characters relating to the death of Herod the Great, and the nativity of Christ, though they are infinitely fond, at the same time, of maintaining the authority of Josephus in most other cases.

But what I lay the main stress on here is, the authority of Eusebius, towards the middle of the fourth century; who maintains that the taxation recorded by Luke, was the very same which was laid by Augustus upon the whole country of Judea after the banishment of Archelaus. And this is a decisive point, and even a demonstration with me, so far as history can be reduced to any thing of certainty, that Luke, Josephus, and Eusebius were in the right; and that there was no gospel extant in the time of Eusebius, and owned as authentic by the Catholics, which placed the birth of our Saviour in the days of Herod. For it is not to be imagined that Eusebius should contradict the genuine, authentic, and recognized gospels of his own times, or that he should make the Roman census laid upon Judea, as mentioned by Josephus and Luke, to have been the same, if this had been repugnant to the scriptures of that age.

The first chapter of Luke, from verse 4 to the end, is plainly a parenthesis, as it interrupts the course of the story in order of time, and besides, contains, as I think, several plain marks of ignorance, superstition, and forgery: for this parenthesis seems to have been taken from the pseudo Matthew, with some farther additions and improvements, which made the matter look still worse.

In Luke i. ver. 28—33, the angel Gabriel is introduced as appearing to the Virgin Mary, to assure her, by a revelation from God, that she should conceive, without the knowledge of man, in a miraculous way; and that the child born of her, should be that great Prince or temporal Deliverer who had been foretold by the prophets. "He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David. And he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end." ver. 32, 33.

This, one would think, should have been a sufficient declaration from God, to put Joseph and Mary out of doubt, that the child was to restore the kingdom to Israel, and settle an everlasting dominion in the house of David, as God had declared by the mouths of all the prophets; and as the whole nation had ever understood them, and founded their expectations upon them. And yet, afterwards, when Zacharias the father of John, Simeon, and Anna the prophetess, came to prophesy the same thing, Mary was very much astonished, she "kept all these sayings, and pondered them in her heart," but knew not what it would come to, or what such predictions should mean, though she had been let into the secret by a revelation from God before her conception. Matthew mentions nothing of this revelation from God to Mary by the angel, but places the whole credit of the story upon Joseph's dream, that which his spouse had declared to him, or should have declared, was true.

There is another remarkable difference between the pseudo Matthew, and Luke's annotator, which seems to discredit the whole story of Christ's being born under Herod. Matthew tells us, that soon after the nativity of our Saviour, Joseph, being warned of God in a dream, took the young child and his mother, and fled into Egypt till the death of Herod. But his emendator in Luke assures us, that after the parents had been at Jerusalem, and performed the ceremony of purification in the temple, "They returned again to Galilee to their own city Nazareth," Luke, chap. ii. 39, without the least mention of Herod, or any apprehensions they were under from him.

The genealogy of Christ in Matthew and Luke, supposes plainly that he had some natural descent, and that he was, as St. Paul affirms, according to the flesh, of the seed of Abraham, and descended from the fathers of the Jewish nation. But the story of our pseudo Matthew cannot possibly be reconciled with this.

Our modern chronologers, in attempting to justify this piece of false history, have been obliged to offer violence to Josephus, and give up all his historical and chronological characters with respect to the reign and death of Herod. And had it not been for such a prejudice, they could have found no difficulty at all in Josephus, as to this matter. That he was made or declared king of Judea in the 5th Julian year, or in the year of the Julian period 4673, and that he died in the 42d Julian year, or the year of the Julian period 4710, would have been thought very plain from Josephus, had there been nothing else in the case. In the Julian year 42, March 13, about three in the morning, there happened a great and remarkable eclipse of the moon, which is mentioned by Josephus as falling out a little before the pascha, when Herod's life was despaired of; and he died that year before the feast. This eclipse happened on the full moon before the pascha; and besides this, there is no other eclipse of the moon which can stand in competition with it, within the time that Herod's death may be disputed; I mean no eclipse visible in Judea, or within the observation of that country.

You may here observe, that this supposed revelation from God to Mary by the angel Gabriel, was the declaration of a thing false in fact, though such hope or expectation had been deeply rooted and confirmed in the whole Jewish nation for near one thousand years, or from the time of the revolt of the ten tribes. For after this, all their prophets had promised and foretold the restoration of the kingdom to the house of David, and the perpetual duration of it in that family after such a restoration.

But Christ himself always disclaimed this Messiahship, and declined all the overtures made to him about it; and he would not be received and owned as that branch from the root of Jesse, who was to restore the nation to their ancient liberties and independency, as had been declared to them from the mouths of all the prophets.

When our Saviour came upon his trial before Pilate, he renounced this Jewish character of the Messias, and declared that he had never set up any such pretensions, that he had made no such claim among the Jews, and that though this was what they charged him with, and he must die for it, yet they could bring no proof of it.

But surely, had the revelation of the angel to Mary, and the prophecies of Zacharias, Simeon, and Anna, been now produced and proved, the evidence must have been very strong against him, and he had been justly put to death as an impostor and false prophet.

I know not what you may think of me, Sir, for the freedom of these observations; but I can assure you, that I am not at all interested in the matter, and therefore should not be sorry if the quite contrary should happen to be true.

You may keep this correspondence as deep a secret as you please, for I shall discover the subject of it to nobody without your leave.

I thought I could not talk to any man of greater impartiality and integrity, or who might be more likely to remove my scruples; and therefore I shall beg leave to subscribe myself,

Sir,
Your most sincere friend,
and humble servant,

May 10, 1735. T. MORGAN.

Mr. Lardner answered:

Sir, Hoxton Square, June 17, 1735.

I AM honoured with your letter of the 10th of May. It is a great satisfaction to me, that the Credibility, &c. has been so far approved by a person of your learning and acuteness. I know, that I did not willingly dissemble, or lessen any objections against the Evangelical History; and was in hopes, I had removed them to the satisfaction of the attentive and candid, who will make but just allowances for the loss of ancient writings.

I shall offer a few things in answer to your letter, with a design of giving farther satisfaction, or receiving farther light myself.

You say, 'that any taxation, enrolment, or census, should 'be laid upon the whole country by the sole authority of 'Augustus, while Herod was king of Judea, and in high favour 'with the emperor, seems incredible.' I apprehend that this ought not be thought incredible, considering the few remaining accounts of the treatment of dependent princes, or provinces. You indeed put it, 'in high favour;' but I have plainly shewn, that Herod was for some time under the displeasure of Augustus. And it is evident from Josephus himself, that there was an oath exacted, and an enrolment made, at the latter end of the reign of Herod; an affair that answers very well to that mentioned by St. Luke.

But you say, the 'main thing is the authority of Eusebius.' This ought not to be so. For it is not reasonable to suppose, that Eusebius was fully master of the state of every province of the Roman empire, almost three hundred years before his own birth, scarce of any one. A learned Englishman might be mistaken about the time of some governor of Jamaica, or even of Ireland, who had lived two or three hundred years ago. And it is likewise possible, that Eusebius, though honest in the main, might have some partiality for the Evangelical history. Therefore he applied that passage, which relates to the taxation after the removal of Archelaus, to the enrolment in St. Luke; that is, he was willing to have St. Luke's history confirmed by a passage of Josephus, which makes express mention of Cyrenius: and therefore he took that, relating to Archelaus, or the time after his removal; but very injudiciously, to say nothing worse. For Eusebius, in that very chapter, places the birth of Christ in the 28th year of Augustus, after the conquest of Egypt, and the death of Antony. And according to all our Gospels, Jesus must have been born in the time of Herod, or at least before the removal of Archelaus: how otherwise could he have been crucified under Pontius Pilate, after a ministry of some years, which ministry could not begin till he was thirty years compleat, or in his thirtieth year?

You think it incredible, that there should be a taxing in all Judea, in the time of Herod the Great. But how should there be such a one afterwards? when the land of Israel was divided, part made a province, part remaining under the government of Herod the tetrarch, and his brother Philip. And if the taxation, after the removal of Archelaus, affected the territories of Herod the tetrarch, you allow taxations of dependent princes. But indeed that census made by Cyrenius after the removal of Archelaus, was not universal (for all the land of Israel), nor would it have brought Joseph and Mary from Nazareth to Bethlehem.

I see no good reason to call all the latter part of the first chapter of Luke a parenthesis: it is a part of his history, and is quoted by Justin Martyr, and other writers of the second century. Mary might keep some things and ponder them, and be surprised, though she had before had general intimations of them. Luke ii. 19, is one of these places, where she is said to *ponder*, and with good reason. The song of the angels, which breathes nothing but peace and good-will, the mean circumstances of herself and her son at that time, might well lead her to serious meditation. Again, ver. 33, Joseph and Mary had reason to marvel, when Simeon spoke of the nature and extent of this benefit, and went on also to hint the disgraces and sufferings of Jesus. Nor are these things contrary to those related in the first chapter, but only some farther explications of things there spoken by the same spirit, for the instruction of Joseph and Mary, and the forming them to a becoming temper and

conduct. For, chap. i. ver. 75, the design of this blessing now vouchsafed, is said to be, that we "might serve God in holiness and righteousness."

In all the Gospels Jesus is the king of Israel, and the son of David. He no where disclaims these characters, though he was not such a prince as some fondly expected and imagined, and others maliciously charged him to be. Matt. xxi. 15. There were many at the temple, who said, "Hosanna to the Son of David;" whom he justifies, though the Pharisees were displeased. Matt. xxii. 42, &c. he speaks of the Messiah as David's Son and Lord, so as to claim those characters to himself.

Though Luke says nothing of the journey into Egypt, it may have been performed according to the account in Matthew. The words of Luke amount to no more than an omission of that affair, without denying it to have been done. Such omissions are common in the evangelists. Don't you, Sir, plainly perceive many things related in St. John's Gospel, between the baptism of Jesus, and the time when the other Evangelists begin their history of our Lord's public ministry?

In my Appendix it is largely shewn that Herod died in the Julian year 42, or 43; I have not determined which; though I suppose the arguments there proposed, appear strongest for the year 42. But the matter is of no great consequence, which of those two years be right.

St. Luke's words concerning Cyrenius, ought, by no means, to incline us to think, that he meant the census made in Judea after the removal of Archelaus, but rather the contrary. These words are a parenthesis, and you know, Sir, that they admit of various senses. Whatever is the sense of that parenthesis, it is probable that the design of it is, to distinguish the enrolment there mentioned, from that made after the removal of Archelaus.

These things I submit to your consideration. I enlarge no farther upon them to a person of your learning and judgment.

I am, Sir,
Your humble Servant,
N. LARDNER.

APPENDIX, N° V.

REMARKS UPON SOME DIFFICULTIES CONCERNING CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

As to the excellence and usefulness of the rules of Christianity, several strong objections have been made. The substance of them is as followeth.

Obj. In the Gospel there are many excellent precepts; but since they are the effect of heavenly inspiration, should not they have been rather supported with short and clear reasons, than delivered in the way of authority?

Ans. I. It cannot be improper for a person who has a heavenly inspiration, or divine commission, to speak sometimes, or even often, in the way of authority.

II. When our Saviour delivers precepts in the way of authority, the fitness of so doing may be perceived. Particularly, this is observable in the 5th chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, where he represents the design of his commission, and the nature of his doctrine. The Jews expected not a reformation under the Messiah, but great earthly advantages and great sensual indulgences. He therefore says, Matt. v. 17, "Think not, that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil." The design of my commission is not to abrogate or weaken, but rather to confirm, strengthen, and enlarge the moral precepts and obligations contained in, or taught by the law and the prophets. Then, at ver. 21, "Ye have heard that it has been said by them of old time, (it should be rendered to the ancients, ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις) "Thou shalt not kill." This is the sixth commandment, delivered by divine authority in the law of Moses, forbidding in express words actual murder only. And it is likely, that many of the Pharisees taught, that forbearing the sin expressly forbidden in the law was sufficient. When, therefore, Christ taught the restraint or moderation of anger, as a necessary duty, and as a completing, fulfilling, or enlarging that law; was it not fit to speak in the way of authority? as a divine teacher, furnished with a commission from heaven, as he does ver. 22; "But I say unto you, whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause," and what follows. This observation ought to be applied to the other precept of the law of Moses, afterwards insisted on, and in a like manner fulfilled by our Saviour.

III. The laws or precepts of Christ being in themselves all reasonable, need not to be demonstrated. When once they are proposed with authority, the mind assents to them immediately; they having an internal and manifest reasonableness and equity. Is not this evident in that rule, Matt. vi. 12, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them?" The reasonableness of all Christ's other precepts is alike evident.

IV. Nevertheless Christ does reason sometimes, and gives such short and clear reasons as the objector requires. He heaps up reasons in a concise manner against solicitude or anxiety, Matt. vi. 25—34; and, Luke xii. 15, he forbids covetousness in these words: "Take heed, and beware of covetousness:" and then adds that excellent reason, "For a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth:" and proceeds likewise to confirm and illustrate his doctrine by a parable. And in a like manner often. Thus when, Matt. v. 33, he improves or fulfils the precept or prohibition of the law, which says, "Thou shalt not forswear thyself," and forbids swearing at all, that is in common conversation, he argues, and by reason shews, the folly and wickedness of those mincing oaths which were used by the Jews, who scrupled using the name of God expressly. ver. 33—37. Ver. 34. "But I say unto you, Swear not at all, neither by heaven, FOR it is God's throne, nor by the earth, FOR it is his foot-stool; and what follows: giving a reason against every one of those oaths, and shewing that they were each one of them equivalent to swearing by the name of God: and, then, lastly, shews the wickedness of all common swearing in ordinary conversation, ver. 37. "But let your communication be yea, yea; nay, nay; FOR whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil." This is the design of all the context.

Obj. It is farther urged, that many things are forbidden in the most strict and severe manner, which are innocent, indifferent, or however not directly criminal. Thus, calling Fool, and Raca, are offences against which the judgment of hell-fire are denounced. Looking on a woman and lusting after her are equally culpable with committing adultery. Is the venereal act more criminal than any other? is it not equally natural and necessary? Can we forbear liking an agreeable object?

Ans. In the particulars first mentioned, Christ only forbids that anger, which is really evil and unreasonable; and those injurious and contemptuous expressions or names, which are really improper and unbecoming, and which we ought not to give each other at all, or not without very good and sufficient reason. And then these, or somewhat like them, may be used without contracting guilt. So St. Paul says, 1 Cor. xv. 36, "Thou fool:" and Christ says, Luke xiii. 32, "Tell that fox." However, it may be observed, that the two words forbid by Christ, are reckoned by commentators to be expressive of the utmost contempt; and therefore are not to be indulged by us.

As to what concerns the thing next mentioned, the objector proceeds too fast. The original word used by Christ for WOMAN, and the context, and every expression there made use of, shews that our Lord is speaking of a married woman; and the obvious literal sense of the words is this: 'That whosoever casts an eye upon a married woman, so as to desire' to have venereal commerce with her, 'has committed adultery with her already 'in his heart.' And is not this self-evident? Have not all

mankind, that have been civilized, esteemed adultery a sin, or injurious? and if any action be criminal, the intention to do it is also criminal; and men who indulge criminal designs and intentions, must be guilty in the sight of God; for God, who is the governor of the world, and particularly of rational and intelligent agents, is judge of thoughts as well as actions. Civil magistrates can judge only of words and actions; but God can and does judge thoughts. All these things are evident beyond dispute. And no wise and good man, but, when he knows a woman is married, casts off his eye from her, or suffers not concupiscence to arise, and if it does, checks and condemns it: and every man ought to do so.

Obj. How impracticable and intolerable are some other precepts? such as these, "Whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also. If any man take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also."

Ans. I. These precepts relate to small matters.

II. They are hyperbolical and proverbial expressions, and not to be explained or understood literally. That they are so, is evident. 'Tis said, John xviii. 22, "And when he had thus spoken, one of the officers which stood by, struck Jesus with the palm of his hand." But our Lord does not offer himself to receive another blow. On the contrary, he remonstrates against the injury done him; ver. 23, "Jesus answered him, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou me?" And St. Paul directs, 2 Thess. iii. 10, "We command you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat:" which sufficiently shews, that Christians need not be imposed upon, though Christ has said, "Give to every one that asketh thee;" and St. Paul has earnestly taught diligence in the two epistles to the Thessalonians, as well as in other places.

Obj. And are we not forbidden to take thought for the morrow?

Ans. The precept is, Μη μεριμνατε; be not anxious or solicitous; or, be not anxiously thoughtful, or careful;—which is a reasonable precept.

Obj. In order to persuade to an unresisting submission and subjection to governments of the most cruel and absolute kind, is not the doctrine of the New Testament urged and pleaded?

Ans. St. Paul's directions, Rom. xiii. and St. Peter's, 1st Ep. ii. 13, are very reasonable. There were some Jews at that time, whom Christians were in danger of following, who refused obedience to heathen magistrates, especially to their inferior governors and officers. The Apostles therefore charge their converts to be obedient to magistrates of every rank. And, as magistracy is necessary, and very useful, obedience thereto is very reasonable, and submission must be earnestly recommended. The Apostles instructions upon this head afford no support to arguments for unresisting submission to cruel and absolute governments, for their exhortations are founded in the benefit of government. St. Paul says, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers—for rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil—for he is the minister of God to thee for good—for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil."—St. Peter: "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evil-doers, and the praise of them that do well." And it appears from the history in the New Testament, that the Christians had a benefit from the Roman magistracy at that time; otherwise they would have been destroyed by the rudeness of the common people, and the Jewish malice. But yet, that some Christians were in danger of pernicious notions of liberty, like the Jews of that time, is evident from what follows in the fore-cited context of St. Peter: "As free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness." ver. 16.—St. Paul writes, 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, that "prayers should be made for kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty;" or that we may, without disturbance, profess the principles of true religion, and practise the several branches of piety and virtue. And certainly, if Christians desire peace and tranquillity, and the protection of magistrates, they ought to be peaceable, and behave as good subjects. Nor has the Christian religion been prejudicial to civil liberty. Look abroad in the world: Have the people more rights and privileges in Mahometan and heathen governments and constitutions than in Christian?

Obj. Hath Christianity had a more real and extensive influence than philosophy? The best precepts cannot command attention and regard. A plain useful rule is wanted, that may be suited to the multitude.

Ans. I. Since the publication of the Christian religion, all immoralities have appeared more glaring and odious than in former times, which occasions complaints of misconduct and miscarriages, that gave none, or little offence among Heathen people, though they were very common.

II. Men are always apt to complain of their own times, and make unfair comparisons between the ancient and present or later times. They take the bright side of the former, and the dark side of the later, and so compare them together.

III. Christianity has had a real and extensive influence (far beyond philosophy) for reforming the manners and promoting the happiness of mankind. What miseries did the people suffer in the Roman republic! How terrible were their triumvirates and their proscriptions, and some other things at times, in an age as philosophical and polite as any before it! How barbarous and shameful the Roman diversions in the amphitheatre! 'Tis to Christianity, which has abolished ancient Heathenism, that Mahometans owe their better sentiments. Christianity has abolished human sacrifices, and obliged parents to bring up their children, which were formerly exposed in Greece and Rome without mercy, and are so still in Heathen countries. In the city of Pekin, several thousand infants perish this way annually. There is no such thing among Christians. If that number perish in one city, how many through all the Chinese empire, and this number counting on from year to year! Christianity took with the common people, or the multitude, in the first and purer ages, and in a short time, without the aid of civil power, made a progress, gained ground against superstition, which philosophy did not; had advantages of superstition, which philosophy never had.

I have answered particular objections, I hope to satisfaction. I desire leave to add some general observations.

Obs. I. It cannot be thought strange, that true religion, or a teacher of true religion, should recommend great meekness, forbearance, and a contempt of riches and honours. Many wise men and philosophers have seen, that there is necessity that good men bear and forbear; and they have said great and fine things of the vanity of riches and honours, and such like advantages. Indeed all earthly things deserve little value, considering their uncertainty, and the shortness of human life.

II. Christianity is reasonable throughout, or, to use a modern phrase, it is a republication of the law of nature, with the two positive appointments of Baptism and the Lord's-supper or the Eucharist. Therefore all its precepts are to be taken in a reasonable sense. You are required to shew no more meekness than is fit and reasonable in this world of ours; you may defend yourselves, resist, remonstrate against all injuries, when you have any prospect of advantage; you may go to law, if the thing you contend for be worth it, and you have a prospect of success. But to resist, when you are in danger of perishing in the attempt; to go to law, when the thing desired will not repay the loss of time, if gained that way; or to appeal to judges, when they are ignorant, or partial and corrupt, what avails it? even though we have right, and the thing controverted be of some importance. The disciples were obliged to the greatest exactness of behaviour, and to as much generosity and self-denial as any men: yet our Lord teaches them to be wise as serpents, as well as harmless as doves. St. Paul insisted on his privilege of a Roman citizen, as often as it would be of any service. He humbled the magistrates of Philippi, and defended himself against the Jews to the utmost. In short, the Christian precepts ought to be understood, as they are defined to be exactly suitable to men in the present state of things.

III. Though the gospel be allowed to be only a republication of the law of nature, it is of great advantage, because men, through indolence, love of pleasure, or some other means, did not trace out the great truths of religion, or the obligations of virtue, by the exercise of reason; and they needed to be awakened and excited to the practice of what they did know.

IV. True religion could not be discovered or recommended to men in a wiser and more effectual manner, than it is, or has been, in the Gospel of Jesus Christ: or, there are the greatest advantages attending the method in which true religion has been taught by Jesus Christ. To have published the precepts of religion and virtue in a plain and clear manner, suppose, and with some few plain and clear reasons, in the most solemn

manner conceivable, as the ten commandments at Mount Sinai; together with plain and express promises of future happiness; would not have been so effectual as the Gospel method. And all the truths of religion, and precepts of happiness and virtue, are better recommended and enforced by the example of Christ's life, the patience, meekness, and fortitude of his death, and divine testimony to the truth, and his after resurrection, than by the fore-mentioned method, or any other I can think of. However, to this Gospel method belongs (besides what has been already mentioned) also the example of Christ's Apostles.

V. It was therefore fit, that the publisher, or republisher, of true religion, with a commission from Heaven, should publish it in some particular country, and, as a public preacher, be liable to contradictions, opposition, and all kinds of sufferings, which passionate and prejudiced men might be disposed to bring upon him; and no place or time could be more fit than the land of Judea, and the time when Jesus appeared.

VI. It follows, that in order to understand true religion as published in the Gospels, or the New Testament, men should exercise their reason, and study the language, dialect, and customs of the times when Christ and his Apostles preached, of which times every one sees plain indications in the New Testament itself. Therefore Christian clergy, and people, should endeavour to be as knowing as they can.

VII. I shall add but one thing more to the honour of the Christian religion; that it is no enemy to learning, or any branch of science, that I know of. All religion supposes men rational: the Christian religion was published in a learned and a polite age. St. Paul often recommends to Christians to have the understanding of men; he prays to God for them, that they may increase in knowledge. Every branch of learning has flourished among Christians. More of them, I believe, have understood a variety of languages, than any had done before. Natural philosophy has been cultivated by them. In the early age of Christianity, there were such men as Clement of Alexandria, Pantaenus; Julius Africanus, Origen, with other learned men, in the third century; Eusebius of Cesarea, and Jerom, in the fourth; men acquainted with history, chronology, criticism, never since such in spirit; not to mention the many learned men of the later ages, until the revival of learning in Christendom, about the time of the Reformation.

APPENDIX, N° VI.

CHARACTER OF THE REV. MR. RICHARD LARDNER.

The Rev. Mr. Richard Lardner was born at Portsmouth, May 28, 1653, and educated for the ministry, by the Rev. Mr. Charles Morton, of Newington-Green.

He entered upon his work in the year 1673, when he could have no other worldly prospect, but bonds, imprisonment, and the loss of all things, and which he was content to undergo, and accordingly had a large share in the sufferings of those times for conscientious nonconformity.

Having had early impressions of religion on his spirit, he joined in communion with the church, under the pastoral care of the Reverend and learned Dr. Owen, whom he always mentioned with the profoundest respect and veneration to his death.

His first settlement was at Deal in Kent; but after some years he removed to London, and some other places; in all which he was greatly beloved, and, as we have reason to believe, had many seals to his ministry, being made very useful for the conversion of some, and the edification of others, in the faith of the Gospel.

He was a little man, but a bold and undaunted soldier of Jesus Christ, being afraid of no dangers or difficulties in his Master's work.

His manner of preaching was lively, masculine, awakening like a son of thunder, and generally acceptable to the more serious part of his hearers, many of whom, and some yet alive, have dated their first impressions of religion from his ministry.

It pleased God to continue him a great many years in his service, till he might be justly esteemed the father of all the nonconformist ministers in England. He was a preacher of the Gospel for near sixty years, in all which time he was not only frequent, but fervent and unwearied in his work, till the providence of God, by a paralytic disorder, put an end to his labours in the eightieth year of his age, but not to his life.

He was a close walker with God, throughout the whole course of his long life, and always desirous to be useful. When it pleased God to raise him a family, he was particularly careful, not only for the temporal, but spiritual welfare of his children, endeavouring to secure and promote it by frequent instructions, and importunate prayers to God for them; in all which we hope his labour was not in vain with regard to any of them.

In the last seven years of his life, he had the pleasure of observing the goodness of God in the growing hopes of his posterity, enjoying much peace and composure, while he endured the consequences of his late disorder with an uncommon patience and firmness of mind; till at length, it pleased God to release him from the infirmities of his present life, to a better, January 17, 1740; in the 87th year of his age. So that it may be said, in him have been fulfilled those words in the book of Job, chap. v. 26, "Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season."

APPENDIX, N° VII.

LETTER FROM DR. SECKER, THEN BISHOP OF OXFORD, TO DR. LARDNER; WITH THE DOCTOR'S ANSWER.

Sir, St. James's, Westminster, December 6, 1750.

If I had not of late been more engaged in business than ordinary, I should have returned you my thanks before now, for the kind and very acceptable present of your eighth volume. I have only been able, as yet, to take a cursory view of some parts of it: in doing which, I have been much pleased with your insertion of that long citation, page 83, &c. with your division of the sorts of books, page 108, &c. and with your excellent reasonings, page 124—137. As to the points, to which you occasionally digress, page 19, &c. I agree with you entirely in condemning all temporal punishments for any opinions, which are consistent with the welfare of society; all claims of submission to the judgment of church governors, whether separate or assembled; excepting such deference, as any one's distrust of his own abilities, or learning, may reasonably incline him to pay to guides set over him, whom he believes to be faithful and skilful; and, lastly, all terms of communion, which are not necessary articles of Christianity, or indispensably required by decency and order. What the terms, thus necessary and

requisite, are, all churches, and, so far as they are concerned, all persons, must judge for themselves; and there may be good and important reasons to submit, even without remonstrating, to what we do not approve; provided we are not obliged to do any thing which we apprehend to be unlawful. He who thinks more things necessary, should neither treat those ill who believe fewer, nor rank them with total unbelievers, nor entertain any harsher opinion of the future state of either, than serious and calm enquiry directs him to. And, on the other hand, he who believes fewer things to be necessary, should not censure those who believe more to be so, as tyrannical or uncharitable, merely because they dare not acknowledge him to be what, according to the best judgment they can form, he is not. The former of these faults I admit to be the more common: but the latter is by no means without example, and ought to be conscientiously avoided. The terms of admission to the ministry may with reason, I think, be made straiter than those of communion. For doctrines not necessary, may be very useful: and doctrines not destructive, may be very hurtful. And every church, both particular and national, hath much reason, both for its edification and its credit, to desire and endeavour to have teachers, who hold and will inculcate the former sort, and not the latter. Still a discreet moderation ought to be carefully preserved in this matter, not only to prevent hypocrisy, but for several other reasons. And yet, surely the danger of tempting men to dissemble, is no more a sufficient objection against requiring some declaration, in this case, than in many that civil life presents; where, however, I acknowledge, that this practice is carried much too far; nor perhaps is there less danger, both of dissimulation and farther inconveniences, in leaving every one to declare himself in his own forms, than in proposing a form to be subscribed. In either way, some will think more articles proper, some fewer. And those of greater latitude should be mild in their opinions of those who have less, as well as the contrary: and every one should labour to restrain and soften those, with whom he has weight. Otherwise, not only at some times power may be oppressive, as it often hath been; but at others a spirit of liberty may degenerate into one of bitterness, I had almost said of persecution.—I have run on into a long letter without designing it. In most, if not all, of what I have said, I am persuaded you will agree with me. But I am sure you will excuse me, if you see cause to think, as I hope you will, that the whole proceeds from a sincere zeal for universal charity; and a firm belief that you have the promotion of it deeply at heart: on which account, yet much more than on that of your great learning, accuracy, and diligence, I am, with high esteem,

Sir,
Your very humble Servant,
THOMAS OXFORD.

To this Dr. Lardner answered:

My Lord, Hoxton-Square, December 18, 1750.

I AM greatly indebted to your Lordship for the favour of your letter of the 6th instant, and think it no small honour done me, that amidst your many engagements you have read so large a part of my work. I have reason to be well pleased, that so many things in it have obtained your approbation. It affords me some special satisfaction that the reasonings at page 124—137 have not been disliked by your Lordship; because I had flattered myself with some hopes, they might be approved by persons of good judgment. I am likewise obliged to your Lordship for your free, candid, and charitable observations, relating to the first chapter of the volume. It is very natural to oppose that extreme which is most apt to prevail: there have been particular persons, and some societies, that have advanced and maintained great extravagancies; but oppressive power, on one side or other, has been very common, and produced extensive mischief. In the early ages, when catholics and heretics contended with reasons and arguments only, the juster sentiments usually had the advantage; which cannot be said of some later times.

I take this opportunity to congratulate your Lordship on your late preferment; which, though it adds nothing to your dignity, if it affords more leisure, may open a new sphere of usefulness. And your Lordship, I hope, will think of making more public some of those discourses, which have been heard with so much attention and applause. If it may not be too presuming, when I hear of your settlement at the deanery, I will order a volume of plain discourses to be left there by the bookseller. I am,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's
Most humble and obedient servant,
N. LARDNER.

APPENDIX, N° VIII.

LETTER FROM DR. DODDRIDGE TO DR. LARDNER.

Reverend and dear Sir, Northampton, May 23, 1751.

AS soon as ever I had the honour of receiving the valuable present you were so good as to send me, of the two volumes you published toward the close of the last year, so elegantly bound, which I esteem doubly as a memorial of the friendship of the learned, pious, and generous author; I desired our good friend Mr. Neal to present you with my most respectful acknowledgments, but deferred writing to you myself, till I had read them. I set about the sermons immediately, and read three or four of them every week till I had finished them; but having been something interrupted by my journey to St. Alban's, and the little additional labour of publishing good Dr. Clarke's funeral sermon; after such a delay, I waved writing to you, till I might have an opportunity of reading this last volume of the Credibility. But really, Sir, the labour of my Family Expositor, added to the other necessary business daily incumbent upon me, as a pastor and tutor, with the necessity I have been under of answering letters, of which I have since last Christmas received between four and five hundred, has so entangled me, that it is but very lately I have been able to secure the pleasure which that excellent volume had in store for me. And now my journey is so near, that it may seem almost superfluous to write to you; and yet, under the load of such obligations to so worthy a friend, I cannot bear to see his face till I have made this poor acknowledgment of his goodness; accept it, dear Sir, with your usual candour, and be assured, that though I am not able to express it as I would, I do actually feel a constant and deep sense of your goodness to me, and, which is much more, of your continual readiness to serve the public with those distinguished abilities, which God has been pleased to give you; and which have rendered your writings so great a blessing to the Christian world. And I heartily pray they may be yet more abundantly so, for promoting the cause of virtue and piety, Christian principles, and a Christian temper. In the interpretation of particular texts, and the manner of stating particular doctrines, good men and good friends may have different apprehensions; but you always propose your sentiments with such good humour, modesty, candour, and frankness, as is very amiable and exemplary; and the grand desire of spreading righteousness, benevolence, prudence, the fear of God, and a heavenly temper and conversation, so plainly appears, particularly in this volume of sermons, that were I a much stricter Calvinist than I am, I should honour and love the author, though I did not personally know him. As to what you say of the council of Nice, I do not doubt but it will give umbrage to some who look on its decrees as the great bulwark of the orthodox faith; but I see nothing solid that can be objected to your remarks, and I think,

there would have been much less Arianism in the world, and much less mischief done by that which there is, if it had been conducted in that more catholic manner you describe, as what might have been wished; and I have never seen any good done by severe anathemas, and secular punishments, so awkwardly listed into the service of Christianity, opposite as they are to its true genius. Neither my time nor my paper will allow me to enlarge, &c.

APPENDIX, N° IX.

LETTER FROM DR. CHANDLER TO DR. LARDNER, WITH THE DOCTOR'S ANSWER.

Reverend and dear Sir, Old Jury, December 4, 1764.

WHEN I received your proposals, I determined to purchase the work immediately on its publication, but am extremely obliged to you for ordering it as a token of your respect to me, on whose friendship and esteem I set, as I ought to do, the highest value. I have read the whole through with care, and to my great satisfaction and improvement. The only thing in which I am not fully satisfied, is your opinion about the testimony of Josephus concerning our blessed Saviour; which I have always been inclined to think, as to the far greatest part of it, genuine. I have not time to answer all the objections that are urged against the genuineness of the testimony, but you will give me leave to make two or three observations on the testimony itself.

That it is introduced with great propriety, as what happened under Pilate's administration, and as what was one occasion of the disturbances amongst the Jews in his time.

He testifies that 'he was a wise man.'

Is uncertain 'whether he was not something more than a 'common man,' which is the meaning of the words, ειγε ανδρα αυτον λεγειν χρη; for Josephus, upon Jewish principles, could not but think him a man, though he was uncertain whether he was not somewhat greater; a more extraordinary person, than any mere man.

And your own quotation from Josephus, about Moses, that 'he was a man superior to his own nature,' page 158, accounts for the character given to Jesus.

He says he was παραδοξων εργων ποιητης. That the Jews themselves, his contemporaries and enemies, acknowledged. Matt. xiii. 54.—xiv. 2, &c.

'He was a teacher of such men as received the truth with 'pleasure.' You ask, would he call the Christian religion the truth? Yes certainly, as to the moral precepts of Christianity; which is all, I suppose, that Josephus knew or regarded of it. Matt. xxii. 16.

'He drew over to him many Jews and Gentiles.' This was true in the time when Josephus wrote. I refer you to page 169 of your own excellent work, which justifies the expression.

'This was the Christ.' ο χριστος ουτος ην. I render the words, 'This, viz. Jesus, was the famous, or remarkable Christ.' Jesus was a common name, and would not have sufficiently pointed him out to the Greeks and Romans. The name by which he was known to them was, Chrestus, or Christus; as in Suetonius and Tacitus; and if Tacitus had read Josephus, as you justly think he had, I imagine he took this very name from Josephus. Josephus did not certainly believe him to be the Messiah, and therefore, when he wrote this history he could never mean by Christus the Jewish Messiah, of which the Greeks and Romans knew nothing; but that he was the remarkable Christ, who was the founder of that people who were called Christians. This appears to me to be the real meaning of the expression, and as such it was intelligible to the Heathens.

In the period that follows: 'When Pilate, at the instigation, &c.' to the words, 'did not cease to adhere to him;' the whole is true, and what might be said by any man, though not a Christian, who was acquainted with his history.

The next words, 'for on the third day, &c.' if he speaks only of what were the common sentiments of his followers, they may be allowed to be his. But, to speak my mind freely, I think them rather an interpolation of Eusebius, or some other Christian; and that the connection in Josephus runs thus.

'They who before had conceived an affection for him, did 'not cease to adhere to him; and the sect of Christians, so called 'from him (the ο χριστος) subsists to this day.' Such an addition he could not well avoid.

As to the remarks on the expression των χριστιανων φυλον, that φυλον is here put for *sect*, or must necessarily signify *sect*, I am not thoroughly clear in it. Josephus certainly uses the word φυλον frequently for nation, but I think also sometimes with greater latitude. Thus in a quotation from Strabo, he tells us, τοπον ουκ εστι ραδιως ευρειν της οικουμενης, ος ουκ παραδεδεκται τουτο το φυλον, not 'this nation,' which is too extensive, but as it is in the Latin version, 'hoc genus hominum.' line 14. cap. 7. page 695. I also find in Dion Cassius, της βουλευτικης φυλης γεγενημενης. 'Qui sunt senatoriâ origine.' Vol. ii. page 912, edit. Reimari. Φυλον. εθνος, γενος. Hesychius. Why then may we not render the words in Josephus χριστιανων φυλον, 'the sort of people called Christians?' And I think it is not unlikely that Josephus should add, 'that they subsisted to his own time,' when he wrote this history, A. C. 93.

Give me leave just to add, that this paragraph, concerning Jesus, doth not seem to me, so much to interrupt the course of the narration as is complained of: it is introduced under the article of Pilate, and placed between two circumstances which occasioned disturbances. And was not the putting of Jesus to death, and the continuance of the apostles and disciples after him, declaring his resurrection, another very considerable circumstance, which created very great disturbances? And though Josephus does not expressly say this, and perhaps had good reasons for not saying it, yet he intimates it, by placing it between the two causes of commotion, by giving so honourable a testimony to Jesus, and telling us, that he was crucified at the instigation of the chief persons of the nation. It would scarce have been decent in him to have said more on this head.

I have sometimes thought that this passage was originally in Josephus, and that Josephus himself omitted it afterwards in some other copies, at the desire of some of his own nation, as containing too honourable an account of Jesus, or that they falsified some other copies by omitting it; and I think, as you allow, with great reason, his testimony to the Baptist to be genuine, it is not to be accounted for, that he should wholly omit to say any thing of Jesus.

But I beg your pardon for giving you the trouble of so long a letter, especially as what I have urged may appear to be of little weight. I own I cannot wholly give up the passage, and yet I feel the weight of your objections against it. Your book will ever remain a solid proof of your learning, candour, and good judgment; and I pray God continue your life till you have finished your design, and every other view for the service of religion. I am, with the sincerest affection and esteem,

Reverend and dear Sir,
Your greatly obliged, and
most humble Servant,
SAMUEL CHANDLER.

To this Dr. Lardner answered

Reverend and dear Sir,

I AM much obliged to you for your friendly and valuable letter of December 4; and for all your arguings therein upon the subject: which you have urged with great force, and to the best advantage: and I will further consider. In the mean time, you may be sensible, that I cannot be easily moved from an opinion, which I have long held agreeable to the sentiments of very judicious critics.

The testimony of Josephus to the fulfilment of our Saviour's predictions in the destruction of Jerusalem, is invaluable. His

accounts of the state of things in Judea, before the commencement of the war, and during the ministry of our Saviour and his apostles, are also very valuable, indeed above all price. But I do not perceive, that we at all want the suspected testimony to Jesus, which was never quoted by any of our Christian ancestors before Eusebius. Nor do I recollect that he has any where mentioned the name, or word, Christ, or Messiah, in any of his works, except the testimony above-mentioned, and the passage concerning James the Lord's brother. If you recollect any place, where Messiah is mentioned by him, let me know it. If that word is never to be found in him elsewhere, he must have designedly and studiously declined it; for he had many occasions to mention it. It therefore is unlikely, he should produce that word in speaking of Jesus. Explain the term as you please, it must be unaccountable, that it should be brought in here. This I now mention to you; but, as before said, I will further weigh your reasons.

You seem to be well acquainted with an argument proposed in a Dissertation, &c. published at Oxford some years ago, and ascribed to Dr. Nathaniel Foster. I shall be obliged to you, if you have leisure, to inform me whether that Dr. Foster be still living, and what are his preferments: if he be dead, what was his station, and of what other works was he author. For possibly I may be obliged publicly to make some remarks upon his discourse. If I do, a farther acquaintance with the writer of it will be expedient. For there have been several of that name, Foster.

Wishing you continued success in your studies and public labours, I remain, with the sincerest regard,

Your friend and servant,

December 31, 1764. N. LARDNER.

APPENDIX, N° X.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE TESTIMONY OF JOSEPHUS.

COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. MR. HENLEY.

TO THE REV. DR. KIPPIS.

Sir, Rendlesham, Suffolk, Dec. 4, 1786.

THE testimony of Josephus concerning CHRIST having been considered in a new point of view, since the death of Dr. Lardner, by my learned friend the Abbé du Voisin (who hath lately quitted the divinity chair, which he had filled for several years in the Sorbonne, with the highest reputation), I take the liberty of transmitting to you his communication upon that subject, as a valuable Supplement to Dr. Lardner's remarks; and, at the same time, to subjoin the late Abbé Bullet's observations, which I doubt not will be the more acceptable to the public, as Dr. Lardner was long anxious to avail himself of the book which contains them, [Histoire de l'Etablissement du Christianisme, tirée des seuls Auteurs Juifs et Payens, &c.] but was never able to procure it.

I am, Sir,
With great respect,
Your obedient Servant,
S. HENLEY.

"MANY critics, since the time of Osiander, Blondel, Tanaquil Faber, and Le Clerc, have suspected, but, in my opinion, unwarrantably, the authenticity of this celebrated testimony: for—1. It is extant in all the copies of Josephus, both unpublished and published. Baronius, Annal. Ecclesiastic. ad an. 134, relates, that a manuscript of this historian's Antiquities was found in the library of the Vatican, translated into Hebrew, in which this passage was marked with an obelus; a thing that could have been done by none but a Jew. In an Arabic version preserved by the Maronites of Mount Libanus, the narrative exists entire: see the new edition of the Bibliotheque Françoise de Duverdier, par M. de Bréquigny.—2. This testimony of Josephus has been applauded by Eusebius (Hist. Ecclesiastic. lib. i. c. 10.—Demonstrat. Evangelic. lib. iii. c. 5.), Jerom (Catal. Script. Ecclesiastic.), Rufinus (Histor. lib. i.), Isidorus of Pelusium, Sozomen, Cassiodorus, Nicephorus, and many more, who all indisputably had seen various manuscripts, and of considerable antiquity.—3. The style of the passage so exactly resembles the other writings of Josephus, that, to adopt the expression of Huetius, one egg is not more like to another. Proofs of this assertion may be seen in the dissertation of Daubuz, subjoined to Havercamp's edition. —4. Josephus not only mentions, with respect, John Baptist (Antiquit. lib. xviii. c. 1) but also James: 'Ananus assembled 'the Jewish Sanhedrim, and brought before it James the brother 'of Jesus who is called Christ, with some others, whom he 'delivered over to be stoned, as infractors of the law.' Lib. xx. c. 8. This passage, the authenticity of which has never been suspected, contains an evident reference to what had been already related concerning Christ; for why else should he describe James, a man of himself but little known, as the brother of Jesus, if he had made no mention of Jesus before? —5. It is highly improbable that Josephus, who hath discussed with such minuteness the history of this period—mentioned Judas of Galilee, Theudas, and the other obscure pretenders to the character of the Messiah—as well as John Baptist and James the brother of Christ—should have preserved the profoundest silence concerning Christ himself, whose name was at that time so celebrated both amongst the Jews and the Romans. But in all the writings of Josephus not a hint occurs on the subject, except the testimony in question.—6. Let no one persuade himself that this passage was forged either by Eusebius, who first cited it, or any other earlier writer; for the Christian cause is not only so far from needing any fraud to support it, that nothing could be more destructive to its interest, more especially a fraud so palpable and obtrusive.

It has been objected by Blondel, That what is here related of Christ could not possibly have been recorded by Josephus, who was not only a Jew, but rigidly attached to the Jewish religion: viz. 'That Christ could scarcely be said to be a 'man,' that is, that he was God, that he was a performer of wonderful works, a teacher of truth, moreover, Christ or the Messiah, whom the prophets had foretold; and, finally, who appeared on the third day restored to life. These are not the expressions of a Jew, but a Christian.

To this however it may be answered, That Josephus was not so addicted to his own religion, as to approve the conduct and opinion of the Jews concerning Christ and his doctrine. From the moderation which pervades his whole narrative of the Jewish war, it may be justly inferred, that the fanatic fury which the chief men of his nation exercised against Christ, could not but have been displeasing to him. He has rendered that attestation to the innocence, sanctity, and miracles of Christ, which the fidelity of history required. Nor does it follow that he was necessitated to renounce, on this account, the religion of his fathers. Either the common prejudice of the Jews, that their Messiah would be a victorious and temporal sovereign, or the indifference so prevalent in many, towards controverted questions, might have been sufficient to prevent him from renouncing the religion in which he had been brought up, and embracing a new one, the profession of which was attended with danger: or else, he might think himself at liberty to be either a Jew or a Christian, as the same God was worshipped in both systems of religion. On either of these suppositions, Josephus might have written every thing which this testimony

contains. By the expression, 'if it be right to speak of him 'as a man,' it is not meant to imply that Christ is God, but only an extraordinary man, one whose wisdom and works had raised him above the common condition of humanity. He represents him as 'a performer of wonderful works,' because miracles were wrought by him, as the Jews themselves were obliged to confess. He styles him 'an instructor of those who gladly 'received the truth,' both because the moral precepts of Christ were such as Josephus approved, and also because the disciples of Christ were influenced by no other motive than the desire of discerning it. The phrase 'this man was Christ,' or rather, ὁ Χριστος ουτος ην, 'Christ was this man,' by no means intimates that Jesus was the Messiah, but only that he was the person called Christ both by the Christians and Romans, amongst whom Josephus wrote: just as if we should say, in our language, 'this was the same man as he named Christ.' As to the resurrection of Christ, and the prophecies referring to him, Josephus rather speaks the language used by the Christians, than his own private opinion; or else he thought that Christ had appeared after his revival, and that the prophets had foretold this event: a point which, if admitted, and he had been consistent, ought to have induced him to embrace Christianity. But there might be many circumstances to prevent his becoming a proselyte, as every one will readily imagine; nor is it either new or wonderful, that men, especially in their religious concerns, should contradict themselves, and withstand the conviction of their own minds. It is certain that, of our own times, no one hath spoken in higher terms concerning Christ than the philosopher of Geneva, who nevertheless, not only in his other writings, but also in the very work which contains this most eloquent eulogium, inveighs against the Christian religion with acrimony and rancour.

It has been further objected, That no person before Eusebius ever mentioned this testimony; neither Justin in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew; nor Clemens Alexandrinus, who made so many extracts from ancient authors; nor Origen against Celsus: but, on the contrary, in the 35th chapter of the 1st book of that work, Origen openly affirms that Josephus, who had mentioned John Baptist, did not acknowledge Christ; and therefore it is inferred, that before the age of Eusebius this testimony had no existence in the copies of Josephus.

To this it may be answered, That there is no strength in this negative argument against Eusebius, drawn from the silence of the ancient fathers. The fathers did not cite the testimony of Josephus, either because they had no copies of his writings; or, because his testimony was foreign to the scope of their own; or, because it could be of little use, especially in the earliest times, when the miracles of Christ were admitted by the Jews at large; or, because that for this very testimony the evidence of Josephus was disregarded by the Jews themselves. To this last consideration Justin apparently alluded, when he thus addressed himself to Trypho: 'Ye yourselves know, O Jews! 'that Jesus is risen again and ascended into heaven, according 'as the prophets foretold.' What Origen asserted was not, that Christ was unknown to Josephus, but only that Josephus did not acknowledge him as the Christ or Messiah, Ιησουν ε καλαδεξαμενον ειναι Χριστον, and in his Commentary on Matthew, και τοι γε απιστων τω Ιησυ ὡς Χριστῳ: by which words it is manifest, that Jesus was known to Josephus, but not admitted by him to be the Christ, or Messiah. Thus much, however, Origen might say in perfect consistency with the passage in question, where the name of Christ, as hath been already observed, is an appellative, without ascribing to him who bore it the character of the Messiah, expected by the Jews."

A more diffuse and minute discussion of this subject may be seen in a dissertation by the excellent Vernet, professor of divinity at Geneva, intitled, Traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne, tom. ix. Lausanne, 1782; and in Mr. Bryant's Vindiciæ Flavianæ, or a Vindication of the Testimony given by Josephus concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ. Printed for White, 1777. I mention the latter publication more particularly, as not only coinciding in many points with the preceding observations, but also as having made several converts, amongst whom Dr. Priestley, I have understood, may be mentioned as one. If, however, the defence set up by these learned writers shall be still thought insufficient, let us take the converse of the position, and consider the conclusions drawn from it by the late Abbé Bullet.

"I. JOSEPHUS, who was born about three or four years after the death of Jesus Christ, could not be ignorant that there had appeared in Judea a charlatan, impostor, magician, or prophet, called Jesus, who had either performed wonders, or found the secret of persuading numbers to think so. He could not but know that, in his own time, there still were in that province many who acknowledged this man as their master. When he was himself carried captive to Rome, it must have been notorious to him, that Nero had punished, in the most extraordinary and unheard-of manner, a great number of Christians in that city; he must have been aware, that their martyrdom had been exhibited as a spectacle to the Roman people, and was a spectacle of so uncommon a kind, as to have been recorded by Tacitus and Suetonius in the annals of the empire. He must have seen that, under Domitian, the Christians were prosecuted both in Rome and the provinces, and put to death publicly by the orders of the emperor.

II. Ought not Josephus then to have taken some notice of Jesus and his disciples, in his history? Or did he think the subject too inconsiderable to occupy a place in it? That he did not, may be concluded from the following reasons.

1. In the time of this historian, the Christians were of themselves so numerous a society as to engage the attention of the Roman emperors. These sovereigns of the world enacted edicts against them, devoted them to death, and caused the magistrates every where to pursue them. The faith of history, therefore, required that they should not be passed over in silence. Thus thought Tacitus and Suetonius, to whom the Christians, as a sect, were a much less interesting object than to a Jew, like Josephus. These two historians considered the rise and establishment of Christianity as of sufficient magnitude to rank amongst the great events transmitted by them to posterity.

2. Josephus in his Antiquities, book xviii. c. 2, has mentioned three sects amongst the Jews, the Essenes, the Sadducees, and the Pharisees; though the two last had ceased to exist after the downfall of their nation, and at the time when he wrote. He ought not then to have been silent in respect to the sect of Christians, which had been formed amongst the Jews, and not only subsisted in his own time, but had increased in a very different manner from the others he had mentioned, and was extended through the various provinces of the empire, and the capital itself; whilst they had scarcely exceeded the confines of Judea.

3. Josephus has given an accurate account of all the impostors, or heads of parties, which arose amongst the Jews, from the empire of Augustus to the ruin of Jerusalem.

He relates, that Judas of Galilee stirred up the Jews to an insurrection against the Romans; Antiq. book xviii. c. 1. And also, that the president Tiberius Alexander caused the two sons of this insurgent to be crucified. Book xx. c. 5.

He recounts that an impostor assembled the Samaritans upon mount Gerizim, under the pretence of discovering to them the sacred vessels which Moses had there buried.

He speaks of the preaching of John Baptist, and the concourse of people which flocked to hear him. He bears record to the sanctity of his life; and adds, that the Jews believed the defeat of Herod's army by Aretas king of the Arabs, to have been a punishment for the crime he had committed in putting this holy man to death. Book xviii. c. 7.

He relates that an impostor, named Theudas, seduced a great number of the Jews, and led them towards Jordan, under the promise that he would divide the river, and make them pass over dry-foot. Cuspius Fadus, president of Judea, having received notice of this expedition, dispatched a party of soldiers, who slew Theudas, and brought back his head to the president. Book xx. c. 2.

He mentions that Felix, president of the province, having taken by stratagem Eleazar the son of Dinæus, the leader of a large gang of banditti, sent him in chains to Rome. Book xx. c. 6.

He recounts that an Egyptian coming to Jerusalem, gave himself out for a prophet, and persuaded a mob to follow him to the mount of Olives, where they should see the walls of Jerusalem fall down at his command; but that Felix, on hearing of it, put himself at the head of the troops which were then in the city, and charging the misguided populace, killed four hundred, and took two hundred prisoners. The Egyptian having saved himself, was heard of no more. Book xx. c. 6.

He subjoins a narrative of a pretended magician, who drew

the people into the desert, by promising them that under his conduct they should be safe from every kind of evil. The president Festus sent troops against them, which defeated and dispersed them. Book xx. c. 7.

Jesus was the founder of a party much more considerable, and which occasioned much greater noise, than all those whom this author has mentioned. These impostors, these ringleaders, these men who had collected mobs, had no followers beyond the precincts of Judea: their partizans and adherents were soon dispersed, and at the time when this history was written, nothing but the bare remembrance of them remained. It was far different with the sect, the assemblies and community which Jesus had formed; it not only subsisted in the time of the historian, but was extended through every province of the empire, and flourished in the very capital. The sovereigns of the world exerted all their authority to suppress it. This party or sect, then, deserved, far more than all the others together, to have been noticed by Josephus in his history.

Josephus could not be ignorant of Jesus, nor the sect which had been founded by him: how then, consistently with the laws of history, and the method which he had prescribed to himself, of recording every thing he knew, could he preserve an intire silence on this head? Let us try to solve this ænigma.

Either this historian believed, that all which the disciples of Jesus had said of their Master was false, or else was true. If false, he could not have remained silent; every thing would have stimulated him to speak out on the occasion; the interest of virtue; zeal for his own religion, the foundations of which the Christians had sapped by their impostures; the love of his own nation, whom the disciples of Jesus accused and upbraided with having, from a malignant and cruel jealousy, put to death the Messiah, the Son of God. By exposing the impostures of the Apostles, Josephus must have overwhelmed with confusion the enemies of his own people; have ingratiated himself most effectually with his nation; conciliated the favour of those emperors who persecuted the growing cause of Christianity; attracted the applauses of all who looked with horror on this new superstition; and undeceived the Christians themselves, whom the first disciples of Jesus had so miserably misled. Can any person for a moment believe, that a man able to expose so gross an imposture, and who had so many powerful inducements to do it, should, in spite of every incitement, persevere in the most obstinate silence; especially, when so natural an occasion solicited him to speak? If false miracles were propagated for the purpose of seducing the people of our days, with what zeal, with what ardour would our writers march forth to detect the imposture, and prevent the seduction! Should we not regard their silence, on such an occasion, as a criminal prevarication? It appears then indisputable, that if Josephus had believed the relations of the Apostles, concerning their Master, to have been false, he would have taken care to declare his conviction: but, if he did not believe them to have been false, he must have known them to be true; and, for fear of displeasing his nation, the Romans and their emperors, held his peace. In this case, his silence is of more importance than his testimony, and equally serves to authenticate the truth of those facts upon which Christianity is founded."

THE

CREDIBILITY

OF THE

GOSPEL HISTORY,

OR,

THE FACTS OCCASIONALLY MENTIONED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT CONFIRMED BY PASSAGES OF ANCIENT AUTHORS, WHO WERE CONTEMPORARY WITH OUR SAVIOUR, OR HIS APOSTLES, OR LIVED NEAR THEIR TIME.

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

CONCERNING

THE TIME OF HEROD'S DEATH.

PART I.

PREFACE.

WHATEVER argument is insisted on in behalf of Christianity, whether the purity of its doctrine, the fulfilment of ancient prophecies, the predictions and miracles of our Saviour and his apostles, or the peculiar circumstances of its propagation; it is necessary, that we be apprized of the truth of the things related in the New Testament.

The evidence of the truth of any history is either internal or external. The internal evidence depends on the probability of the things related, the consistence of the several parts, and the plainness and simplicity of the narration. The external evidence consists of the concurrence of other ancient writers of good credit, who lived at, or near the time, in which any things are said to have happened; and who bear testimony to the books themselves, and their authors, or the facts contained in them.

Every serious and attentive reader is able, in a great measure, to judge of the internal marks of the credibility of the history contained in the New Testament: though he may be very much assisted by the observations of others, who are more curious, or more judicious than himself. And for this purpose many excellent writings have been published with very great advantage in our own, and other modern languages.

The external evidence of the truth of any ancient history, and particularly of the gospel-history, lies not so much within the reach of the generality of mankind. And though in some modern defences of the Christian religion, there have been appeals and references made to other ancient authors; yet those appeals have not been so distinct, full, and express, as might have been wished. The writer has supposed his readers learned; and, not producing at length the testimonies he appeals to, the faith of the unlearned, as to this part of the evidence for Christianity, is still resolved very much into the credit and authority of the apologist.

The peculiar design of this work is to enable persons of ordinary capacities, who, for want of a learned education, or of sufficient leisure, are deprived of the advantage of reading over ancient writings, to judge for themselves concerning the external evidence of the facts related in the New Testament.

At present I offer only the evidence of the facts occasionally mentioned in the books of the New Testament, intending hereafter to treat of the principal facts in a like manner.

The method taken in this work is to set down in the first place the representation, which the sacred writers have given of persons, facts, customs, or principles; and then to produce passages of other ancient writers, which confirm or illustrate the account delivered in the New Testament.

Wherever the matter treated of is of any special importance, and wherever there is any ambiguity, or any peculiar beauty or emphasis in the style and expression of the authors I quote, I have placed their original words at the bottom of the page.

There are added likewise, here and there, some short notes for the benefit of the unlearned reader.

I presume it is needless for me to acknowledge particularly, that I am accountable for the translations of all the passages here transcribed: or to declare, that I have used the best care I could about them. I may have mistaken, but I am sure, that I have not, with a view to any particular purpose whatever, designedly misrepresented any fact, or given a wrong turn to any passage. My putting down the original words of my authors, or very particular references to them, will prevent all suspicions of this kind.

The reader is not to suppose, that I have exhausted the argument. The geography of the New Testament, and many facts, customs, and principles, besides those here insisted on by me, are also confirmed by testimonies of ancient writers. I apprehend, however, that what is here offered is sufficient to answer the end proposed. And though the positive part be not full and complete, and indeed could not be so without being tedious; yet I think I have, in the second book, taken in all the chief difficulties affecting that kind of facts I am now concerned with.

The point I was to make out is the Credibility of the Gospel-History. And to that I have confined myself. But no one may hence surmise, that I give up the inspiration of the books of the New Testament. Nor am I aware, that I have in the least weakened any argument, that they were written under a special direction and influence of the Spirit of God. I think however, that if the Gospel-History be credible, the truth of the Christian religion cannot be contested.

I flatter myself, my design will be approved. I wish the execution had been equal to the subject. Imperfect as it is, I hope what is here performed, may be of use to remove, or abate the prejudices of some; to confirm others upon a good foundation in the belief of the Christian religion, and in their high esteem for the writers of the New Testament, and to enable them to read them with new pleasure and profit.

ADVERTISEMENT CONCERNING THE SECOND EDITION.

I now allow, that the words of St. Luke, chap. ii. 2. are capable of the sense in which they are understood by Herwaert and Perizonius. But as I still dispute most of the examples alledged by those learned men in support of that sense, there is but a small alteration made in that article. The Rev. Mr. Masson[a] has given me occasion to consider afresh what I had said concerning Macrobius's passage. I hope what is now added will be to his and others satisfaction. I have also taken this opportunity to add some farther observations on Josephus's silence about the slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem. But the most important addition, is a curious observation on Josephus concerning the Egyptian impostor, which I received from Mr. Ward. These and the few other alterations and additions made in this edition, can need no apology with those who understand the nature of this design. And as they are printed by themselves, and may be had separate, I hope the first edition is not much prejudiced hereby.

[a] See his Slaughter of the Children in Bethlehem, as an historical Fact, vindicated, &c. In the dedication to the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield.

HAVING in the following work made great use of Philo and Josephus, I here prefix a short account of those two writers.

PHILO was a Jew, of Alexandria in Egypt, brother[a] of Alexander the Alabarch, or chief magistrate of the Jews in that country. The Jews having been much abused by the Egyptians, and by Flaccus, the Roman president, in the year of our Lord 39 or 40, Philo with others was sent to Caligula the emperor in the name of the whole Jewish people living in Alexandria. The embassy consisted of[b] five, and he[c] has assured us himself, that he was the eldest and most experienced person among them. It is reasonable to conclude therefore, that he was born at, or before the commencement of the Christian æra. He was eminent for his wit and learning, as well as for his family. Many of his writings are still remaining, though some have been lost. The two books which I have chiefly quoted are his discourse against the forementioned Flaccus, president of Egypt, and his account of the embassy to Caligula.

JOSEPHUS, the Son of Matthias, of the race of the priests, by his mother descended from the Asmonean family, which for a considerable time had the supreme government of the Jewish nation, was born at Jerusalem in the first year of the[d] reign of Caligula, A. D. 37. In the beginning of the Jewish war he commanded in Galilee. Vespasian, then general under Nero, having conquered that country, Josephus became his prisoner, and continued with him as long as Vespasian staid in those parts. When Vespasian, upon his being declared emperor, went to Rome to take possession of the empire, Josephus staid with Titus, was present at the siege of Jerusalem, and saw the ruin of his city and country. Josephus afterwards settled at Rome, and obtained the freedom of the city from Vespasian. Some time after the destruction of Jerusalem, he wrote his history of the Jewish war in seven books. After that he wrote in twenty books the Jewish antiquities, or, history of the Jews from the creation of the world to the twelfth of Nero, in which year the war began. This work he finished in the 56th year of his own age, in the 13th year of the reign of Domitian, A. D. 93. Besides these, we have his life, written by himself, and two books against Apion, an Egyptian author, who had calumniated the Jewish[e] people. The works of Philo and Josephus were written in the Greek language.

AN EXPLICATION OF SOME TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS.

A. U. or, Anno Urbis, is the year of the foundation of the city of Rome, according to Varro's account.

The Julian year is an epoch, so called from Julius Cæsar. The first year of this epoch, when Cæsar's reformation of the Roman year took place, commences the first of January, A. U. 709.

A. D. Anno Domini, or the year of our Lord, or the vulgar Christian æra. According to this account our Saviour was born Dec. 25. Julian year 45. A. U. 753. But the computation does not begin till the year following, viz. January 1. Julian year 46. A. U. 754. This computation all writers, as well as others, follow. But learned men are sensible, it is defective. Our Saviour was born in the reign of Herod the Great. But it is certain, that Herod died before the passover, A. U. 752; very probable in A. U. 750. or 751.

[a] Joseph. Antiq. 18. c. 9. sect. 1. [b] Philo de legat. p. 1043. C. [c] Ibid. 1018. C.
[d] In vit. sect. 1. [e] Vid. Antiq. 20. c. 10. Vit. sect. 75, 76. De Bell. in Procem.

The Reigns of the Roman Emperors, during the Period of the Evangelical History.

			A.U.	A.D.
Augustus having reigned from the death of Julius Cæsar 57 years and some months, and from the defeat of Mark Antony at Actium 44 years, died - - - -		Aug. 19.	767.	14.
Tiberius began his reign - - -		August 19.	767.	14.
Caius Caligula - - - -		March 16.	790.	37.
Claudius - - - -		Jan. 24.	794.	41.
Nero - - - -		Octob. 13.	807.	54.
Nero died - - - -		June 9.	821.	68.
Galba, Otho, Vitellius	reigned from June 9. A. D. 68. / Jan. 17. 69. / Jan. 2. 69.	to Jan. 15. / Apr. 16. / Dec. 21.	822.	69.
Vespasian reigned from July 1. A. D. 69. to June 24 - -			832.	79.

INTRODUCTION.

THE History of the New Testament hath, in an eminent degree, all the internal marks and characters of credibility. The writers appear honest and impartial. They seem to have set down very fairly the exceptions and reflections of enemies, and to have recorded without reserve the weaknesses, mistakes, or even greater faults, which they themselves, or any of their own number, engaged in the same design with them, were guilty of. There is between the four evangelists an harmony, hitherto unparalleled between so many persons, who have all written of the same times or events. The lesser differences, or seeming contradictions, which are to be found in them, only demonstrate they did not write with concert. The other parts of the New Testament concur with them in the same facts, and principles. These are things obvious to all who read the books of the New Testament with attention. And the more they are read, the more conspicuous will the tokens of credibility appear.

But it must be an additional satisfaction, to find that these writers are supported in their narration, by other approved authors of different characters, who lived at or near the time, in which the facts, related by the evangelists, are supposed to have happened.

It is plainly the design of the historians of the New Testament to write of the actions of Jesus Christ, chiefly those of his public ministry; and to give an account of his death and resurrection, and of some of the first steps, by which the doctrine he had taught, made its way in the world. But though this was their main design, and they have not undertaken to give us the political state or history of the countries in which these things were done; yet in the course of their narration, they have been led unavoidably to mention many persons of note; and to make allusions and references to the customs and tenets of the people, whom Jesus Christ and his apostles were concerned with.

Here are therefore two kinds of facts, principal, and occasional. The principal facts are the birth, and preaching of John the Baptist; the miraculous conception and birth, the discourses, miracles, predictions, crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ; the mission of the apostles, the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them, and the other attestations which were given to the divine authority of Jesus Christ, and the truth of his doctrine. The things occasionally mentioned are the estate and character of the princes and governors, in whose time these events are placed; the state of the Jews, their opinions, and practices, and also those of other people, to whom the apostles came.

The facts related in the New Testament are all (except some few mentioned in the book of the Revelation;) supposed to have come to pass before the destruction of Jerusalem, which happened in the seventieth year of the Christian æra. And these historians do throughout maintain the character of persons perfectly well acquainted with the matters of which they write.

Two of these books, the gospels of Matthew and John, bear the names of persons, who are said to have been present at a good part of those transactions, which they give an account of. Mark writes as one fully master of his subject, and Luke affirms expressly, that he "had perfect understanding of all things from the very first," Luke i. 3. and that he was able to write in order of those things he undertook to relate. In these four pieces we have the history of between thirty and forty years, from the vision of Zacharias in the temple at Jerusalem, to the ascension of Jesus Christ.

Besides these, we have also a book called the Acts of the Apostles, ascribed to the last mentioned writer; in which is contained the history of many wonderful events, which followed the resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ. If he had perfect understanding of all things from the very beginning of the gospel of Christ, he may be well supposed thoroughly acquainted with these later events, as nearer his own time. And indeed in a great part of this work he sustains the character of an eye-witness.

Omitting, for the present, the particular consideration of the principal facts of this history, and the direct and positive attestations given to the truth of them (as well as to the genuineness of these writings) by a great number of persons, who lived near the time in which they are supposed to have happened; and who, after a serious and diligent inquiry were convinced of the truth of them, and upon the ground of that persuasion renounced the principles of their education, and ever after constantly maintained and confessed the truth of the facts and principles contained in these books, with great hazard of their ease, reputation, estates and lives: I shall now take a view of those facts only, which are occasionally mentioned in the New Testament; and inquire into the external evidences of the truth of them.

If it appear from other writers, that our sacred historians have mistaken the people and affairs of the time, in which, according to their own account, the things they relate, happened; it will be an argument that they did not write, till some considerable time afterwards. But if upon inquiry there be found an agreement between them and other writers, of undoubted authority, not in some few, but in many, in all the particulars of this kind which they have mentioned; it will be a very strong presumption that they wrote at, or very near the time, in which the things they relate are said to have happened.

This will give credit to the other, the main parts of their narration. An history written and published near the time of any events is credible, unless there appear some particular views of interest; of which there is no evidence in the present case, but quite the contrary.

The history now before us, is the history of many great and wonderful works done in some of the best peopled and most frequented parts of the earth. They are related with very particular circumstances of time and place, and some of them are said to have been done in the presence of great numbers of people. Here is withal an account of proceedings and sentences of courts of judicature, in cities of the first rank, at times of the greatest and most general resort; and of some discourses made before persons (next under the Roman emperor,) of the highest rank and distinction. One manifest design of the whole is to overthrow the religious tenets, then generally received in the world. It is written in the language, not of some obscure kingdom, but of a learned and numerous people, understood at that time by all the polite, and by many others in every part of the known world. For any men to publish such an history of such things as lately done, if not punctually true, could have been only to expose themselves to an easy confutation, and certain infamy.

I propose therefore to give a long enumeration of particulars, occasionally mentioned by the writers of the New Testament, in which they are supported by authors of the best note; and then in answer to divers objections, I shall endeavour to shew, that they are not contradicted in the rest.

If I succeed in this attempt, here will be a good argument for the genuineness of these writings, and for the truth of the principal facts contained in them; distinct from the express and positive testimonies of Christian writers, and the concessions of many others.

THE

CREDIBILITY

OF THE

GOSPEL HISTORY.

PART I.

BOOK I. CHAP. I.

OF PRINCES AND GOVERNORS MENTIONED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. *Herod.* II. *Archelaus.* III. *Herod the Tetrarch, and Philip.* IV. *Herod the Tetrarch, and Herodias.* V. *Lysanias, Tetrarch of Abilene.* VI. *Herod (Agrippa.)* VII. *Felix and Festus.* VIII. *Felix and Drusilla.* IX. *Agrippa (the younger.)* X. *Bernice.* XI. *Sergius Paulus, deputy of Cyprus.* XII. *Gallio, deputy of Achaia.*

THE first thing I would observe is, that Josephus and Heathen authors have made mention of Herod, Archelaus, Pontius Pilate, and other persons of note, whose names we meet with in the Gospels and Acts of the apostles; and have delivered nothing material concerning their characters, posts, or honours, that is different from what the writers of the New Testament have said of them.

I. St. Matthew assures us that "Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea in the days of Herod, the king," Matt. ii. whom St. Luke styles expresly "the king of Judea," Luke i. 5. Herod was the son of Antipater, who had enjoyed considerable posts of honour and trust under Alexander Iannæus, and Alexandra his wife and successor in the civil government of Judea, and their eldest son Hyrcanus; who was high priest in his mother's lifetime, and after her death, had the civil power also united in him.

Nicolas of Damascus says, that Antipater was descended from one of the chief of the Jewish families that returned into Judea from Babylon. But Josephus makes no scruple to declare, that Nicolas said this, only to flatter Herod, who came to be king of Judea; and that in truth he was an Idumean.[a]

These Idumeans were a branch of the ancient Edomites, who, as Dr. Prideaux[b] has observed, 'while the Jews were in the Babylonish captivity, and their land lay desolate, took 'possession of as much of the southern part of it, as contained what had formerly been the 'whole inheritance of the tribe of Simeon, and also half of that, which had been the in-'heritance of the tribe of Judah; and there dwelt ever after,—till at length going over into 'the religion of the Jews, they became incorporated with them into the same nation.'

Josephus gives this account of their conversion. 'Hyrcanus took also Adora and Marissa, 'cities of Idumea: and having subdued all the Idumeans, he permitted them to remain in the 'country, upon condition they would be circumcised, and use the Jewish laws. Rather than 'leave their native land, they received circumcision, and submitted to live in every respect as 'Jews. And from that time they became Jews.'[c]

[a] Joseph. Ant. lib. 14. cap. 1. sect. 3. Edit. Huds.

[b] Connection, Part II. Book iii. p. 199. Oct. Edit. 1718.

[c] Τρκανος δε και της Ιδουμαιας αιρει πολεις Αδωρα και Μαρισσαν· και απανλας τους Ιδεμαιες υποχειριες ποιησαμενος επεῖρεψεν αυλοις μενειν εν τη χωρα, ει περιτεμνειν τε τα αιδοια, και τοις Ιεδαιοις νομοις χρησθαι θελοιεν· οἱ δε πολῳ της πατριδ γης και την περιτομην και την αλλην τε βιε διαιταν υπεμειναν την αυλην Ιεδαιοις πολιτασασθαι· κακεινος αυλοις χρονος υπηρχεν ὡστε ειναι το λοιπον Ιεδαιοις· Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9. sect. 1.

This happened in the 129th year before the Christian æra.[a] Consequently Herod was a Jew, though not of the ancient stock of Israel.

Moreover Josephus calls Judea, Antipater's native country.[b] And the Idumeans in the Jewish war 'promised to defend the house of God (at Jerusalem) and fight, for their common 'country.' [c]And the Jews themselves allowed Herod to be a Jew Whilst Felix was procurator of Judea, 'there arose a dispute between the Jews and Syrians that dwelt in Cæsarea 'concerning the equal rights of citizenship. The Jews thought they ought to have the pre-'ference, because the founder of Cæsarea, Herod their king, was a Jew.'[d]

Herod obtained the crown of Judea upon occasion of a difference between two branches of the Asmonean family. Hyrcanus had been for a considerable time prince and high priest of the Jewish nation. But whilst the Roman empire was in an unsettled state after the death of Julius Cæsar, Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, brother of Hyrcanus, by means of some friends he had amongst the Jews, and by the assistance of the Parthians, made himself master of Jerusalem, and all Judea, and took Hyrcanus prisoner, who was put into the hands of the Parthians.[e]

Hereupon, Herod, who had been governor of Galilee under Hyrcanus, and whose interests had hitherto depended entirely upon him, set sail for Rome. All he then aimed at, was to obtain the kingdom for Aristobulus, brother of his wife Mariamne, by his father, grandson of Aristobulus, and by his mother, of Hyrcanus. But the senate of Rome, moved by the recommendations of Mark Antony and some reasons of state, conferred the kingdom of Judea upon Herod.[f]

Having had this unexpected success at Rome, he returned with all expedition to Judea; and, in about three years time, got possession of the whole country. Antigonus was taken prisoner, sent to Antony, and by him put to death at Herod's request.[g] 'He (Herod) reigned 'after the death of Antigonus thirty-four years, and from the time he was declared king by 'the Romans thirty-seven.'[h]

He died of a very painful and loathsome distemper; insomuch that, as Josephus says, 'Some then pronounced it to be a judgment of God upon him for his many impieties.'[i]

II. St. Matthew informs us, that Joseph, having been some time in Egypt, by divine direction, "arose, and took the young child, and his mother, and came into the land of Israel. But when he heard that Archelaus did reign in Judea, in the room of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither: notwithstanding, being warned of God in a dream, he turned aside into the parts of Galilee," Matt. ii. 21, 22.

By which words it is implied, not only, that Archelaus succeeded Herod in Judea properly so called; but also that his power did not reach over all the land of Israel, and particularly not to Galilee.

Josephus has informed us, that Herod, usually called the Great, by his last will and testament, which he made a little before his death, appointed Archelaus his successor in Judea, with the title of king; and assigned the rest of his dominions to Herod Antipas, and Philip, excepting only some small part, which he gave to his sister Salome. However, the disposal of all was left to the determination of Augustus. This will the emperor ratified, as to the main parts of it. Archelaus was decreed successor to his father in Judea, Samaria, and Idumea, with the title of ethnarch: but was not to have the title of king, till he should do somewhat to deserve it. Herod Antipas was appointed tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa; and Philip, of Trachonitis and the neighbouring countries.[k]

If Joseph returned out of Egypt immediately after the death of Herod, I presume no one will except against the propriety of the expression here made use of, that Archelaus reigned. For his father had in his last will appointed him his successor with the title of king. If this return out of Egypt be supposed not to have happened, till after the decree of Augustus was

[a] Prideaux's Conn. P. II. Book. v. p. 307.

[b] Και πρωτον μεν το τειχος ανεδειμαιο της πατριδος ὑπο Πομπηιȣ καταστραμμενον· de Bell. J. lib. i. c. 10. p. 979. v. 28. vid. etiam ibid. v. 21. [c] Τηρησομεν Ιδȣμαιοι τον οικον τȣ Θεȣ, και της κοινης πατριδος προπολεμησομεν· ibid. lib. iv. p. 1180. v. 43. [d] Περι ισοπολιτειας. Οι μεν γαρ Ιȣδαιοι πρωτευειν ηξιȣν, δια το τον κτιστην της Καισαρειας Ἡρωδην αυτων βασιλεα γεγονεναι το γενος Ιȣδαιον. Joseph. Ant. lib. xx. cap. 7. sect. 7.

[e] In the year before the Christian æra. 40. [f] Joseph. Ant. lib. xiv. c. 14. de Bell. lib. i. c. 14. [g] Ant. lib. xiv. cap. ult. de B. Jud. lib. i. cap. 18. [h] Ant. lib. xvii. 8. sect. 1.

[i] Ὡστε τȣς επιθειαζοντας ποινην ειναι των σωφιστων τα νοσημαια λεγειν. de B. J. lib. i. cap. 33. p. 1041, v. 6. [illegible] ὑπο των θειαζοντων, και ὁις ταυτα προαποφθεγγεσθαι [illegible] κειτο, ποινην τȣ πολλȣ δυσσεβȣς ταυτην ὁ Θεος [illegible] παρα τȣ βασιλεως· Ant. lib. xvii. c. 6. sect. 5.

[k] Jos. Ant. lib. xvii. c. 8. sect. 1. de Bell. lib. i. c. 33 sect. 7. 8. & lib. ii. cap. 6. sect. 3.—Et gentem coërcitam l'heri Herodis tripartito rexere Tacit. Hist. lib. v. cap. 9.

passed, by which Archelaus was forbid as yet to use the style of king; yet no just exception will lie against St. Matthew's phrase. For Josephus himself, who has given us an account of this limitation, calls Archelaus, the king that succeeded Herod.[a] And he has used the verb reigning concerning the duration of his government.[b] And what in one place he calls a tetrarchy, in another, he calls a kingdom.[c]

St. Matthew says, that "when Joseph heard that Archelaus did reign in Judea, he was afraid to go thither." There must have been some particular reason for this fear, and for his "turning aside into the parts of Galilee," (by virtue of a pure choice of his own, or of a new direction from heaven;) though Galilee also was in the possession of one of Herod's sons.

Some may infer from hence, that Archelaus must have had a bad character in Judea, even in his father's lifetime. And there are divers particulars in Josephus, which may confirm such a suspicion.

After his father's death, and before he could set out for Rome, to obtain of Augustus the confirmation of Herod's last will; the Jews, upon his not granting some demands they made, became very tumultuous at the temple. And he ordered his soldiers in among them, who slew above three thousand;[d] which was reckoned a great piece of severity, in the beginning of his reign, or rather whilst he was but a private person: for many reckoned him no more, till the succession was confirmed by Augustus.

As Archelaus went to Rome, so did Herod Antipas, and almost all the rest of the family. When they came thither, Herod made interest for Archelaus's share, which was called the kingdom: and the whole family favoured Herod's pretensions, 'not out of any love to him, 'but out of hatred to Archelaus.'[e]

After Archelaus had left Judea, with the leave of Quintilius Varus, president of Syria, an embassy of fifty of the chief men of Jerusalem was sent to Rome, in the name of the whole nation, with a petition to Augustus, that they might be permitted to live according to their own laws under a Roman governor: and when they came to Rome, they were joined by above eight thousand Jews who lived there. They arrived before Augustus had given his sentence upon Herod's will. When he gave Archelaus and this embassy an audience, none of the royal family would attend Archelaus to support his interest; such was their aversion to him. 'Nor did they join in with the embassy, being ashamed to oppose so near a relation in the pre-'sence of Augustus.'[f]

'And in the tenth year of his government,[g] the chief of the Jews and Samaritans, not 'being able to endure his cruelty and tyranny, presented complaints against him to Cæsar. 'Augustus, having heard both sides, banished Archelaus to Vienna in Gaul, and confiscated 'his treasury.'[h]

Indeed, he seems to have been the worst of all Herod's sons, except Antipater, whom Herod had put to death five days before his own decease.

As the evangelists have said little concerning our Saviour after his return out of Egypt, and settlement in Galilee, till the time of his public ministry, when the government of Judea was in other hands, we find no farther mention made of Archelaus by them.

III. But of the two other sons of Herod, between whom the other half of his dominions was divided, we have mention made long after this. For St. Luke says, Luke iii. 1. "that when the word of God came to John, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, Herod was tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Iturea, and the region of Trachonitis." That is, they were then in possession of the same territories and titles, which were assigned them by their father's last will, and Augustus's decree. And it was this same Herod, tetrarch of Galilee, to whom our Saviour was sent by Pilate, Luke xxiii. 6, 7. when he was accused before him.

That Philip was tetrarch of Trachonitis, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, we are assured by

[a] Ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Ἀρχέλαος υἱὸς ὢν. Antiq. l. xviii p. 802. v. 16. 17. [b] Ὡς τε βασιλεύσειν μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν ἐκείνου κτημάτων· de B. lib. ii. c. 7. p. 1059. vid. etiam p. 789. v. 23 & p. 904. v. 20. [c] Τὴν Αὐσανίτιν τετραρχίαν. p. 818. v. 27. βασιλείαν τὴν Αὐσανίτιν καλουμένην. p. 1071. v. 14.

[d] Ant. lib. xvii. cap. 9. sect. 3. [e] Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφίκετο (Ἀρχέλαος,) καὶ πάντων τῶν συγγενῶν ἀποστάσεις ἦν πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἐκ εὐνοίας τῆς ἐκείνου, μίσει δὲ τῷ πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον· ibid. sect. 4. [f] Ὅσοι δὲ συγγενεῖς ἦσαν πρὸς βασιλέως, Ἀρχελάῳ μὲν συνιέναι ἔδοξαν διὰ μῖσος τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὕστερον· τοῖς δὲ πρεσβεσιν ὁμοψηφεῖν κατ' αὐτὸν δεινὸν ἠγησάμενοι, ἐν αἰσχύνῃ τῇ αὐτῶν οἰόμενοι γενήσεσθαι, παρὰ Καίσαρι καὶ ἀνδρὸς οἰκείου τοιάδε πράσσειν προὐμείσθαι. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 13. sect. i.

[g] A. D. 6 or 7. [h] Δεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀρχελάου, οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐνῖδ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Σαμαρείταις, μὴ φερόντες τὴν ὠμότητα αὐτοῦ καὶ τυραννίδα, κατήγορουν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος—Καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἀφικομένου ἐπὶ τινων κατηγόρων ἀκροᾶται καὶ αὐτὸν λεόντος, καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν φυλάξᾳ ἐλαύνει, ὡς οἰκήτορα αὐτῷ Βιέννην πόλιν τῆς Γαλατίας· τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἀπῃτεῖται· ibid. cap. 15. sect. 2.

Josephus, who says, that 'Philip the brother of Herod died in the twentieth year of Tiberius, 'when he had governed Trachonitis, and Batanea, and Gaulanitis thirty-seven years.'[a]

And Herod continued tetrarch of Galilee, till he was removed by Caligula, the successor of Tiberius.[b]

IV. Of this Herod some other things are related, namely, his marrying Herodias and beheading John the Baptist. These are mentioned by several of the evangelists, Matt. xiv. 1—13. Mark vi. 14—29. Luke iii. 19, 20.——I shall only set down St. Mark's account. "For Herod had sent forth and laid hold upon John, and bound him in prison, for Herodias' sake, his brother Philip's wife; for he had married her. For John said unto Herod, It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife: therefore Herodias had a quarrel against him, and would have killed him, but she could not. For Herod feared John, knowing that he was a just man and an holy, and observed him.——And when a convenient day was come, that Herod on his birth-day made a supper to his lords, high captains, and chief estates of Galilee: and when the daughter of the said Herodias came in and danced, and pleased Herod, and them that sat with him, the king said unto the damsel, Ask of me whatsoever thou wilt, and I will give it thee. And he sware unto her, Whatsoever thou wilt ask of me, I will give it thee, unto the half of my kingdom." Mark vi. 17—23.

This unlawful marriage is recorded in Josephus. 'About this time there happened a difference between Aretas, king of Petræa, and Herod, upon this occasion. Herod the tetrarch had 'married the daughter of Aretas, and lived a considerable time with her. But in a journey he 'took to Rome, he made a visit to Herod, [c] his brother; though not by the same mother, 'for Herod was born of Simon's the high-priest's daughter. Here falling in love with Herodias, the wife of the said Herod, daughter of their brother Aristobulus, and sister of Agrippa 'the Great, he ventured to make her proposals of marriage. She not disliking them, they 'agreed together at this time, that when he was returned from Rome, she should go and live 'with him. And it was one part of their contract, that Aretas's daughter should be put away.'[d]

Josephus speaks again of this marriage in another place, from which it appears likewise, that Herodias had a daughter by her first husband. She is generally supposed to be the person, whose dancing so much entertained Herod, the tetrarch. Giving an account of Herod's children and grand-children he says: 'Herodias was married to Herod, son of Herod the Great, by 'Mariamne, daughter of Simon the high-priest. They had a daughter whose name was Salome, 'after whose birth, Herodias, in utter violation of the laws of her country, left her husband then 'living, and married Herod, the tetrarch of Galilee, her husband's brother by the father's side.'[e]

It may, perhaps, be expected, I should here produce an instance about that time, of some lady of a like station with Herodias's daughter, who danced at a public entertainment. But I must own, I am not furnished with any instance exactly parallel. And I should conclude from this very story, as related by the evangelists, that this dance was a very unusual, if not a singular piece of complaisance. If it had been a common thing, it is not to be supposed that Herod would have thought of requiting it with so large a present as half his kingdom.

However, the daughter of the said Herodias, having received from Herod a solemn promise, confirmed by an oath, that he would give her "whatsoever she should ask of him," and she having withdrawn and advised with her mother, Mark vi. 25, 27, 28, "came with haste unto the king, and asked, saying, I will that thou give me by and by in a charger the head of John the Baptist.—And immediately the king sent an executioner, and commanded his head to be brought: and he went and beheaded him in the prison. And brought his head in a charger, and gave it to the damsel, and the damsel gave it to her mother."

At the time of this event, it was common for princes to require the heads of eminent persons, whom they ordered for execution, to be brought to them, especially where there was any particular resentment.

[a] Antiq. lib. 18. c. 5. sect. 6. [b] Ibid. c. 8. sect. 2.

[c] Josephus here calls Herodias's first husband Herod. The evangelists calls him Philip. This difficulty will be considered amongst the objections.

[d] Εν τῳ δε ϛασιαζεσιν Αρεθας τε ὁ Πετραιων βασιλευς και Ἡρωδης, δια τοιαυτην αἰτιαν. Ἡρωδης ὁ τετραρχης γαμει την Αρεθα θυγατερα και συνην χρονον ηδη πολυν· ϛελλομενων δ' επι Ρωμης καταβαινει εν Ἡρωδου αδελφου οἰκῳ· ουχ ὁμομητριου· εκ γαρ της Σιμωνος του αρχιερεως θυγατρος Ἡρωδης εγενετο· ερασθεις δε Ἡρωδιαδος της τετα γυναικος, θυγατηρ δε ην Αριϛοβουλω, και ἀδελφος αυτων, Αγριππα δε αδελφη τε μεγαλη, τολμα λογων ἁπτεσθαι περι γαμων· και δεξαμενης, συνθηκαι γινονται μετοικισασθαι προς αυτον, ὁποτε απο Ρωμης παραγενοιτο· ην δε εν ταις συνθηκαις· ὡϛε και τα Αρεθα την θυγατερα εκβαλειν. Antiq. 18. c. 6. sect. 1.

[e] Ἡρωδιας δε αυτων ἡ αδελφη γαμειται Ἡρωδη Ἡρωδου του μεγαλου παιδι, ὁς γεγονεν εκ Μαριαμνης της του Σιμωνος του αρχιερεως, και αυτοις Σαλωμη γινεται, μετ ἡς τας γονας Ἡρωδιας, επι συγχυσει φρονησασα των πατριων, Ἡρωδη γαμειται του ανδρος τω ὁμοπατριῳ αδελφω, διαϛασα ζωγου. την δε Γαλιλαιων τετραρχιαν ειχεν ἑτος. ibid. sect. 4.

We have an instance in Josephus, which follows the story of this marriage. Aretas was extremely provoked at the treatment of his daughter, and at length a war broke out betwixt him and Herod. A battle was fought, and Herod's troops were defeated. 'Herod sent an account 'of this to Tiberius; and he resenting the attempt of Aretas, wrote to Vitellius to declare war 'against him, with orders, that if he were taken prisoner he should be brought to him in chains, 'and that if he were slain, his head should be sent to him.'[a]

Agrippina, then wife of Claudius, and mother of Nero, who was afterwards emperor, sent an officer to put to death Lollia Paulina, who had been her rival for the imperial dignity. And Dio Cassius says, that when Lollia's head was brought to her, not knowing it at first, she examined it with her own hands, till she perceived some particular feature, by which that lady was distinguished.[b] I have put down this instance, because it seems to give us the reason of this practice among great people, namely, that they might be certain their orders had been executed.

Josephus has represented Herodias as a woman full of ambition and envy, as having a mighty influence on Herod, and able to persuade him to things he was not of himself at all inclined to. It is on occasion of the emperor Caligula's advancing her own brother to the government of the countries that had belonged to their uncle Philip; and that not with the old title of tetrarch, which he had, but with the more honourable character of king.[c] Upon this, 'Herodias, sister of Agrippa, wife of Herod, tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, envied her brother's 'power, when she saw him in a more honourable station than her husband.'[d] The historian proceeds to relate, that she persuaded her husband to go into Italy, that he might obtain the same title. He was averse at first: however at length she prevailed upon him to undertake the journey. But the emperor was so far from granting his petition, that upon some informations he received concerning him, he took away from him the tetrarchy of Galilee, and gave it to Agrippa, the brother of Herodias, who had been the object of her envy; and moreover banished Herod to Lyons in Gaul, whither this wife of his also followed him. Josephus concludes his account with this reflection: 'This punishment did God inflict on Herodias for envy-'ing her brother, and on Herod for following the vain counsels of a woman.'[e]

I have set down thus much of their story here, because it may serve to give us a clear idea how things passed between Herod the tetrarch and Herodias; and may satisfy us, the evangelists have not been mistaken in representing her as the first mover in the barbarous usage, which John the Baptist met with.[f]

V. I have now said what is sufficient concerning Herod and Philip, two of the princes in whose time St. Luke says, John the Baptist commenced his ministry. All the rest will be more properly considered in some other places, except Lysanias, tetrarch of Abilene; of whom there is no[g] distinct account in any of the ancient writers, which we now have in our hands. But if the reader will be pleased to observe some passages, which will be produced immediately concerning the two Agrippas, he will be convinced there must have been about this time some prince of this name, who was tetrarch of Abilene.

VI. We may now proceed to another of Herod's family, of whom St. Luke has given us a very remarkable history.

"Now about that time, *Herod* the king stretched forth his hands, to vex certain of the church. And he killed James the brother of John with the sword. And because he saw it pleased the Jews, he proceeded farther to take Peter also. Then were the days of unleavened bread." Acts xii. 1—3.

St. Luke calls this person Herod, by the family name; Josephus calls him Agrippa. He was grandson of Herod the Great. His father was Aristobulus, Herod's son by Mariamne, grand-

[a] Ant. lib. 19. cap. 6. sect. 1. [b] Και τηνγε Παυλιναν την Λολλιαν, επειδαν ελπιδα τινα ες την τȣ Κλαυδιȣ συνοικησιν εσχηκεν, απεκτεινε· την τε κεφαλην αυτης κομισθεισαν αυτη, μη γνωρισασα, το, τε ςομα αυτης αυτοχειρια ηνεωξε, και τȣς οδοντας εσκεψατο, ιδιως πως εχοντας. Dio. lib. lx. p. 686. E. Hanov. 1606. Iisdem consulibus atrox odii Agrippina ac Lolliæ infensa, quod secum de matrimonio principis certavisset.—In Lollam mittitur tribunus a quo ad mortem adigeretur. Tacit. Ann. xii. c. 22. [c] Ant. xxviii cap vii sect. 10. fin.

[d] Ἡρωδιας δ' ἡ αδελφη τȣ Αγριππȣ, συνοικȣσα Ἡρωδη, τετραρχης δε ουτος ην Γαλιλαιας και Περαιας, φθονω του αδελφȣ την εξȣσιαν εδεχετο, ορωσα εν πολυ μειζονι αξιωματι γεγενημενον ανδρος τȣ αυτης. ibid. cap. 8. sect. 1. [e] Ἡρωδιαδι μεν δη φθονȣ τȣ προς τον αδελφον, και Ἡρωδη γυναικειων ακροασαμενω κȣφολογιων, δικην ταυτην επιτιμησεν ὁ Θεος. ibid. sect. 2.

[f] Note. There is now in Josephus's works a paragraph [Ant. lib xviii. cap. 6. sect. 2.] in which the death of John Baptist by Herod is related, though Herodias is not mentioned as the cause of it. But some learned men suspecting the genuineness of this paragraph, I have no right to make use of it here, where I intend to produce nothing but what is unquestionably genuine. And, I think, we have no need of it.

[g] Vid. Casaub. Exercit. in Bar. xii. 3. & Vales. Annot. ad Euseb. Hist. Ec. l. i. c. 10.

daughter of Hyrcanus: and is the same person who has been already mentioned as brother of Herodias. St. Luke gives him the title of king, and relates several acts of sovereign authority done by him. He does not say expressly, that they were done by him at Jerusalem: but there are divers particulars in the relation, which plainly determine that to be the scene of action. For St. Luke observes, that when he took Peter, "then were the days of unleavened bread; and that he intended, after *Easter*, to bring him forth to the *People*." And that when Peter was out of prison, "and was come to himself, he said, (ver. 11) Now I know of a surety, that the Lord—has delivered me out of the hand of Herod, and from all the expectation of the *People of the Jews*." And when he had "commanded the keepers to be put to death, (ver. 19.) "he went down from Judea to Cæsarea, and there abode." A passage or two from Josephus will confirm the representation St. Luke gives of Herod's being king, and that of Judea.

It was by several steps that he was advanced to this dignity. His first preferment was from Caligula, A. D. 37. 'And sending for him to his palace, he [Caligula] put a crown upon his head, 'and appointed him king of the tetrarchy of Philip, intending also to give him the tetrarchy of Lysanias.'[a]

His next preferment was the addition made, by the same emperor, of the tetrarchy of Galilee,[b] which has been mentioned already. The last was what follows: 'Claudius[c] by a decree 'confirmed to Agrippa the dominion, which Caius [Caligula] had given him; adding also 'Judea, and Samaria, in the utmost extent as possessed by his grandfather Herod. This he 'restored, as due to him by right of consanguinity; and, moreover, added of his own Abila, 'which had been Lysanias's, together with the country in mount Libanus.'

Josephus therefore confirms the representation which St. Luke has given of Herod's sovereign power in Judea. This is worthy of our particular notice, because his three years' reign in Judea, the last of his life, was the only time, in which Judea, properly so called, was not a Roman province, from the banishment of Archelaus, in the sixth or seventh year of the Christian æra, to the year 66, when they revolted from the Romans.

St. Luke says that having "killed James the brother of John with the sword; *because he saw it pleased the Jews*, he proceeded farther, to take Peter also." That it is very likely he should be moved by such a consideration as this, is evident from the character which Josephus has given of him. Herod the Great, his grandfather, he says, was continually obliging foreign states and cities by large bounties, but did very few things to gratify the Jews. Whereas, 'Agrippa was of a mild and gentle disposition, and good to all men; he was beneficent to 'strangers, but especially kind to the Jews his countrymen, and sympathized with them in all 'their troubles. For which reason also he lived much at Jerusalem, observed the Jewish insti-'tutions, practised the purity they require, and did not let a day pass without worshipping God 'according to the law.'[d] This his zeal for the institutions and customs of the Jews, and his desire to oblige that people, very much confirm the account St. Luke gives of his forwardness in persecuting the disciples of Jesus.

What St. Luke adds concerning this person is a very extraordinary relation, and Josephus concurs with him in it. "And he went down from Judea to Cæsarea, and there abode—And upon a set day, Herod, arrayed in royal apparel, sat upon his throne, and made an oration to them. And the people gave a shout; saying, It is the voice of a God and not of a man. And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory; and he was eaten of worms and gave up the ghost." Acts xii. 19, 21—23.

Josephus's words are these: 'Having now reigned three whole years over all Judea, he went 'to the city Cæsarea, formerly called Straton's tower. Here[e] he celebrated shows in honour 'of Cæsar, a festival having been appointed to be observed there at this time for his safety. 'On this occasion there was a vast resort of persons of rank and distinction from all parts of 'the country. On the second day of the shows, early in the morning, he came into the theatre, 'dressed in a robe of silver, of most curious workmanship. The rays of the rising sun, reflected

[a] Ant. xviii. c. vii. sect. 10. fin. [b] Vid. Joseph. p. 820. v. 20. p. 1067. v. 20. [c] Κλαυδιος δε—διαγραμμα προετιθει, την τε αρχην Αγριππα βεβαιων, ην ὁ Γαιος παρεσχε, και δι εγκωμιων αγων τον βασιλεα· προσθηκην δε αυτῳ ποιειται πασαν την ὑπο Ἡρωδου βασιλευθεισαν ὁς ην παππος αυτου, Ιουδαιαν και Σαμαρειαν. και ταυτα μεν ως οφειλομενα τῃ οικειοτητι του γενους απεδιδου· Αβιλαν δε την Λυσανιου, και ὁποσα εν τῳ Λιβανῳ ὁρει, εκ των αυτου προσετιθει· Ant. 19. c. 5. sect. 1. vid. & de B. lib. ii. cap. 10. [d] Πραϋς δε ὁ τροπος Αγριππα, και προς παντας το ευεργετικον ὁμοιον· τοις αλλοεθνεσιν ην φιλανθρωπος κακεινοις ενδεικνυμενος το φιλοδωρον, τοις ὁμοφυλοις αναλογως χρηστος, και συμπαθης μαλλον ηδεια γουν αυτῳ διαιτα, και συνεχης εν τοις Ιεροσολυμοις ην, και τα πατρια καθαρως ετηρει. δια πασης γουν αυτον ηγεν ἁγνειας, ουδε ἡμερα τις παρωδευεν αυτῳ της νομιμης χηρευουσα θυσιας. Antiq. lib. xix. cap. 7. sect. 3. [e] A. D. 44.

'from so splendid a garb, gave him a majestic and awful appearance. In a short time they 'began in several parts of the theatre flattering acclamations, which proved pernicious to him. 'They called him a God, and entreated him to be propitious to them, saying, "Hitherto we 'have respected you as a man; but now we acknowledge you to be more than mortal." The 'king neither reproved these persons, nor rejected the impious flattery. Soon after this, cast-'ing his eyes upward, he saw an owl sitting upon a certain cord over his head. He perceived 'it to be a messenger of evil to him, as it had been before of his prosperity, and was struck 'with the deepest concern. Immediately after this, he was seized with pains in his bowels ex-'tremely violent at the very first. Then turning himself toward his friends, he spoke to them 'in this manner: "I, your god, am required to leave this world; fate instantly confuting these 'false applauses just bestowed upon me: I, who have been called immortal, am hurried away 'to death. But God's appointment must be submitted to. Nor has our condition in this world 'been despicable; we have lived in the state which is accounted happy." While he was speaking 'these words, he was oppressed with the increase of his pains. He was carried therefore with 'all haste to his palace. These pains in his bowels continually tormenting him, he expired in 'five days time, in the fifty-fourth year of his age,[a] and of his reign the seventh.'[b]

It is needless to make many reflections here. The reader's thoughts cannot but carry him to many points of agreement in these two relations. They agree, that this event happened at Cæsarea: St. Luke says, it was upon a set day; Josephus, that it was upon the second day of the shows celebrated in honour of the emperor. The magnificence of Herod's dress is hinted by St. Luke, and particularly described by Josephus. The flattery is exactly the same in both. But in two things, above all others, is the harmony of these accounts observable. First, the temper of mind with which Herod received this flattery. St Luke says, "he gave not God the glory;" Josephus, 'he neither reproved these persons, nor rejected the impious flattery:' words that deserve particular notice in Josephus, because he has at times represented this Herod Agrippa as an extraordinary person, and free from the vices of his grandfather Herod; and indeed has endeavoured to raise his character for lenity and goodness, beyond what is consistent with some other accounts. For Dio Cassius says, Agrippa was reckoned one of Caligula's advisers in his cruel and tyrannical measures.[c]

Another thing, in which this harmony is very considerable, is, that according to St. Luke, "immediately the angel of the Lord smote him:" and Josephus assures us, that these pains seized him in the theatre, before all the assembly, and that he apprehended a fatal necessity of speedily leaving this world. And when Josephus says, 'these flattering acclamations proved 'pernicious to Agrippa,' he plainly intimates, that his death was supposed to be a punishment for the approbation with which he received them.

Though St. Luke only had related this event, and there had been no account of it extant in Josephus, or any other ancient writer, yet I should not have doubted the truth of it. St. Luke would not otherwise have dared to relate an affair so disadvantageous, as this is in many respects, to so considerable a person as Herod; who was very acceptable to the Jewish people, and had received many honours and civilities from two successive Roman emperors, Caligula and Claudius. Nor would any man of tolerable capacity, much less so sensible a person as

[a] Τριτον δε ετος αυτω βασιλευοντι της ολης Ιουδαιας πεπληρωτο, και παραγιν εις πολιν Καισαρειαν ἡ προτερον Στρατωνος πυργος εκαλειτο· συνετελει δε εν ταυτα θεωριας εις την Καισαρος τιμην, ὑπερ της εκεινου σωτηριας ἑορτην τινα ταυτην επιτελουμενος· και παρ' αυτην ηθροιστο των καθ' την επαρχιαν εν τελει και πρωτευουσιων εις αξιαν πληθος. δευτερα δε των θεωριων ἡμερα στολην ενδυσαμενος εξ αργυρου πεποιημενην πασαν, ὡς θαυμασιον ὑφην ειναι, παρηλθεν εις το θεατρον αρχομενης ἡμερας· ενθα ταις πρωιαις των ἡλιακων ακτινων επιβολαις ὁ αργυρος καταυγασθεις θαυμασιως απεστιλβε, μαρμαιρων τι φοβερον, και τοις εις αυτον ατενιζουσι φρικωδες. ευθυς δε οι κολακες τας, ουδε εκεινω προς αγαθου, αλλος αλλοθεν φωνας ανεδουν, Θεον προσαγορευοντες, ευμενης τε ειης, επιτελουντες, ει και μεχρι νυν ὡς ανθρωπον εφοβηθημεν, αλλα τουτευθεν κρειττονα σε θνητης φυσεως ὁμολογουμεν. ουκ επεπληξε τουτοις ὁ βασιλευς, ουδε την κολακειαν απεδοκιμασεν απερριψατο· ανακυψας δ' εν μετ' ολιγον τον βυθωνα της εαυτου κεφαλης υπερκαθεζομενον ειδεν επι σχοινιου τινος· αγγελον τε τουτον ευθυς ενοησεν κακων ειναι, τον και ποτε των αγαθων γενομενον, και διακαρδιον εσχεν οδυνην· αθρει δε αυτω της κοιλιας προσεφυσεν αλγημα, μετα σφοδροτητος αρξαμενον. αναθεωρων ουν προς τους φιλους, ὁ Θεος υμιν εγω, φησιν, ηδη καταγγελλειν επιτατομαι τον βιον, παραχρημα της ειμαρμενης τας αρτι μη καταψευσμενας φωνας ελεγχουσης. και ὁ κληθεις αθανατος ὑφ' υμων, ηδη θανατου απαγομαι δεκτεον δε την πεπρωμενην, ἡ Θεος βεβουληται· και γαρ βεβιωκαμεν ουδαμη φαυλως, αλλ' επι της μακαριζομενης λαμπροτητος. ταυτα λεγων επιτασει της οδυνης καταπονειται· μετα σπουδης ουν εις το βασιλειον εκομισθη——συνεχως δε εφ' ἡμερας πεντε τω της γαστρος αλγηματι διεργασθεις τον βιον καταλυσειεν, απο γενεσεως αγων πεντεκοστον ετος και τελαιον, της βασιλειας δε εβδομον. Antiq. lib xix. c 8. sect. 2.

[b] NOTE. The seventh year of his reign is computed from the time of his first advancement, by Caligula, to the tetrarchy of his uncle Philip, A. D. 37.

[c] Ου μεντοι ταυτα ουτως αυτου ελυπει, ὡς το προσδοκαν επι πλειον την τε ωμοτητα την του Γαϊου και την ασελγειαν αυξησειν· και μαλιστ' ὁτι ηπυνθανετο τον τε Αγριππαν αυτω και τον Αριοχον, τους βασιλεας, ὡσπερ τινας τυραννοδιδασκαλους, συνειναι. Dio. lib. lix. p. 658.

St. Luke appears to be by his writings, have exposed his credit, by placing such an event in so public and noted a place as Cæsarea, the person concerned being seated on a throne, surrounded by attendance suitable to the occasion of a particular solemnity, if he had not been sure of the fact. And yet it may be said to receive a farther confirmation from Josephus, who, we may be assured, out of regard to his own credit, and his favourable inclination to Agrippa, would never invent such a story as this.

As for the owl which Josephus speaks of, and which is now said to be a 'Messenger of evil 'to Agrippa, as it had been before of his prosperity;' it has reference to an account he has given of the perching of such a bird upon a tree near this same Agrippa, when he was put into chains by order of Tiberius; and to a prognostication, which a German astrologer is said to have delivered at that time concerning him.[a] Whether such a bird did now appear in the theatre or not, I will not determine, nor do I think it material. Josephus does now and then throw a circumstance or two into his relations that give them an heathenish air; with a design, it is probable, of rendering his history more agreeable to the Greeks and Romans, for whom it was principally intended. But it is evident, from his account, that Herod was seized with a very uncommon disorder, and that he had the most lively apprehensions of his approaching death.

St. Luke says, "Herod was eaten of worms." This is not mentioned by Josephus. And this has been supposed by some to be a considerable objection against St. Luke's account; but in my opinion without any good reason. For the distemper, of which Herod Agrippa died, was, according to Josephus's own description of it, very like to that of Herod his grandfather; who, beside other disorders, was afflicted with violent pains in his bowels, and an ulcer which bred worms[b]. And it is not all unlikely that Agrippa's case was, in this last respect also, very much the same with that of Herod the Great. I should think, that most persons must be ashamed to represent the omission of this particular in Josephus, as an objection of any moment. The distempers of great men are seldom particularly described. A certain delicacy often restrains men from making mention of such matters, and especially are historians shy of relating them concerning those princes, in whose honour they are interested Upon the whole, I believe this passage of Josephus will be allowed to be a very remarkable attestation of this extraordinary event related by St. Luke.

It will be of use to put down here from Josephus the names of Herod Agrippa's children. 'Thus died king Agrippa, leaving behind him one son named Agrippa, then seventeen years 'of age, and three daughters; Bernice, who was married to Herod her father's brother, being 'sixteen years of age, Mariamne, and Drusilla, who were unmarried. The former was ten 'years old, and Drusilla six.—Drusilla was contracted to Epiphanes, son of Antiochus king of 'Commagene'.[c]

VII. From the xxiiid and two following chapters of the Acts of the apostles, we learn that Felix was governor in Judea, and that Porcius Festus succeeded him; the truth of which is particularly attested by Josephus,[d] in divers parts of his history.

VIII. Concerning Felix, St. Luke has mentioned divers things, beside his being governor, that will deserve our consideration. Whilst St. Paul was at Cæsarea, St. Luke says: "and after certain days, when Felix came with his wife Drusilla, which was a Jewess, he sent for Paul, and heard him concerning the faith in Christ." Acts xxiv. 24. This Drusilla is the youngest daughter of Herod Agrippa, as was shewn just now. We have this account in Josephus, of her marriage with Felix.

'Agrippa having received this present from Cæsar, [viz. Claudius,] gave his sister Drusilla 'in marriage[e] to Azizus, king of the Emesenes, when he had consented to be circumcised.[f] For 'Epiphanes, the son of king Antiochus, had broke the contract with her, by refusing to em-

[a] Jos. Antiq. l. 18. cap vii. sect. 7. [b] Ant. lib. xvii. cap. vi. sect. 5. [c] Ibid. lib. xix. c. 9 in.

[d] Ibid xx. cap. vi. vii. De B. J. lib. 2 c. 12. sect. 8. c. 13, 14.

[e] This was done A. D. 52, or 53.

[f] Λαβων δε την δωρεαν παρα τε Καισαρος Αγριππας, εκδιδωσι προς γαμον Αζιζω τω Εμεσων βασιλει, περιτεμνεσθαι θελησαντι, Δρουσιλλαν την αδελφην. Επιφανης γαρ, ὁ Αντιοχε τε βασιλεως παις, παρητησατο τον γαμον, μη βουληθεις εις τα Ιουδαιων εθη μεταβαλειν, καιπερ τελο ποιησειν προϋποσχομενος αυτης τω πατρι——Διαλυονται δε τη Δρουσιλλη προς τον Αζιζον οι γαμοι, μετ' ου πολυν χρονον, τοιαυτης εμπεσουσης αιτιας. καθ' ὁν καιρον της Ιουδαιας επετροπευσε Φηλιξ, θεασαμενος ταυτην, και γαρ ην καλλει πασων διαφερουσα, λαμβανει της γυναικος επιθυμιαν, και Σιμωνα ονομαζει, των εαυτε φιλων, Ιουδαιον, Κυπριον δε γενος, μαλον ειναι σκηπτομενον, πεμπων προς αυτην, επειθε τον ανδρα καταλιπουσαν αυτω γημασθαι, μακαριαν ποιησειν επαγγελλομενος, μη ὑπερηφανησασαν αυτον. ἡ δε κακως πρατθουσα, και φυγειν τον εκ της αδελφης Βερνικης βουλομενη φθονον, δια γαρ το καλλος παρ εκεινης εν εκ ολιγοις εβλαπτετο, παραβηναι ταττε πατρια νομιμα πειθεται, και τω Φηλικι γημασθαι. Antiq. lib. xx. c. 6. sect. 1, 2.

'brace the Jewish customs, although he had promised her father he would.—But this marriage 'of Drusilla with Azizus was dissolved, in a short time, after this manner. When Felix was 'procurator of Judea, having had a sight of her, he was mightily taken with her; and indeed she 'was the most beautiful of her sex. He therefore sent to her Simon, a Jew of Cyprus, who was 'one of his friends, and pretended to magic; by whom he persuaded her to leave her husband, 'and marry him; promising to make her perfectly happy, if she did not disdain him. It was far 'from being a sufficient reason; but to avoid the envy of her sister Bernice, who was continu-'ally doing her ill offices, because of her beauty, she was induced to transgress the laws of her 'country and marry Felix.'

It has been thought indeed by some, that Tacitus gives a different account of this Drusilla, when he says, that Felix had for his wife Drusilla, granddaughter of Cleopatra and Antony.[a] But I don't know that I am obliged to take notice of this, since Josephus agrees with St. Luke, "that she was a Jewess." And he may be justly supposed to be as well acquainted with Drusilla's original as Tacitus. I shall only observe, that Suetonius says, that Felix married three queens,[b] or three women of royal families. It is certain that Drusilla, a Jewess, sister of Agrippa the younger, was one of them. And if Tacitus was not mistaken, another of them was descended from Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, and Antony, and was called Drusilla.[c] Who the third was, doth not appear that I know of.

Tacitus says, that whilst Felix was procurator of Judea, 'he acted in a very arbitrary 'manner, and scrupled no kind of injustice.'[d] Josephus has recorded one instance of abomi-'nable villainy he was guilty of. 'Jonathan the high priest often admonished Felix to correct 'his administration; for that otherwise he himself was in danger of the ill-will of the people, 'since he had desired the emperor to make him procurator of Judea.' But he not being able to bear these remonstrances, 'by a large sum of money corrupted an intimate friend of 'Jonathan's, who got him to be assassinated.'[e] His government was so irregular, that the Jews followed him with complaints to Rome after he had left the province: and it was owing to a very powerful interest made for him at court, that he escaped the resentment of Nero.

All these above-mentioned particulars from Josephus and Tacitus, may satisfy us, that when, Acts xxiv. 25, "Paul reasoned of righteousness, temperance, [or chastity] and judgment to come," his subjects were well chosen with respect to both his hearers; and that what St. Luke adds concerning Felix, that he, ver. 26, "hoped that money should have been given him of Paul,[f] that he might loose him," is no calumny.

Some, indeed, may think it strange, that Felix should have had any hopes of receiving money from this prisoner, when it does not appear he had any estate; and he has intimated, that he was at times obliged to "labour, working with his hands" for a subsistence. 1 Cor. iv. 12. Acts xx. 34. But in answer to this, it has been observed by expositors, that Paul had told Felix, that "after many years" he "came to bring alms to his nation and offerings," Acts xxiv. 17. It is likely, therefore, that Felix imagined that the money had not been all distributed as yet, since Paul was apprehended within a few days after his coming to Jerusalem: ch. xxi. 27. xxiv. 11; or, at least, concluded he must needs be a person of some consequence, and have good friends.

IX. St. Luke says, Acts xxv. 13, "And after certain days, king *Agrippa* and Bernice came to Cæsarea to salute Festus." This Agrippa is the son of Herod Agrippa above-mentioned. St. Luke calls him king, as Josephus does also very often.[g] But St. Luke does not suppose him to be king of Judea: for all the judicial proceedings in that country, relating to Paul, are transacted before Felix, and this Festus his successor. Besides, he says here, that "Agrippa

[a] —— Drusillâ Cleopatræ & Antonii nepte in matrimonium acceptâ: ut ejusdem Antonii Felix progener, Claudius nepos esset. Hist. lib. v. cap. 9. [b] Felicem, quem—provinciæque Judææ præposuit, trium reginarum maritum. Suet. Claud. c. 28. [c] She is supposed by some learned men to be the daughter of Juba, king of Mauritania, by Cleopatra, daughter of M. Antony and Cleopatra; and to have died before Felix came into Judea. Vid. Joseph. p. 891. not. 6. & notas in Sueton. Claud. c. 28. [d] E quibus Antonius Felix, per omnem sævitiam ac libidinem, jus regium servili ingenio exercuit. Tacit. Hist. lib. v. c. 9. At non frater ejus cognomento Felix pari moderatione agebat, jam pridem Judææ impositus, & euncta malefacta sibi impune ratus, tantâ potentiâ subnixo. Ann. lib. xii. c 54. [e] Εχων δε απεχθως προς τον αρχιερεα τον Ιωναθην ὁ Φηλιξ, δια το πολλακις ὑπ' αυτȣ νȣθετεισθαι, περι τȣ κρειτονως προ στασθαι των κατα την Ιȣδαιαν πραγματων, μη και μεμψιν αυτος οφλοιη παρα τοις πληθεσιν, αιτησαμενος εκεινον παρα τȣ Καισαρος πεμφθηναι της Ιȣδαιας επιτροπον,—— και δη δια τοιαυτης αιτιας ὁ Φηλιξ τον πιστοτατον των Ιωναθȣ φιλων, πειθει, πολλα χρηματα δωσειν υπισχνȣμενος· κ. τ. λ. Ant. 20. c. 7. sect. 5.

[f] Scelus est accipere ab reo: quanto magis ab accusatore? quanto etiam sceleratius ab utroque? Cicer in Verr. lib. ii. n. 78. [g] Ant. xx. l. viii. sect. 6. & passim.

came to Cæsarea to salute Festus;" that is, to pay his respects to him, and compliment him upon his arrival in the province. See Acts xxv. 1.

When his father was dead, Claudius intended at first to have put him immediately in possession of his father's dominions; but Agrippa being then but seventeen years of age, the emperor was persuaded to alter his mind, 'and appointed Cuspius Fadus prefect of Judea, and the whole kingdom.'[a] Which Fadus was succeeded by Tiberius Alexander, Cumanus, Felix, Festus;[b] though these did not possess the province in the same extent that Fadus did.

Agrippa therefore was disappointed of his father's kingdom; but he had by this time got considerable territories.

'Herod, brother of king Agrippa the great, died in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius 'Cæsar.—Claudius then gave his government to Agrippa the younger."[c] This is our Agrippa we are now speaking of.

'The twelfth year of his reign being completed, he [Claudius] gave Agrippa the tetrarchy 'of Philip, and Batanea, adding also Trachonitis with Abila. This had been the tetrarchy of 'Lysanias. But he took away from him Chalcis, after he had governed it four years.'[d] This from his Antiquities. In the War of the Jews, Josephus expresseth it thus: 'After this he 'sent Felix the brother of Pallas to be Procurator of Judea, Galilee, Samaria, and Peræa; and 'promoted Agrippa from Chalcis to a greater kingdom, giving to him the tetrarchy which had 'been Philip's. (This is Batanea and Traconitis, and Gaulanitis.) And he added moreover the 'kingdom of Lysanias, and the province that had been Varus's.'[e]

'Nero, in the first year of his reign, gave Agrippa a certain part of Galilee, ordering Tiberias 'and Taricheas to be subject to him. He gave him also Julias a city of Peræa, and fourteen 'towns in the neighbourhood of it.'[f] St. Luke therefore is in the right in giving Agrippa the title of king at this time.

The reader has, doubtless, observed, that when Paul was before Agrippa, he addressed himself to him as a Jew. Acts. xxvi. 2, 3. "I think myself happy, king Agrippa, because I shall answer for myself this day before thee.—Especially because I know thee to be expert in all customs and questions which are among the Jews. Ver. 27. King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest."

From what hath been alleged, relating to Herod Agrippa, it is plain he was a zealous Jew, or at least appeared so at Jerusalem, and had educated all his children in the Jewish religion. This Agrippa, his son, undoubtedly maintained the same profession; and now he had, by the permission of the emperor, the direction of the sacred treasury, the government of the temple, and the right of nominating the high priests.[g] No wonder, therefore, that St. Paul told Agrippa, "he knew him to be expert in all customs and questions which were among the Jews."

X. Bernice was a lady well known in those times. There are several reflections made upon her conduct by Josephus,[h] as well as other writers.[i] But as St. Luke says nothing of her, beside her making a visit to Festus with Agrippa; and it has been shewn already who she was, namely, the daughter of Herod Agrippa, and the sister of Agrippa the younger, I am not bound to add any farther concerning her. I shall only say, the respect which Titus Vespasian shewed her, gave occasion for much discourse; and that she had once hopes of being empress, but the murmurs of the people of Rome prevented it.[k]

[a] Ant. xix. c. ix. fin. [b] Ant. xx. de Bell. lib. ii
[c] Jos. Ant. xx. p. 887. in. [d] Ibid. p. 890. v. 25, &c.
[e] De B. lib. ii. c. xii. fin. [f] Ant. xx. c. vii. sect. 4.

[g] Josephus indeed says, Antiq. l. xx. c. 1. sect. 3. that Herod [King of Chalcis, brother of Agrippa the Great,] did, upon the death of his brother, request of Claudius Cæsar the power of the temple and of the sacred money, and the right of nominating the high priest, and that he obtained all these privileges: and that from him this power continued to all his descendants, till the end of the war. Ἠτησαῖο δε και Ἡρωδὴς ὁ αδελφος μεν Αγριππᾳ τᾳ τελευτηκοῖος, Χαλκιδος δε την αρχην καῖα τον χρονον εκεινον πεπιςευμενος, Κλαυδιον Καισαρα την εξουσιαν τᾳ νεω, και των ἱερων χρημαῖων, και την των αρχιερεων χειροτονιαν, πανῖων τε επεῖυχεν· εξ εκεινᾳ τε πασι τοις απογονοις αυῖᾳ παρεμεινεν ἡ εξουσια μεχρι της τᾳ πολεμᾳ τελευτης. But either there is some error here in the copies of Josephus, or else we do not understand him right. For none of the sons of Herod of Chalcis did nominate any high priests. But, according to Josephus's own account, all the changes in the priesthood, after the death of the said Herod, [which happened in the 8th of Claudius] to the time of the war, were made by Agrippa the younger, nephew of this Herod king of Chalcis. See Ant. xx. c. vii. sect. 11. c. viii. sect. 1. And when the people of Jerusalem had a mind to apply the sacred money to any particular purpose, they addressed to Agrippa; and he gave the directions. Ibid. sect. 7. And Josephus says expressly, that the king [Agrippa] had been entrusted with the care or government of the temple, by Claudius Cæsar. Ὁ βασιλευς δε, επεπις-ευῖο γαρ ὑπο Κλαυδιᾳ Καισαρος την επιμελειαν τᾳ ἱερᾳ. κ. λ. ibid.

[h] Ant. lib. xx. c. vi. sect. 3. [i] Tacit. Hist l. ii. c. 2. & 81. Juv. Sat. 6. v. 155.

[k] Βερενικη δε ισχυρως τε ηνθει, και δια τελο και ες την Ῥωμην μεῖα τᾳ αδελφᾳ τᾳ Αγριππα ηλθε——ἡ δε εν τῳ παλαῖῳ ωκεσε, και τῳ Τιῖῳ συνεῖῖνεῖο. προσεδοκαῖο δε γαμεθησεσθαι αυῖῳ, και πανῖα ηδη, ὡς και γυνη αυῖᾳ ὡσα, εποιει· ὡς' εκεινον δυσχεραινοντας της Ρω-

XI. There are but two things more I shall take notice of in this chapter. They may be judged by some, too minute to be insisted on; but they appear to me instances of great exactness and propriety, and to afford a strong proof, that St. Luke was perfectly well acquainted with the matters of which he wrote.

Paul and Barnabas, having preached the word of God at Salamis [in Cyprus] went through "the isle to Paphos, where they found Barjesus, which was with the *Deputy* of the country, Sergius Paulus;" Acts xiii 7. But in the Greek it is, with the *Proconsul* Sergius Paulus.[a]

It is well known to the learned, that upon Augustus's becoming absolute master of the Roman commonwealth, there was a division made of the provinces of the empire;[b] the most powerful, or at least, those which required the greatest number of troops, the emperor kept to himself, the rest were made over to the people and senate. The officers sent by the emperor were called lieutenants, or proprætors, though they were consular persons; that is, though they had served the consulship in the city.[c] The governors sent by the senate, into the provinces that belonged to their share, he appointed to be called proconsuls, a name more suitable to the peaceful state, which the provinces allotted to the senate were in. But the division made at this time[d] underwent many changes. And a province, assigned at first to the senate, was afterwards made over to the emperor, and on the contrary. Such a change happened with reference to this province of Cyprus; which, in the first partition, was one of the emperor's provinces, but was afterwards, together with Gallia Narbonensis, given to the senate; in the room of which he took Dalmatia, which at first was theirs.[e] In this state the province continued, and the proper title of the governor of Cyprus was that of proconsul.

It is true, Strabo says, Cyprus was a prætorian province;[f] and this has made this text a mighty difficulty with many learned men. Beza went so far into the opinion of the impropriety of this expression, as to attempt to correct it, in his translation of this text, and he put proprætor in the room of proconsul. And the solutions, which have been offered by divers other learned men,[g] have, I believe, appeared unsatisfactory. But if Dio's whole account of this matter had been attended to, the difficulty had vanished.[h] Cyprus was undoubtedly a prætorian province, as all the people's provinces were, except two. But the governors of all their provinces had the title of proconsul. 'It was decreed, that two of their provinces, Asia 'and Africa, should be appropriated to senators that had been consuls; and all the rest were 'given to those which had been prætors.'[i] 'But that they should be all called proconsuls, not 'only those which had been consuls, but those also which had been only prætors.'[k] And Suetonius says, 'That Augustus took the most powerful provinces to himself, and gave the rest to 'proconsuls chosen by the senate.'[l]

Examples also support this use of the word. Crete was a prætorian province, according to Strabo and Dio; yet Tacitus calls Cæsius Cordus, proconsul of Crete.[m] There is also an ancient inscription, of Caligula's reign, in which Aquius Scaura is called proconsul of Cyprus.[n] If I have done St. Luke justice in this place, it is chiefly owing to assistances borrowed from Cardinal Noris: and I think myself obliged to make a particular acknowledgment of it.

XII. The last thing I shall take notice of, is the title given to GALLIO;[o] who in our translation is called the deputy, but in the Greek, proconsul[p] of Achaia. In this instance, St. Luke's accuracy appears more conspicuous than in the former, because this province had a more vari-

μαιως επι τελοις ησθημενον, αποπεμψασθαι αυλην. Dio ex Xiphil. lib. 66. p. 752. Nec minus libido, [*suspecta in eo erat*]—propterque insignem reginæ Berenices amorem, cui etiam nuptias pollicitus ferebatur—præcipueque sumtam sibi Berenicen statim ab urbe dimisit invitus invitam. Suet. in Tit. c. 7.

[a] Ὁς ην συν τῳ ανθυπαλῳ Σερλιῳ Παυλῳ.

[b] Strabon. Geog. lib. 3. p. 166. Ed. Amst. 1707. & lib. xvii. fin. Suet. August. c. 47, 48. Dio lib. 53. p. 503.

[c] Τους τε ἑλεσθαι ὑπο τε εαυτε αἱρεισθαι, και πρεσβευτας αυτε ανθιστρατηγους τε ονομαζεσθαι, καν εκ των ὑπατευκοτων ωσι, διελαξε. Dio lib. 53. p. 504. D.

[d] A. U. 727. before Christ, 27. vid. Basnage annal. Polit. Eccl.

[e] ——Κυπρος, και Αἱσπανιοι εν τη τε Καισαρος μεριδι τοτε εγενοντο· ὑστερον γαρ την μεν Κυπρον και την Γαλατιαν την περι Ναρβωνα τῳ δημῳ απεδωκεν, κ. τ. λ. Dio. ibid. p. 504. A. το τε δ' ην και την Κυπρον και την Γαλατιαν την Ναρβωνησιαν απεδωκε τῳ δημῳ—— και οὐτως, ανθυπατοι και ες εκεινα τα εθνη πεμπεσθαι ηρξαντο· id. lib. 54. ad. A. U. 732. p. 523. B.

[f] Εξ εκεινε δ' εστενεθο επαρχια ἡ νησος, καθαπερ και νυν εστι, στρατηγικη. lib. 14. sub fin.

[g] Baron. A. Chr. 46. n. xi. Grot. in loc. &c.

[h] Vid. Noris. Cenotaph. Pisan. p. 219.

[i] Τῃ δε δη βελῃ, ιδια μεν τοις τε ὑπατευκοσι την τε Αφρικην και την Ασιαν, και τοις εστρατηγηκοσι τα λοιπα παντα απενειμε. Dio. p. 505. C.

[k] Και ανθυπατους καλεισθαι μη ὁτε τους ὑπατευκοτας, αλλα και τους αλλους, των εστρατηγηκοτων, ἡ δοκουντων γαρ εστρατηγηκεναι, μονον οντας. id. p. 504. C.

[l] Provincias validiores ipse suscepit—cæteras proconsulibus sortito permisit. August. cap. 47.

[m] Ancharius Priscus Cæsium Cordum proconsulem Cretæ postulaverat repetundis. Ad. A. U. 774. Ann. l. iii. cap 38.

[n] P. Aquius Scaura—C. CÆSARE PRO CONSULE CYPRUM OBTINUIT. Gruter. Inscript. pag. 360. 3. laudat. a Noris. Cenotaph. Pisan. Dissert. ii. p. 219.

[o] Of Gallio see more Ch. viii. sect. 1.

[p] Ανθυπατευοντος της Αχαιας.

ous fortune than the other. In the original partition, they were assigned to the people and senate.[a] In the reign of Tiberius they were, at their own request, made over to the emperor.[b] In the reign of Claudius, when L. Quinctius Crispinus and M. Statilius Taurus were consuls, A. U. 797. A. D. 44. they were again restored to the senate.[c] And therefore 'from that time '[as Dio says upon Augustus's giving Cyprus to the senate] proconsuls were sent into this 'country.' St. Paul was brought before Gallio in the year of our Lord 52,[d] or 53;[e] consequently Gallio was proconsul of Achaia, as St. Luke calls him.

And perhaps it will not be amiss to observe, that afterwards Nero made the Achaians a free people.[f] The senate therefore lost this province again. However, that they might not be sufferers, Nero gave them the island of Sardinia in the room of it.[g] Vespasian made Achaia a province again.[h]

There is likewise a peculiar propriety in the name of the province of which Gallio was proconsul. The country subject to him was all Greece; but the proper name of the province among the Romans was Achaia. This is evident from some passages already set down in the margin, and has been particularly observed by Pausanias.[i]

CHAP. II.

OF THE STATE OF THE JEWS IN JUDEA, DURING THE MINISTRY OF OUR SAVIOUR AND HIS APOSTLES.

I. *The religious state of the Jews, according to the writers of the New Tesstament.* II. *According to other ancient writers.* III. *The method of considering their civil state, in four periods, proposed.* IV. *Three preliminary observations.* V. *Their civil state in the first period, according to the writers of the New Testament. Some difficulties relating to it considered.* VI. *Their state, in the second period, according to the same writers.* VII. *In the third.* VIII. *In the fourth period.* IX. *Some difficulties relating to this last period.* X. *The civil state of Judea, in the first and last periods, according to other ancient writers.* XI. *In the second.* XII. *In the third period.* XIII. *The chief captain at Jerusalem.* XIV. *The captain of the temple.* XV. *Festus's council.*

In considering the state of the Jews in their own country, two things are to be regarded, their religious and their civil state.

I. That they had, according to the sacred writers, the free exercise of their religion, is evident from the whole tenor of the history contained in the gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. They had their synagogues, the law and the prophets were read there; our Saviour taught in the synagogues. Whenever he healed any lepers, he "bid them go and shew themselves to the priests," Matt. viii. 4. "and offer the gift that Moses commanded," Luke v. 14.

There appears to have been a great resort to the temple at Jerusalem, from Galilee, and other parts, at all their usual great feasts. They were at full liberty to make what contributions they saw fit to their sacred treasury; Mark xii. 41, 44. Luke xxi. 1; and so secure were they, that they used indirect practices to enrich it; Matt. xv. 5. Mark vii. 11, 12. There is no mention made in the history of our Saviour's ministry, of any restraint, or obstruction they met with in their worship, save that one of the "Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices," Luke xiii. 1.

II. That they might thus freely perform all the services of their religion, though they be supposed to have been then under the Roman government, is not at all improbable. For the

[a] Dio. p 503. fin. [b] Achaiam ac Macedoniam, onera deprecantes, levari in præsens proconsulari imperio, tradique Cæsari placuit Tacit An lib. 1. cap. 76.

[c] Provincias Achaiam & Macedoniam, quas Tiberius ad curam suam transtulerat, senatui reddidit. Sueton. in Claud. cap. 25. Την τε Αχαιαν και την Μακεδονιαν—απεδωκεν ὁ Κλαυδιος τοῖς πολλοῖς κληρῳ· Dio. lib. 60. p. 680. E.

[d] Basnage Ann P. E. [e] Pearson Ann. Paul.

[f] Universæ Achaiæ libertatem Domitius Nero dedit. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iv. cap 6. [g] Και ελευθερον ὁ Νερων αφησιν απαντων, αλλαζην προς δημον ποιησαμενος τον Ρωμαιων· Σαρδω γαρ την νησον ες τα μαλιστα ευδαιμονα ανθ' Ελλαδος σφισιν ανεδωκεν. Pausan. p. 428. Hanov. 1613.

[h] Achaiam—libertate ademtâ, in provinciarum formam redegit. Sueton in Vespas c. 8. [i] Καλεσι δε ουχ Ελλαδος, αλλ' Αχαιας ηγεμονα οι Ρωμαιοι, διοτι εχειρωσαντο Ελληνας δι Αχαιων, τοῖς τα Ελληνικα προεστηκοσιν· Pausan. Descript. lib. vii. p. 563.

Romans had ever permitted the people they conquered to practise their own religious rites in their own way: and seem not to have departed from this principle, till after the period of the evangelical history. And that the Jews were now at full liberty to worship God, according to the institutions of Moses, we are assured by Josephus, who has left us the history of these times. The Roman presidents did indeed, for some time, put in, and turn out their high priests at pleasure. Valerius Gratus, Pilate's predecessor, made several high priests, in the time of his government.[a] The last high priest he made was Caiaphas, who continued in that office during all Pilate's administration. He being removed from the province, Vitellius, president of Syria, put in Jonathan the son of Ananus, or Annas;[b] and afterward Theophilus, another son of Ananus, in the room of Jonathan.[c] But in this there was nothing unusual or extraordinary. Herod the Great and Archelaus had been wont, before this, to constitute and remove the high priests at pleasure.[d] Theophilus, just now mentioned, continued high priest till Herod Agrippa, [mentioned Acts xii.] then king of all Judea, displaced him, and put Simon the son of Boethus into his room.[e] However, this Herod was a Jew; and from thence to the time the war broke out with the Romans, the nomination of the high priests, and the government of the temple, were committed to princes of the Jewish religion, by the direction of the Roman emperors. After the death of Herod Agrippa, Claudius invested Herod king of Chalcis, brother of Herod Agrippa, with these powers;[f] and after his death, Agrippa the younger, son of the said Herod Agrippa.[g] And although they might all act somewhat arbitrarily in the nomination of the high priests, yet they always confined their choice to those who were of the race of the priests.

The Roman governors did indeed sometimes offer them abuses, or suffer abuses to be committed in their country, contrary to the institutions of the law, as they did also injure them in their civil properties. But these abuses seem not to have been very numerous; when any were committed, it was without the emperor's authority; and, usually, the Jews at length obtained satisfaction.[h]

This general view of the religious state of the Jews in Judea may suffice at present. I shall have occasion to enlarge more upon this subject hereafter.

III. Their civil state will require a more particular consideration in this place. It will be needful to lay together a good number of texts, that the reader may be able to judge what representation the sacred historians have given of this matter. That it may be done distinctly, I desire leave to divide their history into four periods. These will serve to relieve us in a disquisition, which will be of some length. And perhaps we may have some other advantages, and receive some clearer light into this matter, by this method, than we should have otherwise.

1. The first period reaches from the preaching of John Baptist to our Saviour's resurrection.
2. The second, from thence to the time of Herod the king, mentioned Acts xii.
3. The reign of this Herod.
4. From the end of his reign to the conclusion of the evangelical history.

IV. I must here premise, that in going over the several passages of scripture relating to this matter, we are particularly to have our eye to a point, in which learned men are not entirely agreed, namely, what power and authority the Jewish nation was now possessed of; and whether they had the power of life and death, or only a right to inflict some lesser penalties.

2. I would likewise observe, that our inquiry here will chiefly be confined to the state of the Jews in Judea, properly so called. I have already shewn (in part at least) in the foregoing chapter, that St. Luke has given a just account of the several divisions of the land of Israel, and of the princes and governors to whom they belonged: but now we are to consider the power, which the Jews were possessed of in Judea. Therefore the beheading of John the Baptist is a fact, that does not at present come particularly under our consideration. He was beheaded by Herod tetrarch of Galilee, son of Herod the Great. And there can be no doubt, but he had the power of life and death (however he abused it) in his own territories.

3. I would also premise, that the evangelists are not answerable for the legality of all the facts they have related. It is said that, "all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath, and rose up and thrust him [Jesus] out of the city, [Nazareth]

[a] Ant. l. xviii. c. 2. [b] Ibid. cap v sect 3. [c] Cap. iv. sect. 3.
[d] Ant l. xx. cap. ix. fin. [e] Lib xix c vi. sect. 2. [f] Ant. xx. cap. i. sect. 3.
[g] Ibid. p. 899. l. 10. [h] Vid. Joseph. Antiq. xx. c. iv. sect. 3, 4.

and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong," Luke iv. 28, 29.

The Jews are said to have taken up stones to cast at Jesus more than once, and that in the temple. John viii. 59. x. 31, 33, 39. It is also said, that when Paul was about to sail into Syria, from Greece, the Jews laid wait for him, Acts xx. 3. So that he was forced to alter his purpose, and go another way. It can never be supposed, that any of these attempts were legal. It cannot be thought, that Herod the tetrarch, in whose territories Nazareth was, permitted the multitude to throw men off the precipice, whenever they did not like their doctrine. Much less can it be supposed, that such practices were allowed in any places where the government was in the hands of the Romans, as it certainly was in Greece, if not also in Judea. Such practices as these are never countenanced by those who are in authority. And if the scribes and pharisees, and the great men among the Jews, had, at this time, any principles that justified and encouraged such actions; and if they excited the common people to them in Judea, as well as in other parts; it may be reckoned an argument, they had not the government in their own hands, or the power of putting men to death by their own authority, when they judged them guilty. This observation may be of some use hereafter.

V. I shall now proceed to consider the account we meet with in the Evangelists in the first period, from the commencement of John the Baptist's ministry to the resurrection of our Saviour.

St. Luke has informed us, that when the word of God came to John, "in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea, and Annas and Caiaphas were high priests," Luke iii. 1, 2. And all the evangelists have assured us, that our Saviour was brought before Pilate, and condemned by him. So that (according to them) Pilate was governor in Judea, during the whole time of our Saviour's ministry, or the period we are now in. But because the power of this governor is not particularly described by any of the evangelists, in order to judge what authority he had here, and what power Annas, or Caiaphas, or any other chief men among the Jews were possessed of in this country, we must observe the discourses, proceedings, and events recorded by the sacred historians, which have any relation to this matter.

1. The Jews appear to have been at liberty to follow their own laws and customs in most matters, particularly in the affair of marriage and divorce, in which they differed considerably from many other people.

"It has been said, whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement: but I say unto you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery," Matt. v. 31, 32. It is evident, from the manner in which our Lord condemns all divorces, save those made for the cause of fornication, that they did at this time put them in practice upon other accounts. This appears also from the questions put to him, concerning this matter, and the answers he gave to them, and the surprize and uneasiness which the disciples express at his decisions, when he forbad such licentious divorces as those made "for every cause; for they said unto him, If the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry." See Matt. xix. 3, 10. Mark x. 2—9.

It is said, indeed, that when the pharisees brought these questions, they came to him tempting him. But there seems not to have been any danger of giving offence to the Roman government, in this case, which way soever the question was answered. The design could be only to expose him to the resentment of the Jewish people, by decisions contrary to practices they indulge themselves in, and were very fond of; as I think appears likewise, from the notice the disciples took of what he said upon this subject.

However, this is no proof of any great degree of power in the nation at this time. Josephus says, he put away his second wife, because 'he did not like her manners.'[a] This was after the destruction of Jerusalem, and he was settled at Rome.

Justin Martyr, about the middle of the second century, says, 'That to that very day, their 'rabbies permitted them to have, each man, four or five wives.'[b] And 'that, wherever they 'were, they conversed with as many women as they pleased, and that under the notion of mar-'riage.'[c] Their rabbies indulged them in these practices; and, it seems, the Romans did not interrupt them.

[a] Μη αρεσκομενος αυτης τοις ηθεσιν· in vit. p. 945. 44.

[b] Οἵτινες και μεχρι νυν και τεσσαρας και πεντε εχειν ὑμας γυναικας ἑκαστον συγχωρουσι. Dialog. ii. p. 363. D.

[c] Επει ει συνεχωρειτο ἡν βουλεται τις, και ὁσας βουλεται λαμβανειν γυναικας, ὁποιον πραττουσιν οἱ απο του γενους ὑμων ανθρωποι, κατα πασαν γην ενθα αν επιδημησωσιν, η προσπεμφθωσιν, αγομενοι ονοματι γαμου γυναικας. ibid. p. 371. A.

2. Our Lord says, "Ye have heard, that it was said by them of old time, [or, to the ancients,] thou shalt not kill: and whosoever shall kill, shall be in danger of the judgment," Matt. v. 21, 22. "But I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment: and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council."

Grotius[a] supposes, that though the power of inflicting capital punishments had been now for some time taken away from the Jews, yet our Saviour alludes to those methods of proceeding, which had been in use among them, and were still fresh in their memory. Our Lord, I think, does not declare at all, what power they now had, or made use of; but from the mention of the words of their law, and referring perhaps to the sense in which they then understood it, that they who committed murder deserved punishment, and that they who forbore that were innocent, proceeds to lay down a more strict and pure morality. What he delivers, in terms accommodated to their courts of judicature, is certainly no representation of their conduct, or the state of things at that time. For it cannot be thought, that every one, who was angry with his brother without a cause, was then in danger of the judgment; [unless the word mean the judgment of God;] or that every one, who said to his brother, Raca, was in danger of being brought by them before the council.

3. Our Lord delivered many predictions concerning the treatment, which his followers would meet with. Luke xi. 49. "Therefore also said the wisdom of God, I will send them prophets and apostles, and some of them they shall slay and persecute." Matt. xxiii. 34. "Wherefore, behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes; and some of them ye shall kill and crucify, and some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city." Mark xiii. 9. See John xvi. 2. "Take heed to yourselves; for they shall deliver you up to the councils: and in the synagogues ye shall be beaten; and ye shall be brought before rulers and kings for my sake."

These words of our Lord would, I think, be understood by his hearers, agreeably to the state of things at that time, whatever it was: those punishments which are purely Jewish, such as being scourged in their synagogues, or driven from them, would be understood to be inflicted by Jewish hands. If the Jews had not then the power of condemning men to death, the capital punishments spoken of, as to be inflicted by them, would be understood to be brought about by their means and procurement; unless it were thought, that the words implied a prediction, that they would have supreme power, though they now had it not, and that then they would use it for these purposes.

It can never be inferred from hence, that they had at this time supreme power in Judea, or any where else. It is very common to ascribe to men, not only those things they do themselves, but those also which are brought about by their means. In all languages, and in all countries, the punishment of an offender is ascribed to the prosecutor, the judge, and the executioner, though this last only puts him to death in the strictest sense. Thus it is certain, that Pilate condemned our Lord, and his officers crucified him: Yet the Jews are more than once said to have crucified Christ, because his death was owing to their prosecution and importunity. Cleophas, one of the disciples whom Jesus met in the way to Emmaus, told him, Luke xxiv. 20. "how the chief priests, and our rulers delivered him to be condemned to death, and have *crucified* him." The crucifying, as well as delivering up Jesus, is here ascribed to the chief priests. Peter speaks to his hearers in this manner, Acts ii. 22, 23. "Ye men of Israel, hear these words; Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you—Him ye have taken, and by wicked hands have *crucified and slain*." Again, chap vi. 8, 10. "Peter, filled with the Holy Ghost, said unto them, Ye rulers of the people and elders of Israel—Be it known unto you all, and to the people of Israel, that by the name of Jesus of Nazareth, whom *ye* crucified, does this man stand here before you whole."

So Josephus says, that Herod reigned thirty-four years after he had killed Antigonus.[b] Though every one knows, it was Mark Antony who beheaded Antigonus, at the request of Herod.

And not only is this style used in relating facts that have already happened, but also in predicting those that are future. John viii. 28. "Then said Jesus unto them, When *ye have lift up* the Son of man, &c." Though at other times, when he speaks of his death, he represents

[a] Matt v. 21. [b] Τελευτα, βασιλευσας αφ' ὁ μεν Αντιγονον εκρατησε των πραγματων ετη τεσσαρα και τριακοντα· Joseph. de Bell. lib. i. cap. 33. sect. 8. Μετ' ὀ μεν αποκτεινας Αντιγονον εκρατησε των πραγματων ετη τεσσαρα και ανειλεν Αντιγονον, κ. τ. λ. Antiq. p. 770. v. 37.

the share they would have in it more distinctly, Mark x. 33. "Saying, Behold we go up to Jerusalem: and the Son of man shall be delivered unto the chief priests;—and they shall condemn him to death, *and shall deliver him to the Gentiles.*"

In like manner, he thus represents the sufferings his followers would be exposed to. Mark xiii. 12. "Now the brother shall betray the brother to death, and the father the son: and the children shall rise up against their parents, and shall cause them to be put to death; Και θανατωσουσιν αυτους, and shall put them to death." It never was legal, according to any constitution in the world, for children in a private capacity to put their parents to death. And this phrase is to be explained by those that go before, of betraying or delivering, that is, accusing, and prosecuting them, that they may be put to death.

In all these places, then, our Lord would be understood by his hearers, according to the quality of the persons spoken of, and the state of affairs at that time, whatever it was.

The persecuting from city to city, is no argument of supreme power any where. Acts xiii. 50. "The Jews [at Antioch in Pisidia] stirred up the devout and honourable women, and the chief man of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts." Again, the same thing happened at Iconium. Acts xiv. 4, 6. "But the multitude of the city was divided, and part held with the Jews, and part with the apostles. And when there was an assault made, both of the Gentiles and also of the Jews—they were aware of it, and fled unto Lystra and Derbe." And in many cities, situated undoubtedly in countries subject to the Roman jurisdiction, but in which the Jews had settlements, did they foment disturbances against the apostles, and thus drive them from place to place.

Further, our Lord bid his disciples to "beware of men: for they will deliver you up to the councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues," Matt. x. 17. xxiii. 35. It must be supposed, since the Jews had the free exercise of their religion, and we often read of the ruler of the synagogue, that the expelling from the synagogue, and beating in the synagogues, were punishments purely Jewish, and that they inflicted these penalties by their own proper authority. The Jews agreed, in our Saviour's lifetime, that "if any man did confess that he was the Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue," John ix. 22. This was a decree of theirs; and they did actually cast out, or excommunicate the man, that had been cured of his blindness. St. Paul says, that before his conversion, "he beat in every synagogue them that believed in Jesus," Acts xxiii. 19. Nay, as they had settlements in many parts, and were protected by the laws in the exercise of their religion, it is not unlikely, that they inflicted this punishment also out of Judea. St. Paul says, "of the Jews received I five times forty stripes save one," 2 Cor. xi. 24. He usually made so short a stay when he came into Judea, the several times he was there after his conversion, that it is most likely these scourgings had happened, most or all of them, in some other country. Epiphanus, who lived in the fourth century, informs us, that one Joseph, a Jew, whom he knew, having received a book of the gospels from a Christian bishop, and being surprized by some of his countrymen when he was reading it, they took the book out of his hands with great violence, threw him on the ground, 'dragged him to the synagogue, and there beat him.'[a]

Uriel Acosta suffered this punishment in the synagogue at Amsterdam, in the last century, of which he has himself published a curious relation.[b] This, therefore, must be reckoned one of those lesser penalties, which they had a right to inflict in Judea, and possibly out of it.

4. The question brought to our Saviour about tribute is remarkable. Matt. xxii. 15, 20. "Then went the pharisees, and took counsel how they might entangle him in his talk; and they sent out their disciples—saying, We known that thou teachest the way of God in truth. —Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar or not? But Jesus perceived their wickedness, [craftiness, Luke xx. 23.] and said, Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? shew me the tribute money. And they brought him a penny: and he saith unto them, Whose is this image and superscription? And they say unto him, Cæsar's." This is a proof the emperor's coin was current among them, and that they paid tribute to him. St. Luke's introduction to this story is in these words: Luke xx. 20. "And they watched him, and sent forth spies, which should feign themselves just men, that they might take hold of his words, that so they might deliver him unto the power and authority of the governor."

[a] Απαγουσι μεν εις την συναγωγην και μαστιζουσιν αυτον· Epiph. i. Tom. ii. c. 11. Hæres. 30. Vid. etiam Grot. ad Matt. x. 17.

[b] Vid. Limborch. Amic. Collat. p. 349, 350.

5. In the eighth chapter of St. John we have another ensnaring question put to our Saviour. "The scribes and pharisees brought unto him a woman taken in adultery: and when they set her in the midst, they say unto him, Master, this woman was taken in adultery, in the very act: Now Moses in the law commanded us, that such should be stoned; but what sayest thou?" It is evident this was an ensnaring question, for St. John adds, ver. 6, "This they said tempting him, that they might have to accuse him."

The speech they made, seems to be very artful, and it is not easy to say, which way they desired to have their question answered. But they seem to have suggested the strongest reasons they could, against his determining, that they 'might not stone her.' Perhaps, therefore, they wished he would say, they ought to obey the law of Moses. Now, if the Romans did not allow them at that time to inflict this punishment in this case, here would have been matter of accusation before the governor, if the question were resolved by him.

Our Lord, however, gives a most surprizing and unlooked-for decision. "So when they continued asking him, he lift up himself, and said unto them, He that is without sin, let him first cast a stone at her, ver. 7. And they which heard it, being convicted by their own conscience, went out one by one, beginning at the eldest even unto the last," ver. 9. It gives one, indeed, a terrible idea of the wickedness of that people at that time; but I think, it is evident from hence, that all then present, were guilty of crimes of a like nature with that they charged this woman with. And I should think it may be concluded, with some probability, from the decision our Saviour pronounced, that they had not at this time the power of stoning any one for this crime; because the design of the answer given them at last by our Saviour seems to have been, to shew them how unworthy they were of the power of inflicting capital punishments; and to intimate, that they ought not to expect to be restored to the authority they wished for, whilst they were so universally[a] corrupt. And how little they deserved to be entrusted with the administration of justice, appears from their notorious partiality; see Deut. xxii. 23, 24. for if this woman was taken in the act, as they said, they might have brought the man also. This our Saviour takes no notice of: they were a set of men, whom it was in vain to argue with in a direct way. The decision he gave is a proof of the highest wisdom, and had the effect to fill them, for the present, with confusion.

6. They had their councils; these were summoned, met, issued out orders. There is also frequent mention of their forming designs to apprehend Jesus and put him to death.

Jesus having healed a man with a withered hand on the sabbath day, the "Pharisees held a council against him, how they might destroy him," Matt. xii. 14. The man that had been cured by him at the pool of Bethesda, having told the Jews, that it was "Jesus that had made him whole," it is said, "therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, and sought to slay him, because he had done these things on the sabbath day. John v. 15—18. But Jesus answered them, My Father worketh hitherto, and I work. Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, not only because he had broken the sabbath, but said also that God was his father, making himself equal with God. Ch. vii. 1. After these things, Jesus walked in Galilee: for he would not walk in Jewry, because the Jews sought to kill him.—Ver. 25. Then said some of Jerusalem, Is not this he whom they seek to kill? Ver. 32. The pharisees heard that the people murmured such things concerning him: and the pharisees and chief priests sent officers to take him: Ch. x. 39. Therefore they sought again to take him, but he escaped out of their hands." After he had raised Lazarus, some of them that were by, "went their ways to the pharisees, and told them what things Jesus had done. Ch. xi. 45, 47. Then gathered the chief priests and the pharisees a council, and said, what do we? For this man does many miracles? Ver. 53. Then from that day forth they took counsel together for to put him to death. But the chief priests consulted, that they might put Lazarus also to death," Ch. xii. 10.

7. But the actual apprehending, trial, and prosecution of Jesus, is the most particular, and material instance of their authority in this period. And, if I mistake not, the method of pro-

[a] It is well known, there are very strong objections brought by learned men against the genuineness of this paragraph of St. John's Gospel concerning the woman taken in adultery. Vid. Millii N. T. Edit. Kusteri, & S. Basnage. Annal. Polit. Eccl. A. D. 32. n. 50. But I do not take any advantage of these objections.

[b] There is a remarkable passage to this purpose in the speech of Josephus to the Jews in Jerusalem, while Titus with the Roman army lay before the city. Ποθεν δ' ηρξαμεθα δουλειας; αφ' ουχι εκ στασεως των προγονων, οτε η Αριστοβουλε Τρκανε μανια, και η προς αλληλους εριδες, Πομπηιον επηγαγε τη πολει, και Ρωμαιοις υπεταξεν ο Θεος τους εκ φυσεως ελευθεριας. Joseph. de Bell. l. v. cap. 9. sect. 4.

ceeding in this affair does explain the nature of all those designs hitherto mentioned to put Jesus to death, excepting only clandestine or tumultuous attempts.

It will suffice to transcribe St. Matthew's account, taking in, here and there, a circumstance from the other evangelists.

Matt. xxvi. 3, 4. "Then assembled together the chief priests, and the scribes, and the elders of the people, unto the palace of the high priest, which was called Caiaphas, and consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty, and kill him. Ver. 14—16. Then one of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief priests.—And they covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver. And from that time he sought opportunity to betray him. Ver. 47." When Jesus was in the garden, whither he had retired after supper, "lo, Judas, one of the twelve, came; and with him a great multitude with swords and staves from the chief priests and elders of the people." St. John says, ch. xviii. 3, "Judas then having received a band of men and officers from the chief priests and pharisees."[a] This band must be a company of soldiers. Our Saviour is evidently apprehended by the authority of the Jewish council; but beside the officers of the high priest, here are soldiers, taken, it is likely, with the governor's leave, from the guard constantly kept by the Romans at Jerusalem. This may be inferred, from the Jews going to the governor, after our Saviour's crucifixion, for a guard to secure the sepulchre, which he readily granted. Matt. xxvii. 64, 66. And it is likely, had done the same now, to assist the officers of the high priest, if any disturbance should happen.

Ver. 50. "Then came they, and laid hands on Jesus, and took him." St. Luke informs us, that when they came to apprehend Jesus, chap. xxii. 52, "He said unto the chief priests and *Captains of the Temple*,[b] and the elders which were come to him; Be ye come out as against a thief, with swords and staves?" And St. John says, ch. xviii. 12, 13, Then the "band and the *Captain*,[c] and officers of the Jews took Jesus, and bound him, and led him away." Who this captain, or captains of the temple were, whether Roman or Jewish officers, has been doubted. I think they were Jewish officers, who presided there over the priests and levites, and the inferior officers of the temple.[d] This I may shew more particularly hereafter, but now we pass on. Matt. xxvi. 57, "and they that had laid hold on Jesus, led him away to Caiaphas the high priest, where the scribes and elders were assembled. Now the chief priests and elders, and all the council, sought false witness against Jesus, to put him to death, but found none: yea, though many false witnesses came, yet found they none. At last came two false witnesses, and said, This fellow said, I am able to destroy this temple, and build it in three days. And the high priest arose, and said, Answerest thou nothing? What is it that these witness against thee? But Jesus held his peace. And the high priest answered and said unto him, I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us, whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God. Jesus saith unto him, Thou hast said: nevertheless I say unto you, Hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven. Then the high priest rent his clothes, saying, He hath spoken blasphemy: What think ye? They answered and said, He is guilty of death." Ver. 59, 66.

St. Mark delivers their sentence in these words, Mark xiv. 64. "Then the high priest saith—Ye have heard the blasphemy? What think ye? And they all condemned him to be guilty of death."

These are the proceedings of the council, while Jesus was before them.

Matt. xxvii. 1, 2. "When the morning was come, all the chief priests and elders of the people took counsel against Jesus, to put him to death. And when they had bound him they led him away and delivered him to Pontius Pilate the governor." See Mark xv. 1. Luke xxiii. 1.

St. John observes, ch. xviii. 28, 29, that the Jewish elders not entering into "the Judgment-hall, lest they should be defiled, Pilate went out unto them, and said, What accusation bring you against this man?"

Having heard from them what things they had to lay to his charge, Pilate examined Jesus: having so done, "he said to the chief priests and the people, Luke xxiii 4—8, I find no fault in this man; and they were the more fierce, saying, He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry, beginning from Galilee to this place. When Pilate heard of Galilee," he sent Jesus to Herod, who was then at Jerusalem.—He, having mocked him, sent him again to Pilate.

[a] Ὁ ἐν Ἰούδας λαβὼν τὴν σπεῖραν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ φαρισαίων ὑπηρέτας. [b] Εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παραγενομένους ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀρχιερεῖς, καὶ στρατηγοὺς τοῦ ἱεροῦ. [c] Ἡ ἐν σπεῖρα καὶ ὁ χιλιαρχος καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται τῶν Ἰουδαίων. [d] Vid. Grot. ad Matt. xxvi. 45. Whitby, Luke xxii. 52.

Being therefore again returned to him, ver. 13—16, "Pilate, when he had called together the chief priests and the rulers, and the people, said unto them, Ye have brought this man unto me as one that perverteth the people: and behold I having examined him before you, have found no fault in this man, touching those things whereof ye accuse him. No, nor yet Herod.—I will therefore chastise him, and release him." They desired that he would rather release Barabbas; ver. 17—24. "Pilate therefore willing to release Jesus, spake again to them: but they cried, saying, Crucify him, crucify him. And he said unto them the third time, Why, what evil hath he done? I have found no cause of death in him: I will therefore chastise him, and let him go. And they were instant with loud voices, requiring that he might be crucified, and the voices of them and of the chief priests prevailed: and Pilate gave sentence, that it should be as they required."

A few remarks will be needful. The Jewish council having adjudged that Jesus was guilty of death, or that according to their law he deserved to die, they carry him to Pilate, and produce their charges against him. It is surprising, that they should do this, if they had themselves the power of life and death. A people fond of authority and power, would not have commited to a foreigner a cause that was within their own jurisdiction. If they had not the power of life and death in this case, they had not in any. For the only crime, that Jesus was supposed to be convicted of before them, was that of blasphemy, or assuming without foundation the character of the Messias. The evangelists are extremely unanimous in this point: Matt. xxvi. 59, 60. "Now the high priests, and all the council sought false witness against him, but found none: yea though many false witnesses came, yet found they none.——Mark xiv. 56. Many bare false witness against him, but their witness agreed not together." St. Matthew, ch. xxvi. 63—66. St. Mark, ch. xiv. 60—64. St. Luke, ch. xxii. 69—71. have particularly informed us, that the condemnation passed by the council upon Jesus was founded upon the declaration he made, that he was the Christ, when the high priest had adjured him to tell them whom he was. And St. John says, chap. xix. 7, this was what they insisted on before Pilate: "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God." As, therefore, the only fact which they had the proof of, was that of our Lord's own confession made before them, which they called blasphemy, if they had the power of inflicting death in this case, they would have punished him accordingly, by their own authority, and not have carried him to Pilate.

They did indeed accuse him before Pilate of many things, and said, he stirred up the people, and the like. But these appear to have been merely malicious inventions of their own, without any ground in the least from any action they knew of, or that had been proved, when he was under examination before them; or else, were conclusions they pretended to draw, and insinuated to the governor, must be the consequence of Jesus's confession and declaration, that he was the Christ. And it seems to me, that this declaration of his was the only ground of all these charges, from what St. Luke says, chap. xxiii. 2, "and they began to accuse him, saying, We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying, *that he himself is Christ a King*;" as also from what St. John relates, chap. xix. 13, "the Jews cried, saying, If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend: whosoever *maketh himself a King*, speaketh against Cæsar;" as likewise, because this was the thing which Pilate seems more especially to have informed himself about. For he asked him, "art thou the king of the Jews?" John xviii. 33. Where we have the answer that Jesus returned him—to ver. 38. Pilate perceived there was nothing criminal in this pretension of Jesus, went out again unto the Jews, and saith unto them, "I find in him no fault at all." There being no crime in this, he was fully satisfied of his innocence.

Perhaps, it will be objected against this, that the title set upon the cross, of "Jesus of Nazareth king of the Jews," is a proof the crime he was condemned for by Pilate, was that of sedition, or high treason. But I think, this is no proof of any such thing. For Pilate judging, that our Saviour was really innocent, [since it was the Roman custom to put some title,] might write what he pleased. And our Lord had satisfied Pilate, there was nothing seditious in the claim he made under that character, forasmuch as his kingdom was not of this world. But I contend not about this. It is not at all material, what was the pretended crime for which Pilate at last condemned Jesus.

Blasphemy was the only crime, of which Jesus was supposed to be convicted before the

council; and yet these Jewish high priests and elders carried him to the governor; and it appears from the sequel, that Pilate was the supreme judge in this cause, and the master of the event. For he gives the case a fresh hearing, asks the Jews what accusation they brought, examined Jesus; and when he had done so, told them, he found in him no fault at all. This his conduct is a full proof, that he was the judge, and that they were only prosecutors and accusers.

Pilate, indeed, proposes to them, which he should release to them, Barabbas or Jesus. But certainly he does not appeal to them as judges. This is evident from the persons to whom he addressed with this proposal, namely, the people, the multitude; which never had among the Jews, a legal power of life and death. Matt. xxviii. 15. "At that feast the governor was wont to release unto the *people* a prisoner, whom they would. Ver. 17. Therefore, when they were gathered together, Pilate said unto them, Whom will ye that I release unto you? ver. 20. But the chief priests and elders persuaded the *multitude* that they should ask Barabbas, and destroy Jesus." See Mark xv. 8—15. This appeal to the people seems to have been only to discern, how far he might act in this matter consistent with the peace of the province, which depended upon the disposition of the people.

Moreover, Pilate at length pronounced the sentence. John xix. 19. He wrote the title upon the cross, and would not alter what he had written, though desired by the high priests. When the sentence was pronounced, the (Matt. xxvii. 27, 28) "soldiers of the governor took Jesus into the common hall, and gathered unto them the whole band of soldiers, and they stripped him, ver. 31, and put on him a scarlet robe, and led him away to crucify him." Ver. 54. The crucifixion was performed by these soldiers, under the command of a centurion.—Ver. 58. "Joseph of Arimathea went to *Pilate*, and begged the body of Jesus. Then *Pilate* commanded the body to be delivered. The chief priests and pharisees came to *Pilate*, desiring that he would command, that the sepulchre be made sure until the third day.—Pilate said unto them, Ye have a watch, go your way, make it as sure as you can. Ver. 66. So they went and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone, and setting a watch."

These soldiers were entirely accountable to Pilate. For when (Matt. xxviii. 11—14) "some of the watch came into the city, and shewed unto the chief priests all the things that were done—they gave large money unto the soldiers, saying, Say ye, His disciples came by night and stole him away while we slept: and if this come to the *governor's* ears, we will persuade *him* and secure you."

Beside the light we receive into this matter, from the proceedings relating to our Saviour himself, we learn that Pilate had in his custody divers prisoners which were of the Jewish nation: for it could be such only, that it can be supposed, they should desire to have released to them. And it seems, it had been an usual custom with him, during his government, to release to them some prisoner at that feast; "and the multitude crying aloud, began to desire him to do, as he had ever done unto them." Mark xv. 8. See Matt. xxvii. 15.

When Pilate said unto them, John xviii. 31, "*Take ye him*, and judge him according to your law; the Jews said unto him, *it is not lawful for us to put any man to death.*

As they here affirm expressly, that they had not the power of life and death, so Pilate told our Saviour that He had. John xix. 10. "Then Pilate said unto him,—Knowest thou not, that I have power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee?"

So that the whole course of the proceedings in this transaction, and these express declarations of these two parties, the high priests and elders on the one hand, and Pilate on the other, assure us, that the Jewish nation had not, at this time, within themselves, the power of life and death upon any occasion.

VI. But yet there are some expressions of the evangelists, relating to this matter, that may require consideration.

1. There is a prediction of our Lord, concerning the manner of his death, related by John, with the evangelist's own reflection: ch. xii. 32. "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me. This he said, signifying what death he should die." Again, ch. xviii. 31, 33 "Then Pilate said unto them, Take ye him, and judge him according to your law. The Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death. That the saying of Jesus might be fulfilled, which he spake, signifying what death he should die."

Possibly, some may hence conclude, that the Jews had the power of putting men to death; and

therefore the evangelist observes that the fulfilment of this prediction was remarkable: since, though they had the power, yet they disclaimed, and would not exercise it upon this occasion.

But without this supposition, the accomplishment of this prediction was remarkable on two accounts: first, in that he did not die a natural death: and secondly, that he was not put to death in a tumult; but his death was the result of a legal process, according to the form of government which then obtained in that country. No man, without a prophetic spirit, could foresee certainly, that he should not die a natural death; and yet, perhaps, it was more extraordinary to foresee, that he should escape all the sudden attempts upon his life. We have many of these recorded in the evangelists: but, notwithstanding, he suffered as a criminal by the sentence of the government.

And the meaning of the evangelists in the last mentioned place, I think, is this: the Jews said, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death; and hereby, that is, by their not having the power of inflicting capital punishments, it came to pass that the words of Jesus were fulfilled, in which he had predicted, that he should be crucified; that being a Roman, and not an ordinary Jewish punishment.

2. Perhaps some may think, their departing willingly at this time from their right, is implied in the phrase, "delivering up to the Gentiles;" which our Lord made use of sometimes when he spoke of his death. Mark x. 33. See Luke xviii. 32. "Behold we go up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man shall be delivered unto the chief priests, and unto the scribes; and they shall condemn him to death, and shall *deliver* him to the Gentiles:" and after the council had condemned Jesus, Matt. xxvii. 2, it is said, "when they had bound him, they led him away, and *delivered* him to Pontius Pilate the Governor."

Hereby some may be pleased to understand, that for some reasons, the Jews voluntarily surrendered him to Pilate; though, if they had thought fit, they might have put him to death themselves.

But this is not the meaning of this word in the New Testament, as is evident from the first text here quoted, Mark x. 33. Judas, of whom that delivery to the chief priests is intended, released no right. The word is often used to express the acts of private persons, who accused, prosecuted, betrayed, or any other way contributed to the bringing another before a court of justice, in order to be condemned and put to death. Matt. x. 17—21. "But beware of men, for they will *deliver* you up to the councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues, and ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake:—but when they *deliver* you up, take no thought, how, or what ye shall speak.—And the brother shall *deliver* the brother to death, and the father the child." Mark xiii. 11. "But when they shall lead you and *deliver* you up, take no thought beforehand." And in the next verse, betraying is used for delivering. "Now the brother shall betray the brother, and the father the son."

3. But still some may suspect, that they might have some particular reasons, for not employing at this time all the authority they were possessed of. For St. Luke says, ch. xxvi. 2, "And the chief priests and scribes sought how they might kill him, for they feared the people." And St. Matthew, ch. xxvi. 4, 5, "that they consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty, and kill him. But they said, Not on the feast-day, lest there be an uproar among the people." Possibly, therefore, suspecting the affections of the people, they might be willing to decline the odium of this action, and throw it upon Pilate.

But whatever apprehensions they might have concerning the people at first, yet when they had seized Jesus without any disturbance, and many had shewn their forwardness in coming in to them, and bringing them false accusations against him, these fears might then be pretty well over. And certainly, they could be in no fear of the people, after the multitude had unanimously demanded with loud voices, that Barabbas might be released, and Jesus crucified. For that offer which Pilate made them, John xix. 6, "saying, Take ye him, and crucify him," was plainly after that the people had petitioned for Barabbas. Ch. xviii. 40. "Then cried they all again, saying, Not this man, but Barabbas." If they could have put any man to death, would not they now have joyfully accepted this offer which Pilate made them? Would they not have been willing now to merit with the people, by putting to death a man whom they disliked as well as themselves, if before they were afraid to kill one, whom they suspected the people were fond of?

4. And this brings me to another difficulty. For it may be said, If the Jews had not the power of life and death, what could Pilate mean by saying, John xviii. 31, "Take ye him, and judge him according to your law?" And again, ch. xix. 6, "Take ye him and crucify him, for I find no fault in him?"

I answer, that Pilate's meaning in the first place is very evident, and the answer they make him, shews they had not the power of life and death. The context is thus: "Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas unto the hall of judgment." They scrupling to go in, Pilate "went out unto them, and said, What accusation bring you against this man? They answered and said unto him, If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee. Then said Pilate, Take ye him and judge him according to your law;" that is, go then and punish him yourselves. John xviii. 28—31. "The Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death;" that is, 'This is a criminal we cannot punish according to his deserts. 'It is not one of the lesser faults, for which we are wont to scourge men, or to cast out of the 'synagogue; but he is guilty of blasphemy, which by our law ought to be punished with death. 'And since we are not permitted to punish any man capitally, we have brought him to your 'tribunal, where alone we can have satisfaction.'

The other words are thus introduced: Pilate had scourged Jesus, platted a crown of thorns upon him, and offered him other indignities, hoping hereby to pacify the Jewish rage, and save his life: and goes out, "and saith unto them, Behold, I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him:" he is an innocent man, and I cannot punish him as you desire. "When the chief priests therefore," John xix. 1—6, "and officers saw him, they cried out saying, Crucify him, crucify him. Pilate saith unto them, Take ye and crucify him, for I find no fault in him." It is not unlikely, that some may suppose, the word crucify here, ought to be interpreted by the general word judge, used before. But I think, the most natural meaning of Pilate's words here is this: 'You must crucify him then yourselves, if you can commit 'such a villainy, for I cannot. He appears to me innocent, as I have told you already; and I 'have now punished him as much, or more than he deserves.'

The answer they make again, goes upon the supposition, that they could not take away any man's life. Ver. 7. "The Jews answered him, We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God;" that is, 'Indeed, Sir, you need not be so scrupulous: 'he is a blasphemer, and by our law all such ought to be put to death. And if you do not con-'demn him to death, we shall think you do not pay that respect to our law which you ought to 'do.' And then they threaten him with the general resentment of the nation, if he would not punish capitally the most heinous violation of their law.

This discourse, which now passed between Pilate and the chief priests, is a proof, they had not the power of life and death; and that the intent of what Pilate said, is not, that they might crucify him if they pleased: if this had been Pilate's meaning, and they could have legally executed Jesus, would they have put a matter they were intent upon to an uncertain issue? would they have refused to take the cause into their own hands, when they saw the governor was backward to gratify their intentions? Their still pressing Pilate to pronounce a sentence of death, is a proof, that they knew very well, if Jesus was not condemned by Pilate he must be set at liberty.

5. But though these particulars, thus laid together, appear decisive; and the Jews here, in a most critical season, say expressly, that it was "not lawful for them to put any man to death;" yet in another place, there are some Jews, who seem to assert, they had at that time an absolute freedom. John viii. 31—33. "Then said Jesus unto the Jews which believed on him, If ye continue in my words, then are ye my disciples indeed. And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. They answered him, We be Abraham's seed, *and were never in bondage to any man: how sayest thou, Ye shall be made free?*"

It is not very material to inquire at present, who they were who made this reply to our Saviour; whether the believers before spoken of, who seem not to have owned him upon right grounds; or 'whether they were unbelieving Jews, who hypocritically joined themselves with 'these new professors, with intent of taking some private opportunity of killing[a] him.' What we are concerned with is the reply itself.

If these Jews do not speak here of civil temporal liberty, and of a freedom from all foreign jurisdiction, then we have no concern with them at present; but if they do, (as it is generally supposed) they deserve no regard at all: for then, what they here say is a downright contradiction of God himself in the solemn preamble to the law at mount Sinai, "I am the Lord thy God, that brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." There is no relying upon the word of such men as these. Notwithstanding they ask "how sayest thou ye

[a] See Dr. Clarke's Paraphrase upon this text.

shall be made free," as if they could be no freer than they were, they might at that time be downright slaves. For they who scrupled not to contradict God himself, with reference to the time past, might well have assurance to deny a fact evident to every man's sense and reason at that time. Our Lord, indeed, does not deny the truth of what they said: it was to no purpose so to do. But with an unexampled firmness he prosecutes the subject he was upon: ver. 34. "Jesus answered them, Verily I say unto you, whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin."

But though the most express declarations of such men can never assure us of the truth, yet their angry reply to our Saviour, this fierce disclaiming the charge of subjection, upon so small, upon no occasion at all, affords more than a presumption they were not free at this time. An insinuation of their being in subjection, if such had been given, would have been treated with contempt, and not answered with indignation, if they had had all the power their proud hearts desired.

6. There is another text hitherto omitted, which some may think deserves notice. John xi. 47, 48. "Then gathered the chief priests and pharisees a council, and said, what do we? for this man doth many miracles. If we let this man alone, all men will believe on him, *and the Romans shall come, and take away both our place and nation.* Some may apprehend these words imply, that there was then no Roman government established in Judea.

I presume there is no necessity of inquiring, at present, into the views of this speech. All I shall say, by way of answer, is, 1. That this speech supposes that they were in subjection to the Romans, otherwise, "all men's believing on Jesus," could not have been any offence to the Romans, or be pretended to be so. 2. The meaning of these words is, that then the Romans would no longer protect them in their religion and laws, and treat them as subjects, but send an army to destroy them, as rebels and enemies.

A passage of Josephus will illustrate this text. The Samaritans had obstructed the Galileans in their way to Jerusalem, and killed some of them. The chief men of Galilee complain to Cumanus the procurator, and demanded justice. He took a bribe from the Samaritans, and let the matter pass. 'The Galileans then being exasperated, persuaded the multitude of the 'Jews to betake themselves to arms and assert their liberty. Servitude, they said, was grievous 'in itself, but to be insulted under it, was altogether intolerable.'[a] Josephus says, that the chief men of Jerusalem, dreading the issue, endeavoured by all means to appease the people; 'and bid them set before their eyes the utter ruin of their country, the conflagration of their 'temple, the captivity and slavery of themselves, their wives and children; and as they would 'avoid these dreadful calamities, beseeched them to alter their present designs.'[b] What is this but the "Romans coming and taking away both their place and nation?" which words, as I observed, imply a present subjection: and this state they appear evidently to have been in, when that exhortation was given, which I have just transcribed from Josephus.

I have now set before the reader the main passages of this period, concerning the power the Jews were possessed of in their own country. The sum is, they practised their own religious rites, worshipped at the temple and in their synagogues, followed their own customs, and lived very much according to their own laws. They had their high priests, council or senate, inflicted lesser punishments; they could apprehend men, and bring them before the council; and if a guard of soldiers was needful, could be assisted by them, upon asking the governor for them: they could bind men and keep them in custody: the council could summon witnesses, take examinations, and when they had any capital offenders carry them before the governor. This governor usually paid a regard to what they offered; and, if they brought evidence of the fact, pronounced sentence according to their laws. But he was the proper judge in all capital causes; for when the council of the Jews had had before them a case, which they pretended was of this kind, having prepared it, they go with it immediately to the governor, who re-examines it, and pronounces the sentence.

VII. The next period reaches from our Saviour's resurrection, to the reign of Herod, mentioned in the twelfth of the Acts of the Apostles.

I shall set down all the facts mentioned in this interval, which relate to this subject; after I have just observed, that we have here no notice taken of any Roman officer or president in

[a] Δουλειαν γαρ και καθ' αυτην μεν πικραν ελεγον ειναι, την εφ' υβρει δε παντάπασιν αφορητον. [b] Και πειθοντες προ οφθαλμων θεμενους κατασκαφησομενην μεν αυτων την πατριδα το δε ιερον πυρποληθησομενον, αυτων δε και γυναικων συν τεκνοις ανδραποδισμους εσομενους, μεταθεσθαι τον λογισμον· Joseph. Ant. lib xx. c. 5. sect. 1.

the country. It does not follow there was none all this time, but it was proper to observe it here, though the reason of this omission do not appear. And this is one reason why I have made a distinct period of this interval.

1. The first fact is a case that followed soon after the cure wrought by Peter and John, upon the lame man that lay at the gate of the temple.——Acts iv. 1—3. "And as they spake unto the people, the priests, and the captain of the temple, and the Sadducees came upon them ——and they laid hands on them, and put them in hold unto the next day: for it was now eventide."—Ver. 5—10. And "it came to pass on the morrow, that their rulers, and elders, and scribes, and Annas the high priest, and Caiaphas,—were gathered together at Jerusalem. And when they had set them in the midst, they asked, By what power, or in what name have ye done this? Then Peter filled with the Holy Ghost, said unto them, Ye rulers of the people and elders of Israel,—Be it known unto you."——Peter having made his defence——"When they had commanded them [Peter and John] to go aside out of the council, they conferred among themselves." Their resolution was,——ver. 15—21. "That it spread no farther among the people, let us straitly threaten them, that they speak henceforth to no man in this name—and having threatened them, they let them go."

A council was called; Peter and John were apprehended by Jewish officers, put in prison, brought before the council, examined, threatened, dismissed. No penalty is inflicted, and what punishment was threatened is not said.

2. The next case is in the following chapter. Acts v. 17, 18. "Then the high priest rose up, and all they that were with him (which is the sect of the Sadducees) and were filled with indignation. And laid their hands on the apostles, and put them in the common prison." The apostles were delivered out of prison that night by an angel, and went to the "temple, early in the morning and taught. But the high priest came, and they that were with him, and called the council together, and all the senate of the children of Israel, and sent to the prison to have them brought."——The officers not finding them in the prison, returned to the council, informing them of it. "Now when the high priest, and the captain of the temple, and the chief priests heard these things, they doubted of them whereunto this would grow." Having received information that the apostles were in the temple, "Then went the captain with the officers, and brought them without violence.—And when they had brought them they set them before the council: and the high priest asked them, saying, ver. 21—28, "Did not we straitly command you, that you should not teach in this name?" Peter and the rest of the apostles made their defence. "When they heard that, they were cut to the heart, and took council to slay them." Gamaliel then stood up, and desired the apostles to be put forth a little space: and gave his opinion in these words; "And now I say unto you, refrain from these men and let them alone. And to him they agreed. Ver. 40. And when they had called the apostles and beaten them, they commanded that they should not speak in the name of Jesus, and let them go."

We have here a fact, or circumstance or two, not mentioned before. The apostles were put into the common prison.[a] But we are told in the former instance in this period, Acts iv. 3, "they laid hands on them, [Peter and John] and put them in hold,[b] unto the next day." And in the former period we find, that our Saviour was bound by the high priest's authority. St. John says, he was bound as soon as apprehended; ch. xviii. 12. "Then the band, and the captain, and officers of the Jews took Jesus and *bound* him:" though St. Matthew does not speak of it, till he comes to relate his being carried from the high priest to Pilate: and "when they had bound him, they led him away, and delivered him to Pontius Pilate." Matt. xxvii. 2. See Mark xv. 1.

However, there can be no doubt, I think, but the power of apprehending implies also the power of keeping in custody. Sometimes a prisoner might be kept all night in the high priest's house, as our Saviour seems to have been, when they intended to meet again the next morning. At other times they might send their prisoners to the common or public prison, as in the case before us; for it is not at all unlikely, that they had the free use of it, and that the place of confinement was at their own discretion.

Another particular here is, that the apostles were beaten. We often meet in the New Testament with whipping in the synagogues: but it is likely, this was a more public beating. And possibly the ruler, and chief men of every synagogue, had the right of appointing a whip-

[a] Και εθεντο αυτους εν τηρησει δημοσια. [b] Εθεντο εις τηρησιν.

ping there: this punishment now ordered by the sanhedrim, it is likely, was in some open market-place, whereby the sufferers were exposed; and therefore it is said, Acts v. 41, "And they departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing, that they were counted worthy to suffer *shame* for his name."

There is one thing we ought to observe here; the apostles were beaten, and yet it is said, that they agreed to Gamaliel, whose advice was, that they should refrain from these men, and let them alone. This implies, that they had the power of inflicting, or procuring at least, a heavier punishment than that of whipping or beating. And it is said, they *took counsel to slay them.* But, I think, this does not imply, that they could by their own authority put them to death. Forasmuch as this is said of their designs against Jesus, and yet it has appeared, I presume, that they could not themselves legally, or according to the constitution of things at that time, put him to death. Thus St. Matthew says, c. xxvi. 3, 4, "Then assembled together the chief priests, and the scribes, and the elders of the people, unto the palace of the high priest—and consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty and kill him." See Luke xxii. 2, 3. And after he had been apprehended, examined, convicted, and condemned by them, as far as their authority reached;—"When the morning was come, all the chief priests and elders of the people took counsel against Jesus to put him to death." Matt xxvii. 1. See Mark xv. 1. As therefore this phrase in the gospels, when used concerning the proceedings against our Saviour, can mean no more, than their resolving to prosecute him before the governor as a criminal worthy of death, and consulting together how they might manage the prosecution, and get him condemned to death; so it is not unlikely, that the phrase ought to be understood in the same sense here: and when Gamaliel advises them to refrain from these men and let them alone, for any thing that appears, he must be understood to dissuade them from pursuing their resentment, so far as to prosecute them before the governor, as men worthy of death; and only to threaten them afresh, and if they thought fit order them to be beaten, as we find they did.

3. The next affair of this kind, which we meet with in the Acts, is the prosecution and death of Stephen: the occasion and circumstances of which are related in this manner.

Acts vi. 8—15. "And Stephen, full of faith and power, did great wonders and miracles among the people. Then there arose certain of the synagogue, which is called the synagogue of the Libertines, disputing with Stephen. And they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake. Then they suborned men which said, we have heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses, and against God. And they stirred up the people, and the elders, and the scribes, and came upon him, and caught him and brought him to the council; and set up false witnesses, which said, This man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this holy place and the law. For we have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered us. And all that sat in the council, looking steadfastly on him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel. Then said the high priest, Are these things so?" Stephen then made his speech, Acts vii. 1—53. "When they heard these things, they were cut to the heart, and they gnashed on him with their teeth. But he being full of the Holy Ghost, looked up steadfastly into heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God. Then they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him, and the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul: and they stoned Stephen calling upon God, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," ver. 54—60. To which ought to be subjoined some expressions of Paul, in his speech to the people at Jerusalem. Acts xxii. 20. "And when the blood of thy martyr Stephen was shed, I also was standing by and consenting to his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him."

Here we have a case, in many particulars different from any we have yet met with. Here is not only a man brought before the council, and witnesses heard; but he is put to death, by stoning, an ordinary Jewish punishment, without any mention of his being prosecuted before a Roman magistrate. And it has, in the conclusion, very much the appearance of a legal Jewish punishment; for the witnesses seem to have stoned him, or thrown the first stone at him.

The reader will be pleased now to recollect a previous proposition, which was laid down at the beginning of this inquiry; namely, that the sacred historians are not accountable for the legality of the facts or proceedings which they relate. Though this affair should be allowed to have all the forms of a legal process, sentence and punishment, according to the Jewish law

and customs, yet it does not follow, that it was rightful, according to the constitution they were then under. It is certain, that magistrates do sometimes transgress the bounds of their authority, as well as people commit disorders. We have a plain instance of this at Philippi, Acts xv. where the magistrates commanded Paul and Silas to be beaten and imprisoned. But in this their sudden passion, they acted very irregularly, as they were soon sensible themselves. And it is not impossible, but the Jewish council at Jerusalem, in compliance with their own malice, and the clamours of the people, might pronounce a sentence that exceeded the bounds of their authority, and execute it, before the Roman officer could come in to prevent it.

This might be said, supposing there were here the complete form of a legal process, which I think there is not. It is true, here were witnesses, and they bring their charge; but here is no sentence pronounced by the council, not one word of it; nor does the high priest collect the opinions. If this had been done, it is not likely that St. Luke would have omitted it. In the account of the proceedings against our Saviour, Matt. xxvi. 66. Mark xiv. 64. particular mention is made of the high priest's asking the council their opinion, "What think ye?" and of the answer they made, "He is guilty of death." And St. Luke, c. xxii. 71, has given the result of their debates: "And they said, What need we any farther witnesses? for we ourselves have heard of his own mouth." In the two cases already considered in this period, St. Luke has informed us, not only of the accusations against the prisoners and the defence they made, but of the debates of the council after the prisoners had been heard. These were ordered to go aside, there are debates, and the final resolution is taken, and then the prisoners are called in again, and the sentence is pronounced. Concerning Peter and John, see Acts iv. 15—18. of the apostles, c. v. 34—40.

And in the present case, after the witnesses, which they had suborned, had delivered their accusations, "Then said the high priest, Acts vii. 1, Are these things so?" That is, he gave Stephen leave to make his defence. If after Stephen had done, the council had ordered him to go out; or if there had been any debates in the council concerning him, or the high priest had asked their opinion, and a sentence had been pronounced, it is incredible these things should have been omitted, as they are entirely. For what St Luke says is, that having heard what Stephen said, "they gnashed on him with their teeth;" and that "he then looked up to heaven and said,—I see the heavens opened, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God; then they cried out with a loud voice,—and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him." This has all the appearance of a tumultuous proceeding of the people, which the council, probably, had no inclination to check, but were highly pleased with; for of them I understand those words, "When they heard these things, they were cut to the heart, and they gnashed on him with their teeth;' words which represent an ungoverned rage."

And, if I mistake not, Stephen is not convicted upon the evidence of the witnesses: but upon his saying, "I see the Son of man standing on the right hand of God, they ran upon him with one accord."

His expressions they termed blasphemous; and in that case the Jewish people at this time seem to have made no scruple at all of stoning a man immediately, without any trial. There are so many instances of this in the Gospels, that it seems needless to allege any in particular. See John v. 17, 18. viii. 58, 59. x. 30—39.

And, as for the appearance of a legal punishment in these particulars, that "they cast him out of the city, and stoned him; and the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul," I think, they cannot prove, that this was not a tumultuous action: for even the most unruly and disorderly multitude will oftentimes, in their utmost extravagances, assume some formalities of a legal procedure.

Notwithstanding this, there are some learned men who think, this was not a sudden act of the people, but that it was a punishment inflicted by the Jewish council. They say, that it was not allowed for private persons to put any man to death for any crime against their law, unless they did it whilst the criminal was in the very act.[a]

[a] Sed uti bene observavit Seldenus, lib. x. de jure nat. & gent. cap 4. ex zeli judicio, supplicium capitale in ipso dum committebatur facinus duntaxat momento, seu homini επ' αυτοφωρω deprehenso, a zelotis, id est, privato zelo ductis, infligi permittebatur. M. Wagenselius in Carm. Lip. Confut. p. 301. and he alleges several passages from Jewish authors as proof of this, particularly from Maimonides. Quisquis paganam mulierem init—si istud propalam fiat, hoc est, decem vel pluribus scelus inspectantibus, tum si zelotæ hominem adoriantur, & impigre trucident, laudantur.— Veruntamen haud aliter licet zelotæ impetum in concubitores facere, quam si ipsi venereo operi sint intenti.—— Quod si ab opere cessent, tum porro trucidare nefas est. Ibid. p. 301, 302.

But it may be questioned, whether the scheme of zealotism at this time, was exactly the same which is represented in the writings which these learned men quote. And though it were, it is not impossible, but when such a principle was countenanced, as that of the right of private persons to kill men "in the act," they might sometimes go beyond the bounds of that principle. And it is highly probable, that the chief men of the Jewish nation, when their authority was certainly under some restraints, might connive at the exorbitances of this zeal. It is certain, we have in the Acts of the Apostles, many instances of the Jews, in several places, lying in wait for Paul's life; not to catch him in the act of what they call blasphemy, or any other violation of their law, but to kill him for facts done by him some time before. It is not material to inquire, what this was owing to; whether it ought to be called zealotism, or any thing else. It is certain, these were common practices among them. One thing, which they seem at this time to have thought the proper object of this private zeal, is what they called blasphemy. Now a criminal could not well be punished for this in the very act. The words must first be out of a man's mouth, before he could be guilty. Here were words spoken by Stephen, which they termed blasphemy: "Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God." These words were spoken before the council, and it is likely, before a good many other persons, who were present as witnesses and prosecutors, therefore before ten or more persons. And Stephen was put to death with all the expedition possible, that is, in the very act, as near as could be. For it follows immediately, Acts vii. 57, 58, "Then they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city and stoned him."

Nor is the putting Stephen to death by stoning any proof, that there had been a sentence pronounced, or that there was any legal form observed in his death. For this was common in their tumultuous attempts. Jesus having said some things which gave them offence, John x. 31, "Then the Jews took up stones again to stone him." He went on to argue with them: ver. 33. They "answered him, saying, For a good work we stone thee not, but for blasphemy." See John xi. 7, 8. The stoning which Paul suffered at Lystra was merely tumultuous. Acts xiv. 19. "And there came thither certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people [τους οχλους, the multitude] and having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead." Thus much for the case of Stephen.

4. It follows, Acts viii. 1, "And Saul was consenting to his death. And at that time there was a great persecution against the church which was at Jerusalem, and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles." Ver. 3. "As for Saul, he made havock of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committed them to prison." Ch. ix. 1. 2. "And Saul, yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the high priest, and desired of him letters to Damascus, to the synagoues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound unto Jerusalem." When Ananias, at Damascus, was directed in a vision to go to Saul, ch. ix. 13, 14, "he answered, Lord, I have heard by many of this man, how much evil he has done to thy saints at Jerusalem. And here he has authority from the chief priests to bind all that call on thy name.

It must, I think, be supposed that Saul could not have taken up any at Damascus, (which was subject to Aretas) by the authority of the council at Jerusalem, unless the governor there gave him leave: and it is highly probable, the correspondence between them was such as that he would not refuse it.[a]

And St. Paul says of himself, in his speech to the people of Jerusalem, Acts xxii. 4, 5, "I persecuted this way unto the death, binding and delivering into prisons both men and women, as also the high priest doth bear me witness, and all the estate of the elders: from whom also I received letters unto the brethren, and went to Damascus, to bring them which were there, bound unto Jerusalem, for to be punished." Ver. 19, 20. "And I said, Lord, they know that I imprisoned, and beat in every synagogue, them that believed on thee: and when the blood of thy martyr Stephen was shed," &c.

In his speech to king Agrippa, Acts xxvi. 9—13, Paul says, "Which thing I also did in Jerusalem, and many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority from the chief priests, and when they were put to death, I gave my voice against them. And I punished

[a] Vid. Acts ix. 23, 24. 2 Cor. xi. 32. & Clerici Hist. Eccles. Ann. xxxi. Num. 1.

them oft in every synagogue, and compelled them to blaspheme; and being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even unto strange cities. Whereupon as I went to Damascus with authority and commission from the chief priests, at mid-day, O king, I saw in the way a light from heaven," &c.

Here is a great variety of particulars: imprisoning, beating in the synagogue, persecuting into strange cities, and putting to death.

As for the persecuting into strange cities, it is not at all surprising, that the Jews should have sufficient authority and power in their own country, (though they had a Roman governor amongst them,) to impose hardships upon the followers of Christ that would make them leave Judea; since, as has appeared from instances in the Acts of the Apostles already alleged, they were able to drive them from one place and city to another, in Greece, and several parts of Asia.

The punishments inflicted in the synagogues, must be supposed inflicted by a mere Jewish authority, since they had the free exercise of their religion.

The apostle says also expressly, that "many of the saints" did he imprison by "authority from the chief priests." When he says, he "persecuted this way unto the death," I think, he expresses his aim and design; and that in the opposition he had made against the followers of Jesus, he proposed to bring upon them not the lesser punishment only of fines, whipping or imprisonment, but death itself.

The case of the loss of life is that of Stephen, whose death, he says, he was consenting to, and kept the raiment of them that slew him. Besides this, in his speech to Agrippa, he says, "and when they were put to death, I gave my voice against them."

Here it ought to be observed, that it is not expressed by what authority they were put to death. Though the sentences were pronounced and executed by the Roman magistrate, (as in the case of our Saviour,) Saul might be one who gave his voice against those who were so punished; as the people at Jerusalem did demand of Pilate, that Jesus might be crucified. It is of some such act as this, that Saul's giving his voice against them must be understood; of witnessing against them, promoting a popular clamour against them, or of approving, and consenting to their condemnation and punishment. This is all that can be intended, because, whether they were put to death by the authority of the sanhedrim, or of a Roman governor, it cannot be supposed that Saul was one of the judges.

But I think, it may very well be questioned, whether in these words Paul refers to any thing beside the death of Stephen. This is the only person, whose death he has any where expressly said he was concerned in. There is not any one instance, beside the death of Stephen, hinted by St. Luke: whereas, if there had been any, it is very improbable that he should have omitted them, since he has given so particular an account of that of Stephen. It is very common, in less exact, nay in almost all kinds of relations, to use the plural number, where one only is meant. Thus St. Matthew says, Matt. xxvii. 44, "that the thieves also which were crucified with him, cast the same in his teeth." Whereas it appears from St. Luke, (ch. xxiii. 39, 40.) that only one of the malefactors, which were hanged, railed on him, whilst he was rebuked by the other for it. Again, Paul said unto them, [the keepers of the prison at Philippi] Acts xvi. 37, "They have beaten us openly uncondemned being *Romans*." And yet, most probably, Paul only was a Roman and not Silas. And in no case could a plural number be put for a singular more properly than here, where the apostle, in his great humility, aggravates his former blindness and madness. And the meaning of his words here is no more than, when any one was put to death, I was very forward in approving it.

Thus I think, that all which does evidently appear to have been done by a proper authority of the chief priests and council of the Jews, is imprisoning, scourging in the synagogue, and in some public place, and harassing in such a manner, as to oblige men to leave Judea. Stephen is put to death, but it seems to have been in a tumultuous manner.

However it must be allowed, that this was a time of very heavy sufferings for the followers of Jesus. And one would be apt to suppose, that for a good part of this period, the Jews had no Roman governor residing among them; or if they had, that he connived at some disorders; or else, that their zeal rendered them so tumultuous, that he was not able to keep things in good order amongst them.

There is one thing very observable, that for some time before the end of this period, the disciples of Christ enjoyed peace in Judea. Acts ix. 31. "Then had the churches rest through-

out all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria." I hope we shall be able to perceive, in some measure, the occasion of this, when we come to inquire what light foreign writers give us into this time.

VIII. We go on now to the third period, which is the reign of Herod the king. The account we have of the transactions in this period, is contained in the twelfth chapter of the Acts of the apostles; particularly from ver 1 to the 7th, and ver 18, 19. There being no difficulty in it, I need not transcribe it. Every order and act of Herod here mentioned, his killing James with the sword, imprisoning Peter with intent to bring him forth to the people, commanding the keepers to be put to death, is an undeniable proof of his sovereign authority at this time in Judea.

IX. The fourth period reaches from the reign of this Herod, to the conclusion of the evangelical history.

The main thing which occurs here, is the treatment of Paul in Judea, so far as there is any appearance of a legal procedure. He being come to Jerusalem, and having been persuaded to purify himself with others that had a vow, entered into the temple, Acts xxi. 26—34, "to signify the accomplishment of the days of purification.—And when the seven days were almost ended, the Jews which were of Asia, when they saw him in the temple, stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him, crying out, Men and brethren, help: this is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people, and the law, and this place: and farther, brought Greeks also into the temple, and has polluted this holy place. (For they had seen before with him in the city, Trophimus an Ephesian, whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the temple.) And all the city was moved, and the people ran together, and they took Paul, and drew him out of the temple: and forthwith the doors were shut. And as they went about to kill him, tidings came to the chief captain of the band, that all Jerusalem was in an uproar. Who immediately took soldiers and centurions, and ran down unto them; and when they saw the chief captain, and the soldiers, they left beating of Paul. Then the chief captain came near, and took him, and commanded him to be bound with two chains, and demanded who he was, and what he had done.—And when he could not know the certainty for the tumult, he commanded him to be carried into the castle.—But before he was led in, with the chief captain's leave, he made a speech to the people in the Hebrew tongue: in which he relates at length, that he had received directions in a trance,—saying, Depart, for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles. The Jews, not being able to contain themselves any longer, "lift up their voices, and said, Away with such a fellow from the earth: for it is not fit that he should live. The chief captain then commanded that he should be brought into the castle, and bade that he should be examined by scourging," Acts xxii. 22, 23, 24." But Paul affirming that he was a Roman, the centurion appointed to attend the torture, went and gave the chief captain information of it. "On the morrow, because he [the chief captain] would have known the certainty, wherefore he was accused of the Jews, he loosed him from his bands, and commanded the chief priests and all their council to appear, and brought Paul down and set him before them, ver. 30. And Paul earnestly beholding the council, said, Men and brethren, I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day. And the high priest Ananias commanded them that stood by to smite him on the mouth. Then said Paul unto him, God shall smite thee, thou whited wall: for sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law? And they that stood by, said, Revilest thou God's high priest? Then said Paul, I wist not, brethren, that he was the high priest: for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people," Acts xxiii. 1—5. A dissension arising in the council, "the chief captain, fearing lest Paul should have been pulled in pieces of them, commanded the soldiers to go down, and to take him by force from among them, and to bring him into the castle, ver. 9, 10.

The chief captain after this, being informed of a conspiracy against Paul, sent him with a guard of two hundred soldiers to Felix at Cesarea; who, when he had received him, together with a letter from Lysias the chief captain, told Paul, he would "hear him, when his accusers also were come," ver. 35. "After five days, Ananias the high priest descended with the elders and a certain orator named Tertullus, who informed the governor against Paul," Acts xxiv. 1—22. Felix having heard both sides, "deferred them, and said, When Lysias the chief captain shall come down, I will know the uttermost of your matter.—But after two years, Porcius Festus came into Felix' room: and Felix willing to shew the Jews a pleasure, left Paul bound, ver. 27.

"Now when Festus was come into the province, after three days he ascended from Cæsarea to Jerusalem. Then the high priest, and the chief of the Jews, informed him against

Paul, and besought him, and desired favour against him, that he would send for him to Jerusalem, laying wait in the way to kill him. But Festus answered, that Paul should be kept at Cæsarea; and that he himself would depart shortly thither. Let them therefore, said he, which among you are able, go down with me, and accuse this man, if there be any wickedness in him. —Accordingly, he went down to Cæsarea—and sitting on the judgment-seat—the Jews which came down from Jerusalem—laid many and grievous complaints against Paul, which they could not prove.—Paul answered for himself.—But Festus willing to do the Jews a pleasure, answered Paul and said, Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things before me?" Acts xxv. 1—9. Hereupon Paul appealed to Cæsar, and was carried to Rome.

The case is this: a man was like to have been killed in a popular tumult at Jerusalem; a Roman officer there rescues him, takes him into his own hands, and lodges him in a castle. Afterwards, that his prisoner might be safer, he removes him to Cæsarea, the residence of the governor, before whom there are divers hearings. There was therefore at this time a Roman governor in Judea, at first Felix, who was succeeded by Festus. But beside them here is also a Jewish council, which appears not void of authority.

This is the sum of the story. But here are divers particulars to be reviewed. The pretence for seizing this man at first is extremely complicated: "That he taught men every where against the people, and the law, and this place, and had brought Greeks into the temple, and polluted this holy place. The whole charge, however, seems to have been of a religious nature. This appears from divers testimonies.

When Paul was brought before the council at Jerusalem by Lysias, he "said, I am a pharisee, the son of a pharisee: of the hope and resurrection of the dead am I called in question," Acts xxiii. 6. This is a presumption the debates then ran upon matters of religion. Lysias, in the letter he sent with Paul to Felix, says:—"I brought him forth into their council, whom I perceived to be accused of questions of their law," ver. 28, 29. Tertullus, whom Ananias took along with him to Cæsarea, tells Felix, "We have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes, who also hath gone about to profane the temple," ch. xxiv. 5, 6. Here are hard words, and some grievous charges thrown in to increase the account; and nothing true, but that Paul was a Nazarene, as Paul affirms, and seems to make out to Felix. "And they neither found me in the temple disputing with any man, neither raising up the people, neither in the synagogue, nor in the city: neither can they prove the things whereof they accuse me. But this I confess to thee, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, ver. 12—14. And after certain days, when Felix came with his wife Drusilla, he sent for Paul, and heard him concerning the faith in Christ," ver. 24. These new notions therefore of Paul were the great subject of inquiry, to see whether there was any thing dangerous or punishable in them.

Thus, before Festus at Cæsarea, the Jews, which were come down from Jerusalem, "laid many and grievous complaints against Paul, which they could not prove," ch. xxv. 7. When Agrippa came to salute Festus, Festus declared Paul's cause unto the king, and tells him, "Against whom when the accusers stood up, they brought none accusation of such things as I supposed; but had certain questions against him of their own superstition, and of one Jesus which was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive," ver. 20. They might mix other matters in their complaints, as men intent upon a point are wont to do; but Festus perceived no truth in their charges, but what concerned their superstition or religion. Festus afterwards brings forth Paul to Agrippa; and Paul having rehearsed the manner of his life from first to last, before, and since his conversion; and having acquainted them in particular with his commission from Christ to preach the gospel; after all was over, Agrippa said unto Festus, "This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar," ch. xxvi. 15—30. Which words shew, Agrippa was convinced by what Paul said; first, that these principles of his were his only crime; and secondly, that notwithstanding the charges and pretences of the Jews, Festus had a right to set Paul at liberty.

From all which particulars it appears, that all the evidence against Paul, was of facts that concerned the Jewish religion, or the security of their worship: and yet we find, that Felix and Festus were the judges of this prisoner, in this cause: all parties acknowledge it.

The Jews seem to have owned it by their conduct: for Ananias went down to Cæsarea with Tertullus, and accused Paul there before Felix, Acts xxv. 6, 7. And when Festus came into the province, they went to Cæsarea again, and pleaded against Paul. Festus, speaking of Paul to

Agrippa, says, about whom "when I was at Jerusalem the chief priests and the elders of the Jews informed me, desiring to have judgment against him," ver. 15. And again, "Ye see this man, about whom all the multitude of the Jews have dealt with me, both at Jerusalem, and also here, crying, that he ought not to live any longer," ver. 24.

Paul plainly acknowledges them to be so. "Then Paul, after that the governor had beckoned to him, to speak, answered for himself: Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been of many years a judge unto this nation, I do the more cheerfully answer for myself," ch. xxiv. 10. And that his cause belonged to the Roman jurisdiction, he declared farther by his appeal at last to Cæsar.

These governors evidently claim the right of judgment. When Paul was first delivered to Felix at Cæsarea, "Felix said to him, I will hear thee, when thine accusers also are come," ch. xxiii. 35. And after he had heard the accusers and Paul the prisoner in judgment, he deferred them, and said, When Lysias the chief captain shall come down, I will know the uttermost of your matter," ch. xxiv. 22. When Festus went first to Jerusalem, after he came into the province, "the high priest and chief of the Jews desired favour against him, [Paul,] that he would send for him to Jerusalem. But Festus answered, that Paul should be kept at Cæsarea, and that he himself would depart shortly thither. Let them therefore, said he, which among you are able, go down with me, and accuse this man, if there be any wickedness in him," ch. xxv. 2—5. Paul having pleaded there before him, "Festus willing to do the Jews a pleasure, answered Paul, and said, Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things *before me?* ver. 9.

It ought to be observed likewise, that the Jews are all along styled accusers only: the places are too many to be instanced in, and the reader cannot but recollect divers of them.

X. But though this affair, thus stated, favours much the supposition, that the Jews had not now the power of life and death, yet there are some difficulties that deserve consideration.

1. It may be thought, that the Jews had at this time the power of life and death, according to the constitution they were then under, but that Lysias had acted irregularly in taking Paul out of the Jewish hands, and that the governors likewise acted arbitrarily in supporting Lysias. This objection is founded upon what Tertullus says to Felix in his pleading before him: "For we have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes, who also has gone about to profane the temple: whom we took, and would have judged according to our law. But the chief captain Lysias came upon us, and with great violence took him out of our hands," Acts xxiv. 5—7.

In answer to this, it is not easy to say, what we ought to understand by those words, "whom we would have judged according to our law." Perhaps he may be supposed by some to say, that Paul having, beside other crimes, polluted the temple, by bringing heathens and uncircumcised persons into it, or beyond the bounds which were prescribed to such, we were going for this last offence to put him to death immediately. Titus in an expostulatory speech to the Jews, toward the conclusion of the siege of Jerusalem, says, 'Did not you erect pillars there at 'certain distances, with inscriptions in Greek and Latin, forbidding any to pass those bounds? 'and did not we give you leave to kill any man that passed them, though he were a Roman?'[a] But though it could be supposed, that here was some reference to this matter, yet certainly they had no right by virtue of this permission, to put Paul to death. This grant only empowered them to kill strangers that passed those limits, whereas Paul was a Jew. So that they acted irregularly in attempting to kill him on this account.

But possibly this man here attempted to misrepresent the fact, and pretended, that they were not going to kill Paul, but only to inflict one of those lesser punishments for the breach of their laws, which they had a right to inflict. And indeed I think, there is but little regard to be had to what Tertullus says. It seems plain to me, that he endeavours to impose upon the governor. Their attempt upon Paul was a mere tumult, as appears from St. Luke's history of it, Acts xxi. 27—31. And if we had not any particular account of that first action of the Jews at Jerusalem, yet Paul confuted, or invalidated all this part of Tertullus's speech, by that one observation in his defence and reply: "Whereupon certain Jews from Asia found me purified in the temple, neither with multitude nor with tumult: who ought to have been here before thee, and object, if they had ought against me," ch. xxiv. 18, 19. The non appearance of these persons is a proof, that what they had done was not legal, and could not be justified: and doubtless Felix so understood it.

[a] Ουχ ἡμεις δε τὰς ὑπερβασιας ὑμιν αναιρειν επέτρεψαμεν, καὶν Ῥωμαιος τις ἦ. Jos. de Bell. lib. 6. c. ii. sect. 4.

As for the charge, which Tertullus brings against Lysias, "that he came upon us, and with great violence took him out of our hands," this is undoubtedly of a piece with what went before. He that could call that tumultuous attempt upon Paul's life, judging him according to their law, might say any thing. Lysias sustains so excellent a character in every other part of this narration, that it is not easy to suppose he had acted irregularly in this action He paid such a regard to the disposition of the Jewish people against Paul, as to bind him with two chains, as soon as he had got him into his possession. Not being able to find the truth from the different accounts given him, he ordered Paul to be examined by scourging. As soon as he knew that he was a Roman, he desisted from that method of inquiry. That he might know the certainty, he summoned a council at Jerusalem, brought Paul down to them, and had the goodness to unbind him whilst he pleaded. As soon as he was informed of a clandestine conspiracy against Paul, he prudently contrives to send him under a strong guard to Cæsarea, where he might be safe. In his letter to Felix, he gives a most just account of the whole affair, and of his own conduct in particular. "This man was taken of the Jews, and should have been killed by them; then came I with an army, and rescued him." And though I pass by many advantageous parts of his character, I must not omit his goodness, or exactness at least, in not consigning this prisoner to Felix without adding, beside his innocence, that he was a Roman.

These things are sufficient to assure us, that Lysias had a strict regard to justice, and the form of government then established in Judea; and that, in rescuing Paul from a mob, he had acted nothing but the part of a faithful and vigilant commander.

2. Farther, those words of St. Paul may create some difficulty, which we have in his answer to Festus's proposal of his going to be judged at Jerusalem:—"But if there be none of these things whereof these accuse me, no man may *deliver me* unto them," ch. xxv. 11. Whereby some may apprehend, that Paul was afraid Festus would give the cause out of his own hands, and permit the Jewish council to try him for his life.

But this cannot be the intention of Paul. For Festus's proposal was, "Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things *before me?*"

Nor, secondly, is this the meaning of this phrase. Ουδεις με δυναται αυτοις χαρισασθαι. The meaning is, no man may condemn me to death to please the Jews. Paul was afraid, that if he was carried up to Jerusalem, Festus might be induced by the whole weight of the Jewish people there to condemn him, though innocent. This is the common meaning of this word in like cases, when a judge is induced to depart from the merits of a cause, or from his own judgment, and to pronounce a sentence to gratify other people. It is used in a good and in a bad sense. It is used in a good sense by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who says, Amulius gave (or delivered) Rhea Silvia to his daughter: that is, granted Rhea her life at the request of his daughter:[a] and by Josephus, for thus he addresseth himself to Justus of Tiberias, 'And did not Agrippa, 'when he had ordered you to be put to death, grant [or deliver] your life to his sister Bernice,[b] 'when she earnestly requested it?'

It is also used in a bad sense. Thus the Jewish ambassadors, in the complaints they made to Augustus at Rome, of Herod the Great's government, after his death, say, 'He gave (or 'delivered) the blood of Judea to foreign people.'[c] This, therefore, is what Paul says, that since he was innocent, no man might condemn him to please others, no not a whole nation.

3. Still some may have a suspicion, that if this was not a cause within the jurisdiction of the Jews, the reason might be, that the prisoner concerned was a Roman citizen: and they may think, such a suspicion may be founded upon what Lysias says in his letter to Felix: "This man was taken of the Jews, and should have been killed of them: then came I with an army, and rescued him, *having understood that he was a Roman,*" Acts xxiii. 27.

In answer to this, some learned men place a full point after rescued him. And join these last words, not with what goes before them, but with what follows, and translate them thus:

[a] Επικλασθηναι δε τον Αμυλιον εις τυλο, ἱκετευσης της θυγατρος χαρισασθαι την ανεψιαν αυτῃ· ησαν δε συνλοφοι, και ἡλικιαν εχυσαι την αυτην, ασπαζομεναι τε αλληλας ὡς αδελφας· χαριζομενον υν ταυτῃ τον Αμυλιον. p 63. v. 14. edit Huds.

[b] Και αποθανειν σε κελευσας ἁπαξ τῃ αδελφῃ Βερνικῃ πολλα δεηθειση, την σωτηριαν εχαρισατο. Joseph in Vit. Cap. 65. p. 839. v. 1. It is used by him in a good sense again, χωρις των Αγριππα χαρισθεντων· de B. J. lib. 3 cap. ult sub fin.

[c] Και το της Ιυδαιας αἱμα κεχαρισθαι τοις εξωθεν δημοις, de Bell. lib. 2. cap. 6 sect. 2. jam citat. a Grot. in loc. I subjoin a beautiful sentence of Socrates in Plato, in which he says, Nor is a judge appointed to give away right and justice to favour or entreaty, but to judge according to the laws Ου γαρ επι τυλῳ καθηται ὁ δικαστης επι τῳ καταχαριζεσθαι τα δικαια, αλλ' επι τῳ κρινειν ταυτα και ομωμοκεν ὐ χαριεισθαι οἱς αν δοκῃ αυτῳ, αλλα δικασειν κατα τυς νομυς. Apol. Socr. p 35. c. edit. Serran. There is another example in Eus H. E. l. v. p. 163. Και γαρ και τον Ατταλον τῳ οχλῳ χαριζομενος ὁ ἡγεμων.

Having understood that he was a Roman citizen, and being desirous to know the cause wherefore they accused him, I brought him forth to the council.[a] But the original will not admit of this interpretation.[b]

I answer, therefore, that this cannot be the meaning of Lysias, that having understood he was a Roman, he then came upon them and rescued him; because this was not the fact, as St. Luke himself, who has given us this letter, relates it. Lysias did not know that Paul was a Roman, till after he had put him into the castle, and ordered him to be there examined by scourging, Acts xxiii. 26, 27. Nor do the words necessarily imply, that he knew this before he had taken him out of the Jewish hands. They import no more than this, as Grotius has observed; then came I with an army and rescued him, and I have understood that he is a Roman.[c]

And it appears to me very observable, that in the course of this long affair in Judea, St. Paul has never insisted upon the privilege of a citizen, but in that one case, of the chief captain's ordering him to be examined by scourging.

However, if any are inclined to suspect, that Paul's being a Roman citizen might exempt him from the jurisdiction of the Jews, then this particular case must be set aside; and we have in it no proof, one way or other, what was the power of the Jewish council over their own people in their own country.

But though we set aside all the proceedings relating to Paul, after he was known to be a Roman citizen, yet it seems to me, that we have some particulars mentioned in this narration which shew the Jewish magistrates had not the supreme government in Judea, no not in religious matters.

The rescue of Paul by Lysias is one part of this story. The Jews were about to kill him. "The chief captain, hearing of the uproar, immediately took soldiers and centurions, and ran down to them.—Then the chief captain came near and took him," Acts xxi. 31—38. He did not then know who, or what Paul was: he might have been a mere Jew for ought he knew.

And I think that Paul's defence before Felix, in answer to Tertullus, is remarkable: "Forasmuch as I know, that thou hast been of many years a judge unto this nation, I do the more cheerfully answer for myself," Acts xxiv. 10. This argument had been ridiculous, if such cases as these had never come before Felix, and did not belong to him. All the particulars insisted on from ver. 11 to 21, have some regard to religion and the security of it. "They neither found me in the temple disputing with any man."—Felix was a judge unto this nation in these causes. Nor does Paul speak of himself as a Roman, but as a Jew. "Now after many years I came to bring alms to my nation, and offerings," ver. 17.

And if all this do not amount to a proof, that causes of a religious nature belonged to the Roman jurisdiction, yet certainly here is sufficient to prove, that the Romans had supreme power over the Jews in civil matters, or else they had no power at all. For, I presume, no man will suppose, that Felix and Festus were sent to govern Romans and Greeks only in Judea. I need not remind the reader of all the particulars that have already passed before us. But he cannot forget the acknowledgment St. Paul makes of Felix being judge unto that nation, nor the Roman garrison at Jerusalem, nor the title of governor given to Felix and Festus, nor what Tertullus says: "Seeing that by thee we enjoy great quietness, and that very worthy deeds are done unto this nation by thy providence, we accept it always, most noble Felix, with all thankfulness," Acts xxiv. 23. And of Lysias, an officer plainly inferior to Felix, it is said, that because he would have known the certainty, wherefore he [Paul] was *accused of the Jews, he commanded the chief priests and all their council to appear*," ch. xxii. 30.

This is what we can collect from the sacred writers, concerning the state of Judea, at the time of their history.

XI. I proceed now to shew their agreement with other ancient writers. The first and last periods are evidently of the same kind; and therefore I shall endeavour jointly to confirm what we have met with concerning them.

During the whole first period, Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea: and all we have

[a] Ayant appris qu'il est citoyen Romain, & voulant savoir quel étoit le crime, dont ils l'accusoient, je l'avois mené devant leur Sanhedrim. Nouv. Testament traduit par Mr. Le Clerc. [b] For then the words would have been μαθων δε ὁτι Ῥωμαιος εστι και βελομενος. Whereas they are, μαθων δε ὁ P, ε· βελομενος δε γνωναι. κ. τ. λ. I think, that the δε following βελομενος and not μαθων, shews Mr. Le Clerc's interpretation is not just. [c] Aoristus hic nullam certum tempus designat; & tantum valet quantum και εμαθον, & *cognoveram*. Grot. in loc.

taken notice of in the fourth, or last period, happened under Felix, or Porcius Festus, likewise Roman governors of Judea. That Judea was, at the times the evangelists speak of, under the government of these Roman officers, has been shewn already, or will be shewn in other parts of this work. This being taken for granted, we are now only to inquire, whether the evangelists appear to have had a just idea of the power which these governors had in this country.

In order to determine this, I shall

1. Set down the opinions of divers Roman lawyers concerning the power of the presidents of provinces.

2. I shall give some passages of ancient writers relating to the state of Judea in particular.

3. Some passages of ancient writers concerning the state of people in other provinces.

1. I shall set down the opinions of divers Roman lawyers concerning the power of the presidents of provinces.

Ulpian, who flourished in the very beginning of the third century of the Christian æra says, 'It is the duty of a good and vigilant president to see to it, that his province be peaceable 'and quiet.—And that he ought to make diligent search after sacrilegious persons, robbers, 'menstealers, and thieves, and to punish every one according to his guilt.'[a]

The same celebrated lawyer says, 'They who govern whole provinces have the right of the 'sword, and the power of sending to the mines.'[b]

And the right of the sword, or power of the sword, appears from another passage of the same lawyer to be the power of punishing malefactors.[c]

Again, he says, 'the president of a province hath the highest authority in his province next to the emperor.'[d]

Hermogenianus says, 'Governors and presidents of provinces have the cognisance of all 'causes, which belong to the prefect of the city, or the prefect of the prætorium, and the con-'suls, and prætors, and other magistrates at Rome.'[e]

And Marcianus: 'All affairs in the provinces, which at Rome are under the jurisdiction of 'several judges, do belong to the presidents.'[f]

Ulpian says, 'No one can transfer to another the power of the sword, which has been com-'mitted to himself, nor the right of any other punishment.'[g]

Marcianus says, 'Adrian wrote thus to Julius Secundus: It has already been enjoined by 'rescripts, that credit is not to be given to the epistles of those, who send persons to the pre-'sidents as condemned.' 'The same rule extends to the peace-officers.—Therefore they who 'are sent with a bill [or information] are to be re-heard, although they are sent with a letter, 'or are brought by the peace-officers.'[h]

This illustrates several particulars in the causes we have been considering in the new Testament. Though the Jewish council, upon their examination of Jesus, pronounced him to be "guilty of death," Matt. xxvi. 66, and when they came before Pilate, said, "If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee," John xviii. 30; yet Pilate gave the cause a fresh hearing, and did not at all rely upon the information of the council. And Paul was heard again before Felix, though Lysias sent him with a letter, in which he informed the

[a] Congruit bono & gravi præsidi curare, ut pacata atque quieta provincia sit, quam regit:—Nam & sacrilegos, latrones, plagiarios, fures conquirere debet: & prout quisque deliquerit, in eum animadvertere. L. 13. pr. ff. de Off. Præs.

[b] Qui universas provincias regunt, jus gladii habent: & in metallum dandi potestas eis permissa est. L. 6. sect. 8. ff. eod.

[c] Imperium aut merum [est] aut mixtum est. Merum est imperium, habere gladii potestatem ad animadvertendos facinorosos homines, quod etiam potestas appellatur. Mixtum est imperium, cui etiam jurisdictio inest, quod in dandâ bonorum possessione consistit. L. 3. ff. de Jurisd.

[d] Præses provinciæ majus imperium in eâ provinciâ habet omnibus post principem. L. 4. ff. de Off. Præs.

[e] Ex omnibus causis, de quibus vel Præfectus Urbi, vel Præfectus prætorio, itemque Consules & Prætores, cæterique Romæ cognoscunt, Correctorum & Præsidum provinciarum est notio. L 10 ff. eod. [f] Omnia enim provincialia desideria, quæ Romæ varios judices habent, ad officium Præsidum pertinent. L. 11. ff. eod. Tit. To which may be subjoined from Proculus: Sed licet is qui provinciæ præest, omnium Romæ magistratuum vice & officio fungi debeat, non tam spectandum est, quid Romæ factum sit, quam quid fieri debeat. L. 12. eod. [g] Solent etiam custodiarum cognitionem mandare legatis: scilicet, ut præauditas custodias ad se remittant, ut innocentem liberent: Sed hoc genus mandati extraordinarium est: nec enim potest quis gladii potestatem sibi datam, vel cujus alterius coërcitionis ad alium transferre. L. 6. pr. ff. de Officio Proconsulis & Legati. Papinianus says the same thing: Qui mandatam jurisdictionem suscepit, proprium nihil habet: sed [&] ejus, qui mandavit, jurisdictione utitur. Verum est enim more majorem jurisdictionem quidem transferri, sed merum imperium, quod lege datur, non posse transire: quare nemo dicit, animadversionem legatum proconsulis habere mandatâ jurisdictione. L. 1. sect. 1. ff. de Officio ejus cui mandat. est Jurisd. [h] Divus Hadrianus Julio Secundo ita rescripsit: 'Et alias rescriptum est, non esse 'utique epistolis eorum credendum, qui quasi damnatos ad 'præsidem remiserint.' Idem de irenarchis præceptum est: quia non omnes ex fide bonâ elogia scribere compertum est. —— Igitur, qui cum elogio mittuntur, ex integro audiendi sunt, etsi per literas missi fuerint, vel etiam per irenarchas perducti. L. 6. pr. & sect. 1. ff. de Custodiâ & Exhibitione reorum.

governor of his innocence. Nor did Lysias expect, that Felix should rely upon the hearing he had given the cause, and the sentence he gave concerning it, but referred the issue to Felix.

Ulpian says, 'The magistrates of municipal places may not punish a slave (with death): 'but the inflicting lesser penalties is not to be denied them.'[a]

Municipia[b] were towns, or cities, which had the citizenship of Rome bestowed upon them, and yet still lived according to their own laws and constitutions. In which they differed from colonies, which were governed by the Roman laws.[c]

I take this to decide the matter fully. The Jews lived according to their own laws, as municipal people did: but then, if these last, who were Roman citizens, had not the right of punishing a slave with death, certainly the Jews had not, whilst under the Roman government.

2. I shall now proceed to some passages of ancient writers, that particularly concern the state of Judea about this time.

Archelaus, Herod's son, being banished by Augustus, A. D. 6 or 7, Judea was put under the government of Roman officers sent from Rome. Of this affair Josephus, in the Jewish war, speaks in these words: 'The dominion of Archelaus being reduced to a province, Copo-'nius, a person of the equestrian order among the Romans, is sent thither invested by Cæsar 'with the power of life and death.'[d]

Speaking of this same revolution in his Antiquities, he says, 'In the mean time Cyrenius, a 'senator—came into Syria—being sent thither by Cæsar, as judge of that nation, and censor 'of their estates. And Coponius, a person of the equestrian rank, is sent with him to govern 'the Jews with supreme authority: Cyrenius also came into Judea, it being annexed to the pro-'vince of Syria.'[e]

When St. Luke mentions Festus's arrival into the province,[f] namely of Judea, Acts xxv. 1, he uses the same word that Josephus does, when he says, that Archelaus's dominion was reduced to a province. And when St. Paul stiles Felix the judge unto that[g] nation, he uses a phrase equivalent to that, by which Josephus describes the authority with which Cyrenius was sent into Syria; namely, as judge of that people, or to administer justice among them.

As Cyrenius came at this time into Judea, and made an assessment there, so the Jews continued, whilst a Roman province, to pay tribute to the emperor. Tacitus informs us, that in the third of Tiberius, A. D. 17, the Jews presented a petition to Tiberius for an abatement of their tribute.[h] And Agrippa the younger, A. D. 66, tells the Jews that the Alexandrians paid the Romans more tribute in a month than they did in a year.[i]

Philo has given a long representation of Pilate's government, in the complaints which the Jews made to Pilate, upon his dedicating shields at Jerusalem. They tell him, 'It was not the 'will of Tiberius, that any of their laws and customs should be violated.[k] And Pilate was 'afraid that if they should send an embassy to Rome, they would discover to the emperor the 'many crimes of his administration, his taking of bribes, his extortions, his murders of inno-'cent and uncondemned persons, and other cruelties.'[l] Here are the tokens of civil power, but much abused.

In Josephus there are many instances of the authority of Felix and Festus, who punished not only bands of robbers, but those also that got together under religious pretences, though with designs of making innovations in the government.[m] And these facts Josephus relates without any marks of censure; whereas, when these, or any other of the governors committed any acts of violence and injustice, he never fails to make reflections upon them.

[a] Magistratibus municipalibus supplicium a servo sumere non licet: modica autem castigatio non est deneganda. L. 12. ff. de Jurisdictione. What Paulus says agrees herewith: Ea, quæ magis imperii sunt, quam jurisdictionis, magistratus municipalis facere non potest. L. 26. ff. Ad municip. & de incolis. [b] Municipes ergo sunt cives Romani ex municipiis, legibus suis & suo jure utentes. A Gell. Lib. xiii. cap. 13. vid. & Fest. voc. Municipes, & Municipium.

[c] Et jura institutaque omnia populi Romani, non sui imperii habent. A Gell. ubi supra. [d] Της δε Αρχελαε χωρας εις επαρχιαν περιτραφεισης, επιτροπος τις ιππικης παρα Ρωμαιοις ταξεως Κωπωνιος πεμπεται, μεχρι τε κλεινειν λαβειν παρα τε Καισαρος εξεσιαν· Jos. de B. Lib. ii. cap. viii. sect. 1.

[e] Κυρηνιος δε επι Συριας παρην, υπο Καισαρος δ. καιοδολης τε εθνες απες-αλμενος ——Κωπωνιος τε αυτω συνκαταπεμπεται, ταγ-μαλος των ιππεων ηγουμενος Ιεδαιων τη επι πασιν εξεσια· παρην δε και Κυρηνιος εις την Ιεδαιαν προσθηκην της Συριας γενομενην· Antiq. L. 18. cap. 1. sect. 1. [f] Φηστος δε επιβας τη επαρχια· [g] Κριτην τω εθνει τετω. Acts xxiv. 10.

[h] Et provinciæ Syria atque Judæa, sessæ oneribus, diminutionem tributi orabant. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 42.

[i] Τα δε ενιαυσια παρ' ημων φορα καθ' ενα μηνα πλεον Ρωμαιοις παρεχει· De B. J. lib. ii. cap. 16. p. 1088. v. 45.

[k] Τιβεριος εδεν εθελει των ημετερων καταλυεσθαι· Philo de legat. ad Cai. p. 1034. B. [l] Τετο μαλιστα αυτον εξεπρα-χυνε, καταδεισανται μη τω οντι πρεσβευσαμενοι, και της αρχης αυτε επιτροπης εξελεγξωσι τας δωροδοκιας, τας υβρεις, τας αρπα-γας, τας αικιας,—τες ακριτες και επαλληλες φονες—διεξελθοντες· ib. ibid. C. [m] See Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 7. sect. 5. 10. de Bell. lib. i. cap. 13.

I shall transcribe here but one passage concerning an action of Albinus, successor of Porcius Festus, just before he left the province. 'But when Albinus[a] heard that Gessius Florus was 'coming to succeed him, being desirous to seem to do something to gratify the people of 'Jerusalem; having inquired into the case of all that were in prison, he gave orders for the 'putting to death all that were manifestly guilty of capital crimes; but set at liberty all those 'who had been imprisoned for lesser offences, having first received a sum of money. Thus the 'prisons were emptied, and the country was filled with robbers.' This is a proof, that Albinus had the supreme power in all offences. These must be Jewish prisoners, or the releasing them had been no obligation upon the people of Jerusalem.

But though these procurators acted with the highest authority under the emperor, yet the Jews had a senate and magistrate; as appears undeniably from a letter of Claudius, sent to them in answer to a petition he had received from them; which letter was written A. D. 45, and is thus directed: 'To the magistrates of Jerusalem, to the council, the people, and the whole 'nation of the Jews, greeting.'[b] Josephus often makes mention of the magistrates and chief men of Jerusalem.[c] When the war was just breaking out between them and the Romans, they being very uneasy under the government of their procurator Florus, Josephus says, that the 'high priests of the Jews, and the chief men, and the *council*, waited upon Agrippa, to inform 'him of the state of their affairs.'[d]

We have a proof of their power of beating or whipping, in the punishment of Jesus the Son of Ananus; who at the feast of tabernacles, four years before the war, began his lamentable cry: 'A voice against Jerusalem, a voice against the temple.—He went through all the streets 'of the city, crying thus day and night.—Some of the chief of the people, being uneasy, at so 'ill boding a sound, take the man up and have him beaten most severely.'—But he still continuing his cry; 'The magistrates thinking the man must be under some more than ordinary 'impulse, as indeed he was, bring him to the Roman president.—He having examined and 'whipped him again, dismissed him as a madman.'[e]

This shews, the magistrates of Jerusalem could order a whipping: but whether their carrying the man after that to the Roman procurator amounts to a proof, that they could not inflict any heavier punishment, I must leave to the reader's consideration.

The Jews had likewise senates in some other cities, beside Jerusalem, which senates had also the power of imprisoning. Josephus thus characterizes Albinus's government. 'For sums 'of money, paid by relations, he set at liberty thieves and robbers, which had been imprisoned 'by the senate of any place, or by the former procurators.'[f]

And now I reckon we have gone over the several instances of the Jews' power and authority. The nature of the Roman government in Judea, and the extent of the Jewish privileges under that government, may however be farther illustrated by two or three other passages. When Herod the Great was dead, the Jews having been oppressed by him, and being desirous to be no longer subject to any of his family, sent an embassy to Augustus. The substance of their petition presented to the emperor, Josephus says, was this, 'That they might no longer continue 'in the state of a kingdom, but might be annexed to Syria, and be governed by prætors sent 'from thence.'[g] Thus he represents it in his Antiquities. In his Jewish War he expresses it thus: 'Ambassadors were sent away to obtain a right of living according to their own laws.'[h] These two passages laid together assure us, their petition was, that they might be governed by Roman officers according to their own laws.

And Josephus says, that after the death of Herod Agrippa, 'Claudius made Judea a province

[a] Ὡς δε ηκουσεν Αλβινος διαδοχον αυτῳ Γεσσιον Φλωρον αφικνεισθαι, βουλομενος δοκειν τι τοις Γεροσολυμιταις παρεσχησθαι, ωροσαγαγων τους δεσμωτας, ὁσον ησαν αυτων προδηλως θανειν αξιοι, τουτους προσεταξεν αναιρεθηναι· τους δε εκ μικρας και της τυχουσης αιτιας εις την ειρκτην καταιεθεντας, χρηματα λαμβανων αυτος απελυε και αυτως, ἡ μεν φυλακη των δεσμωτων εκαθαρθη, ἡ χωρα δε λῃστων επληρωθη. Antiq. 20. cap. 8 sect. 5.

[b] Ἱεροσολυμιτων αρχουσι, βουλῃ, δημῳ, Ιουδαιων παντι εθνει χαιρειν. Antiq. L. xx. cap. 1. sect. 2.

[c] Αρχοντες των Ἱεροσολυμων. p. 1073. 28. & alibi passim.

[d] Ενθα και Ιουδαιων οἱ τε αρχιερεις ἁμα τοις δυνατοις, και ἡ βουλη παρην, δεξιουμενη τον βασιλεα. de Bell. L. ii. cap. 16. sect. 2.

[e] Των δ' επισημων τινες δημοτων, αγανακτησαντες προς το κακοφημον, συλλαμβανουσι τον ανθρωπον, και πολλαις αικιζονται πληγαις—νομισαντες δ' οἱ αρχοντες, ὁπερ ην, δαιμονιωτερον ειναι το κινημα του ανδρος, αναγουσιν αυτον επι τον παρα Ῥωμαιοις επαρχον, ενθα μαστιξι μεχρις οστεων ξαινομενος, ουθ' ἱκετευσεν, ουτ' εδακρυσεν—τον δ' επι τῃ πολει θρηνον ειρων ου διελειπε, μεχρι καταγνους μανιαν, ὁ Αλβινος απελυσεν αυτον. De B. J. lib. vi. c. 5. sect. 3.

[f] Αλλα και τους επι λῃστεια δεδεμενους, ὑπο της παρ' ἑκαστοις βουλης, η των προτερων επιτροπων απελυτρου τοις συγγενεσι De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 14. sect. 1.

[g] Ην δε κεφαλαιον αυτοις της αξιωσεως, βασιλειας μεν και τοιωνδε αρχων απηλλαχθαι, προσθηκην δε Συριας γεγονοτας ὑποτασσεσθαι τοις εκεισε πεμπομένοις στρατηγοις. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 13. sect. 1.

[h] Πρεσβεις εξεληλυθεισαν περι τες του εθνους αυτονομιας· De B. lib. ii. cap. 6. sect. 1.

'again, and sent Cuspius Fadus to be procurator, and afterwards Tiberius Alexander. They '*making no alterations in the laws and customs of the country*, kept the nation in peace.'[a]

It is likewise worth while to place here a part of the speech, which Agrippa the younger made to the people at Jerusalem, to dissuade them from entering into war with the Romans. 'I know very well,' says he, 'that many make loud complaints of the oppressions of the pro-'curators, and run out into the praises of liberty. Before I come therefore to consider the 'prospect of success in this your design, by shewing you what is your strength, and what is 'theirs with whom you are about to contend, I would first distinguish the pretences, which 'are strangely connected by some. For if you would revenge those who do you wrong, why 'do you talk of liberty? But if you judge servitude intolerable, complaints of the governors 'are superfluous. For though they be ever so just and moderate in their government, the 'scandal of subjection (or servitude) remains.'[b] This is a proof, that whilst they had a Roman governor in their country, no sober men among them would pretend they were a free people.

And it is a kind of presumption, that the Jews had not at this time the power of life and death, in that, in all Josephus's history of these times, when criminals abounded in Judea, and many were put to death by the Roman governors, we find not the mention of any one put to death by the Jewish council or magistracy, except those which were stoned in a vacancy between the death of Festus, (which happened in the province) and the arrival of Albinus his successor.

The case is remarkable, and some readers may be willing to see it here. 'Ananus the younger, 'who we said just now had been put into the priesthood, was fierce and haughty in his beha-'viour, and extremely resolute and daring: and moreover was of the sect of the sadducees, who 'are, above all other Jews, cruel in their judicial sentences. This then being the temper of 'Ananus, he thinking he had a fit opportunity, because Festus was dead, and Albinus was yet 'upon the road, calls a council; and bringing before them James, the brother of him who is 'called Christ, and some others, he accused them as transgressors of the laws, and had them 'stoned to death.'[c] Josephus says, many were offended at this proceeding. 'And some went 'away to meet Albinus, who was coming from Alexandria, and[d] put him in mind, that Ananus 'had no right to call a council without his leave. Albinus, approving of what they said, wrote 'a very angry letter to Ananus, threatening to punish him for what he had done. And king 'Agrippa took away from him the priesthood, after he had enjoyed it three months, and put in 'Jesus the son of Damnæus.'

Some learned men have suspected those words, 'the brother of him who is called Christ,' to be an interpolation. But we have no occasion at present to concern ourselves with that. It is certain, here were some men put to death by the procurement of the high priest and the council he summoned; and the action was judged illegal by many at Jerusalem, by Albinus the procurator, and by Agrippa, who had then the government of the temple, and the right of nominating the high priests. Nay, Ananus had not the right of summoning the council without Albinus's leave. And I think, that Josephus's introduction to this story is a proof, that the council had not the power of life and death under a Roman procurator. Ananus was of the sect of the sadducees, who were cruel in their sentences above all other Jews. Ananus was of the same temper. Festus being dead, and Albinus yet upon the road, Ananus thought he had a fit opportunity to gratify his cruel disposition, and calls a council, in order to have some men stoned to death. It is herein implied, that even this fierce and daring high priest could not have gratified his cruelty in this way, if a procurator had been in the country. And though he thought he had a fit opportunity, what he did then cost him the priesthood.

There was likewise a sort of council summoned at Jerusalem, in order to have[e] Zacharias,

[a] Παλιν τας βασιλειας Κλαυδιος επαρχιαν ποιησας επιτροπον πεμπει Κωπιον Φαδον, επειτα Τιβεριον Αλεξανδρον· οι, μηδεν παρακινουντες των πατριων εθων, εν ειρηνη το εθνος διεφυλαξαν· De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 11. sect. 6. [b] Εγω δε, πριν εξεταζειν τινες ουτες, και τισιν επιχειρειτε πολεμειν, πρωτον διαζευξω την συμπλοκην των προφασεων· ει μεν αμυνεσθε τους αδικουντας, τι σεμνυνεται την ελευθεριαν; ει δε το δουλευειν αφορητον ηγεισθε, περισση προς τους ηγεμονας η μεμψις· και γαρ εκεινων μετριαζοντων, αισχρον ομοιως το δουλευειν. De. B. J. lib. ii. cap. 16. sect. 4. [c] Ὁ δε νεωτερος Ανανος, ὁν την αρχιερωσυνην εφαμεν παρειληφεναι, θρασυς ην τον τροπον, και τολμητες διαφεροντως· αιρεσιν δε μειτηει την Σαδδουκαιων· οιπερ εισι περι τας κρισεις ωμοι παρα παντας τους Ιουδαιους—αλλ ὁτι μεν τοιουτος ων ὁ Ανανος, νομισας εχειν καιρον επιτηδειον, δια το τεθνηναι μεν Φηστον, Αλβινον δε επι καλα την ὁδον υπαρχειν, καθιζει συνεδριαν κριτων· κ. λ. Antiq. 20. cap. 8. sect. 1. [d] Τινες δε των αστων και τον Αλβινον υπαντιαζουσιν απο της Αλεξανδρειας ὁδοιποριαν, και διδασκουσιν ὡς ουκ εξον ην Ανανῳ χωρις της εκεινου γνωμης καθισαι συνεδριον· Αλβινος δε, πεισθεις τοις λεγομενοις, γραφει μετ' οργης τῳ Ανανῳ λημεσθαι παρ' αυτου δικας απειλων· κ. λ. ibid. [e] De B. J. lib. iv. cap. 5. sect. 4.

the son of Baruch, condemned to death: but then they had shook off their subjection to the Romans.

But though there appear not any token of this power of life and death, whilst they were under the Roman government, yet as soon as they resolve upon the war, we meet with it very distinctly. They then appointed such and such to govern at Jerusalem, others to command in Idumea, others in other places, and Josephus the son of Matthias, our historian, to command in the two Galilees. When he came into his government, he says, 'choosing seventy of the most 'prudent men of the country, he appointed them to be rulers of all Galilee, and in each city 'also, seven men judges of lesser matters: and directed that the more weighty matters, and all 'capital causes, should be brought to himself and the seventy.'[a]

It may be said, there is scarce any mention made in Josephus, of the Jews inflicting lesser punishments. To this I answer, that these are particulars which rarely occur in large histories; the writers judging them too trifling, for the most part, to appear in their works. I have, however, given plain evidences from Josephus, of their power of imprisoning and inflicting lesser penalties.

It is likely also, that what Titus says, of the right of the Jews to kill any man, though a Roman, who entered beyond the limits prescribed to uncircumcised men, may be thought an instance of their having the power of life and death.

But I apprehend the meaning of Titus to be, that if the Jews had found any gentile in the court of the Jews, the Romans had permitted to take such a one and kill him immediately. This was a grant or permission with respect to one particular offence only. Nor can there be any consequence drawn from hence to any other cases, nor to a right of inflicting death in the way of a judicial process, either upon Jews or Romans. It is evident, that upon occasion of other violations of things sacred, committed by common Roman soldiers, the Jews applied to their procurator for justice.[b]

3. I would now, by way of collateral evidence, give some few passages of ancient authors concerning the state of other provinces.

Pilate has, in the gospels, the power of life and death in Judea. All governors of provinces seem to have had the same power. If the reader doubts of it, I refer him to the tenth book of Pliny's epistles, which contain his letters to Trajan, and the emperor's rescripts. I produce here only one passage from Philo, who thus aggravates the sufferings of Flaccus, president of Egypt, when he was accused before Caligula by some of the most considerable men of that country. 'He who had been governor was accused by his subjects, by those who had always 'been his great enemies, by men, of whose lives he had lately been lord and master.'[c]

According to the Roman lawyers whose opinions I have produced above, the governors of provinces had not only the power of life and death, but they were also the supreme judges in matters of property. The same thing is evident from the ancient Roman authors.[f]

As we find the Jews had a council, so had also the people of most other provinces senates in their great towns; the members of which were chosen according to ancient custom,[d] or rules prescribed by the senate or emperors.[e]

It is also extremely remarkable, that the Jews had councils and magistrates, not in Judea only, but in all the provinces of the Roman empire where they lived. For Philo says, 'Flac-'cus apprehending eight and thirty of our senate, which our Saviour and benefactor Augustus 'had appointed to take care of the Jewish affairs, he led them through the town to the theatre, 'and there ordered them to be whipped.'[g] Beside these eight and thirty, Philo mentions three other Jewish senators who were scourged by Flaccus, after their houses had been plundered by the Egyptian rabble; which disgrace he aggravates in this manner: 'There are in the city 'different methods of inflicting this punishment, according to the quality of persons. Egyp-

[a] Των μεν γηραιων ἑβδομηκοντα τȣς σωφρονεςατȣς επιλεξας εκ τȣ εθνȣς. κατεςησεν αρχοντας ὁλης της Γαλιλαιας·——τα γαρ μειζω πραγματα και τας φονικας δικας εφ' ἑαυτον αναπεμπειν εκελευσε και τȣς ἑβδομηκοντα. De Bell. lib. ii. c. 20. sect. 5.

[b] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xx. c. 4. sect. 3, 4.

[c] Ὁ δε ȣ κατηγορηθη μονον, αρχων προς ὑπηκοων, και ὑπο δυσμενων αει γενομενων, ὁ προ μικρȣ κυριος ων της ἑκαςȣ ζωης. In Flacc. p. 985. Confer. 983. C. D.

[d] Erat mihi in animo rectâ proficisci ad exercitum, æstivos menses reliquos rei militari dare, hibernos jurisdictioni. Cic. ad Att. lib. v. ep. 14. vid. & Ep. ad Quintum Fratrem, lib. 1. c. 2, 3. & alibi passim.

[e] Quorum ex testimoniis cognoscere potuistis, totâ Siciliâ per triennium neminem ullâ in civitate, senatorem factum esse gratis: neminem, ut leges eorum sunt, suffragiis.—Cic. in Verr. lib. ii. cap. 49. n. 120. vid & quæ sequuntur.

[f] Cautem est—Pompeiâ lege quæ Bithynis data est, ne quis capiat magistratum, neve sit in senatu, minor annorum 30. Eâdem lege comprehensum est, ut qui ceperint magistratum sint in senatu. Plin. lib. x. ep. 83. vid. & ep. 84.

[g] Της γαρ ἡμετερας γερȣσιας, ην ὁ σωτηρ και ευεργετης Σεβαςος επιμελησομενην των Ιȣδαικων εἱλετο—οκτω και τριακοντα συλλαβων ευθυς μεν δησαι κελευει. In Flacc. p. 975. D.

'tians are whipped by Egyptians, with one sort of rods. Alexandrians by Alexandrians only, 'with another sort of rods. This custom former presidents, and Flaccus himself in the former 'part of his government, had observed with regard to our people.[a] Was it not then intolerable, 'that, when an ordinary Alexandrian Jew received the more honourable and liberal stripes, if 'he committed an offence, these rulers, the senate, men venerable for their age and dignity, 'should be treated in this respect worse than their subjects, and be levelled with the most 'obscure and most criminal Egyptians?'[b]

From the number of senators mentioned in these two passages, it may be concluded, the Jews had at Alexandria a full senate of seventy. Philo speaks of these men in very magnificent terms, and he also calls the other Jews their subjects: but nevertheless the Jews were not exempt from the jurisdiction of the Roman president, whose authority appears to be paramount over all. And the former presidents, whom Philo does not condemn, and Flaccus in the former part of his government, when according to Philo's own account, his administration had been admirable and exemplary, had been wont to punish Jewish people, if they thought them culpable.

What Philo says of the Jewish magistracy at Alexandria is confirmed by other writers. For Josephus assures us, that this same Philo's brother Alexander was alibarch of the Jews in Egypt.[c] And Claudius, in an edict published in favour of the Jews in the beginning of his reign, (which edict is preserved entire in Josephus) observes as a precedent, 'That when a 'Jewish ethnarch died, Augustus had not forbid the creation of a new ethnarch,[d] willing that 'all should remain subject to him, but in the observation of their own customs.' Which shews likewise, that the Jewish magistracy there was entirely subject to the Romans, and was not to derogate from their government of all.

And after this, Demetrius the alibarch of the Jews at Alexandria, was so considerable a person, that Mariamne the second daughter of Herod Agrippa thought fit to bestow herself upon him, when she had divorced her first husband.[e]

Strabo, in a passage, not now in his works, but cited by Josephus, says, that 'a good part of 'Alexandria is inhabited by this people [the Jews]. They had likewise an ethnarch, who 'administers their affairs, decides causes, and presides over contracts and mandates, as if he 'were the governor of a perfect republic.'[f]

Josephus likewise makes mention of a person, who was archon or chief magistrate of the Jews at Antioch in Syria,[g] at the time that the war against the Jews in Judea was proclaimed by the Romans.

There is somewhat very remarkable in a decree concerning the Jews of Sardis. It deserves to be transcribed here from Josephus: 'Lucius Antonius son of Mark, proquæstor and pro-'prætor to the magistrates, senate and people of Sardis, greeting. The Jews which are our 'citizens, have shewn me, that they have always had an assembly of their own according to 'the laws of their country, and [h] a place of their own, in which they decide the affairs and 'differences which concern themselves. Having desired of me that it may be lawful for them 'so to do, I have decreed that this (right) be preserved and permitted to them.'[i]

I have here given this account of the state of the Jews in other countries, because I apprehend that one great reason, why many have supposed the Jews had the power of life and death in Judea, is, because they perceive they had there an high priest, a council, and other officers or magistrates. The privileges of the Jews in other countries, which I have here instanced

[a] Το εθος τελο και επι των ημελερων διεληρησαν οι προ Φλακκε, και Φλακκος αυλος τες πρωλες χρονες. Ibid. p. 976. C.

[b] Πως αν παλχαλεπον των εδιωλων Αλεξανδρεων Ιεδαιων ταις ελευθεριωλεραις και πολιλικωλεραις μαστιξιν τελυπτομενων, ειπολε εδοξαν πληγων αξια ερλαδασθαι, τες αρχονλας, την γερδσιαν, οι και γερως, και τιμης εισιν επωνυμοι, καλα τελο το μερος ελατλον των υπηκοων ενεγκασθαι, καθαπερ των Αιλυπλιων τες αφανεςατες και ενοχες τοις μελιςοις αδικημασιν. Ibid. D. E.

[c] Antiq. l. xviii. cap. 9. p. 821. v. 11. vid. & p. 809. v. 43.

[d] Και τελευλησανλος τε Ιεδαιων εθναρχε, τον Σεδαςον μη κεκωλυκεναι εθναρχας γινεσθαι, δελομενον υπολειαχθαι εκαςες εμμενονλας τοις ιδιοις εθεσι. Joseph. ibid. l. xix. c. 5. p. 865. v. 35.

[e] Τω αυλω δε καιρω και Μαριαμνη, παραιλησαμενη τον Αρχελαον, συνωκησε Δημηλριω, τω εν Αλεξανδρεια Ιεδαιων πρωλευονλι γενει τε και πλειω τιλε δη και την Αλαδαρχιαν αυλος ειχε. Joseph. Antiq. l. xx cap. 6. sect. 3.

[f] Καθιςαλαι δε και εθναρχης αυλων, ος διοικει τε το εθνος, και διαιλα κρισεις, και συμδολαιων επιμελειαι και προςαγμαλων, ως αν πολιλειας αρχων αυλολελης. Joseph. Ant. lib. xiv. cap. 7. sect. 2. vid. & Ant. lib. xix. c. 5. sect. 2.

[g] Ην γαρ αρχων των επ' Ανλιοχειας Ιεδαιων. De Bell. lib. vii. cap. 3. sect. 3.

[h] Μοι επεδειξαν εαυλες συνοδον εχειν ιδιαν καλα τας παλριας νομες απ' αρχης, και τοπον ιδιον, εν ω τα τε πραγμαλα και τας προς αλληλες αυλιλογιας κρινεσι· τελο τε αιλησαμενοις, ιν' εξη αυλοις ποιειν, τηρησαι και επιλρεψαι εκρινα. Antiq. xiv. cap. 10. sect. 17.

[i] This decree shews, how justly the apostle rebuked the Christians at Corinth, 1 Cor. vi. 5, 6. "for going to law," one with another "before the unbelievers:" when they might have decided all lesser differences among themselves.

in, shew the inference is not good. They had even there a senate and magistrates; but no one will suppose these had the power of life and death. Indeed it does not appear, that the people of any province had it. But the Roman presidents, and they alone, are ever represented as the supreme judges (next under the senate or the emperor) in all causes whatever in their several provinces.[a]

We must therefore suppose, that though the Jewish senate and other magistrates subsisted in Judea, yet their power was not exactly the same they had formerly, but was restrained and diminished under the Roman governors. So it appears to be in the evangelists; and between them and the other writers which I have quoted, there is a perfect harmony.

Every reader will now be able to observe the beauty and propriety of St. Peter's style, as well as the reasonableness of his advice, which he gives, 1 Pet. i. 1, to the "strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia; provinces, or parts of provinces of the Roman empire: 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the *King* (it should be rendered emperor)[b] as supreme, or unto *governors, as unto them that are sent by him* (from Rome) *for the punishment of evil doers,*[c] and for the praise of them that do well." Here is an exact description of the power and authority which the presidents of provinces were invested with, for the administration of justice.

XII. We are now to consult for the external evidences relating to the state of the Jews during the second period, which reaches from the resurrection of our Saviour to the reign of Herod Agrippa.

If our Saviour was crucified at the passover in the 19th year of Tiberius, A. D. 33, which is the opinion of many learned men, then we have here the space of about eight years. For Caligula was killed, and Claudius succeeded him the 24th day of January, A. D. 41.[d] And Claudius in the beginning of his reign, made Herod Agrippa king of all Judea. But if our Saviour was crucified two or three years sooner, which is the opinion of many other learned men, then this period is proportionably of a longer duration. I enter not here into any inquiry which of these two computations is the most probable, because, as will appear presently, it is not material in the present case, or at least not necessary.

I must however desire the reader to observe here a few particulars, though they have been partly mentioned already. Archelaus was removed from the government of Judea, A. D. 6 or 7. Judea and Samaria were then made a Roman province, with this particular circumstance, that they were to be a branch of the province of Syria.[e] But that this country of Judea might be kept in good order, there was an officer, with the title of procurator, sent by Augustus to reside and govern there, invested with the supreme authority, or the power of life and death. The first of these was Coponius, the next Marcus Ambivius, his successor Annius Rufus, in whose time Augustus died, A. D. 14. The next was Valerius Gratus, who was appointed procurator by Tiberius, and continued in the province eleven years; and was then succeeded by Pontius Pilate, who governed Judea ten years. So far every thing is exceeding clear in Josephus.[f] There is indeed some debate, whether these ten years of Pilate expired some time before the passover, A. D. 36 or 37. I think that Pilate left Judea before the passover, A. D. 36, and shall give my reasons in another place.

We must now endeavour to clear up the state of Judea during the remainder of this period, that is, after the removal of Pilate, which cannot be above four or five years at the most. It may be questioned, whether they had now any procurator residing among them with power of

[a] Præclarum est enim *summo cum imperio* fuisse in Asiâ triennium, sic ut nullum te signum,——nulla conditio pecuniæ ab summâ integritate continentiâque deduxerit. Cic. ad Quint. Frat. Lib. i. Ep. 1. cap. 2. n. 7. Quare quoniam in istis urbibus cum *summo imperio et potestate* versaris. Ibid. cap. 10. n. 24. Quam jucunda tandem prætoris comitas in Asiâ potest esse, in quâ tanta multitudo civium *unius* hominis nutum intuentur?—Quare cum permagni hominis est ——sic se adhibere in tantâ potestate, ut *nulla alia potestas* ab iis, quibus ipse præsit, desideretur. Ibid. cap. 7. n. 18.

[b] The Greek writers made no scruple to call the Roman emperors kings, though the Romans did. This is Grotius's observation upon the place. He has given no instances, because, I suppose, he thought it needless. However, I will put down two or three here: οἱ μεν γαρ Ῥωμαιων βασιλεις ἐλιμησαν τε και προσεκοσμησαν το ἱερον αει. Joseph. de B. J. lib. 5. c. 13. sect. 6. χρονῳ δε ὑστερον εις Νερωνα ἡ βασιλεια περιηλθε ἡ Ῥωμαιων. Pausan. p. 429.—μονος τε βασιλεων φιλοσοφιαν, ε λογοις, ωδε δογμασιν γνωσεσι, σεμνῳ δ' ηθει, και βιῳ σωφρονι επισωσαμενος [Μαρκος·] Herodian. lib. i. sect. 3. But as we never call the Roman emperors kings in our language, the word emperor seems to me more proper in this place.

[c] Compare this with Ulpian's description of the power of the sword —— St. Peter's (κακοποιοι) evildoers, are Ulpian's *facinorosi*.

[d] Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 11. Sueton. Calig. 58. Dio. lib. 59. p. 663. C. D.

[e] Joseph. de Bell. l. ii. c. 8. Antiq. l. xvii. c. ult.

[f] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 2. sect. 1, 2.

life and death, as they had from the year of our Lord 7, to the year 36 or 37. But that they were subject to the Romans is certain. For at the same time that the [a] Samaritans waited upon Vitellius the president of Syria, entreating that Pilate might be removed, they made very solemn professions of their willingness to continue under the Roman government, and only complained of the tyranny of Pilate[b]. And that the Jews were subject to the Romans in the last year of this period, A. D. 40, appears from what Herod Agrippa says to Caligula, in the letter he sent to him to persuade him to revoke the orders he had given for erecting his statue at Jerusalem: 'I presume not (says he) to ask for my country the freedom of the city, nor 'yet liberty, nor immunity from tribute:'[c] as his letter is given us by Philo.

But I am apt to think, they had no procurator residing among them, from the time of Pilate's removal to Agrippa's accession to the kingdom of Judea in the reign of Claudius. My reasons are these: Josephus's account in his Antiquities, of the removal of Pilate, is in these words: 'Then Vitellius, having sent Marcellus his friend to administer the affairs of Judea, 'commanded Pilate to go to Rome, to answer to the emperor for those things of which 'he was accused by the Jews.'[d] Now I think, that Marcellus could not have the power of life and death in Judea, because he was sent thither by Vitellius only; and no officer under the emperor could convey this power to another, as we are assured by Ulpian.[e] The Jews therefore could not have any one in their country with this power, till one was sent thither with it from Italy. But there was no one sent from Rome to Judea, after this, till the beginning of Caligula's reign. I shall shew hereafter, that Pilate was removed by Vitellius before the passover, A. D. 36. Therefore for one whole year, the last of Tiberius, there was no officer residing in Judea with power of life and death.

Now let us see who was sent into Judea by Caligula in the beginning of his reign, and what was the commission of this officer. Josephus's words are these: 'He [Caligula] sent 'Marullus to be master of the horse in Judea.'[f] Some would read in Josephus, instead of [ιπταρχην] master of the horse, [επαρχον] president. But all copies agree in the present reading, and so it was in the time of Epiphanius.[h] It is, indeed, difficult to say what Josephus means by this word.[g] But he gives the same title to one Jucundus, an officer in Judea in the time of Florus. their last governor before the war.[i] If I may offer a conjecture, (and I can do no more) I suspect that Josephus means the same officer who is called in Latin Præfectus, and Præfectus equitem, an officer of considerable power under the presidents;[k] and who was sometimes sent into a remote part of a province to keep things in good order. Thus Scaptius was a præfect under Appius, Cicero's predecessor in the province of Cilicia, and was sent by him into Cyprus, then a branch of the province of Cilicia. In like manner Marcellus was sent into Judea by Vitellius. And as for Marullus, as he seems to me to have had the same title with Scaptius, so I think he had the same power and authority with him and Marcellus, only he was appointed by the emperor, they by presidents.

But whatever was Marullus's post, there is no reason to think he was procurator or governor, since in all the copies of Josephus he is called only master of the horse.

Farther, I think there was no procurator of Judea between the removal of Pilate and Agrippa's reign, because all the great concerns of Judea in this time are managed by Vitellius, and then by Petronius, presidents of Syria. Soon after the removal of Pilate, Vitellius dis-

[a] The Jews are to be supposed to join with them herein, for they likewise brought accusations against Pilate, as will appear presently. [b] Ου γαρ επι αποστασει Ρωμαιων, αλλ' επι διαφυλη της Πιλαθ υβρεως, εις την Τιραβαθα παραβενεσθαι.—Joseph. Ant. l. xviii. cap. 5. sect. 2. [c] Ει και μη την Ρωμαικην πολιτειαν, ελευθεριαν γουν η φορων αφεσιν, εδεν αν εβολμησα τοιουτον αιτησασθαι. De legat. ad Caium, p. 1032. C. [d] Και Ουιτελλιος, Μαρκελλον τον αυτω φιλον εκπεμψας επιμεληθην τοις Ιουδαιοις γενησομενον, Πιλατον εκελευσεν επι Ρωμης απιεναι, προς α καληγοροιεν Ιουδαιοι διδαξοντα τον αυτοκρατορα. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 5. sect. 2. [e] L. vi. pr. ff. de Off. Procons. & Leg. His words are above, p. 42.

[f] Ιπταρχην δε επι της Ιουδαιας εκπεμπει Μαρυλλον. Marullum autem misit, qui equitum magister esset in Judæâ. Huds. vers. Antiq. l xviii. c. 7. sect. 10. [g] Ιπταρχην. Ita quidem & Epiphanius. Forsan tamen επαρχον legendum. Huds. Not. o. p. 818. [h] Sed ιπταρχω vocabulum non satis expedio. Petav. Doct. Temp. vol. ii. p. 314.

[i] Προσελθων δε Ιουκουνδος ο διακωλυειν τελασμενος ιπταρχης. De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 14. p. 1079. v. 21. [k] Appius noster turmas aliquot equitum dederat huic Scaptio, per quas Saliminios coërceret, & eundem habuerat præfectum. Vexabat Salaminios. Ego equites ex Cypro decedere jussi. Molestè tulit Scaptius. Cic. ad Att. lib. v. ep. 21. Fuerat enim præfectus Appio; & quidem habuerat turmas equitum, quibus inclusum in curiâ senatum Salamine obsederat.—Itaque ego, quo die tetigi provinciam, cum mihi Cyprii legati obviam venissent, literas misi, ut equites ex insulâ statim decederent. Id. l. vi. ep. 1. Scaptium, quia non habuit a me turmas equitum, quibus Cyprum vexaret, ut ante me fecerat, fortasse succenset; aut quia præfectus non est, &c. ib. ep. 8. Gabius Bassus, præfectus oræ Ponticæ,—venit ad me. Plin. L. x. ep. 32. vid. & ep. seq.

placed Caiaphas the high priest,[a] and the next year Jonathan,[b] whom he had put into Caiaphas's room. It was through the hands of Vitellius, that the Jews obtained from Tiberius the liberty of having the high priest's vestment in their own keeping.[c] Afterwards all Caligula's orders about setting up his statue at Jerusalem, and the method of treating the Jews if they opposed it, are directed to Petronius, Vitellius's successor; and the Jews make all applications to him. We have here one particular advantage. During the rest of the time which we are concerned for, we have little light from any one but Josephus. But the history of Caligula's design to pollute the temple at Jerusalem, is to be found in Philo as well as Josephus. But yet there is nothing said of any Jewish procurator; no orders sent to him by Caligula or Petronius; no mention made of him by the Jews in any of the petitions they presented at this time; nor is his conduct blamed or commended by either of the forementioned writers. That the name of an inferior officer does not appear is not strange,[d] but that the procurator of Judea should not be mentioned, if there was one, is unaccountable.

This then was the state of Judea in this period. Pontius Pilate was procurator there till some time before the passover, A. D. 36. After that there was no procurator in the country, but the Jews were immediately under the government, first of Vitellius, and then of Petronius, presidents of Syria, till the accession of Herod Agrippa. There might be an officer under these presidents of Syria, called master, or prefect of the horse, but there was no officer constantly residing in Judea with power of life and death.

We are now to cast our eye upon the transactions of this period related in the Acts of the apostles. Peter and John and the other apostles, were summoned before the Jewish council, imprisoned, threatened, scourged, Stephen was stoned, and a very severe persecution commenced, and was carried on for a considerable time against all the disciples of Jesus in that country, and at Damascus. This may be thought very extraordinary, if the Jews were (as certainly they were at this time) under the Roman government, and if they had not the power of life and death within themselves.

Now I would in the first place observe, that though the state of Judea, as I have just now represented it from Josephus and Philo, did not afford us any considerations which might enable us to account for such a behaviour of the Jews, as seems inconsistent with their subjection to the Romans, yet it may be fairly supposed, from St. Luke's history, that the Jews were very riotous and turbulent at this time.

Here was now in this country a number of men, who affirmed that Jesus, who had wrought no temporal deliverance for the Jewish people, was the Christ; that He who had been lately condemned and crucified by them, was now risen from the dead, and was ascended up to heaven. They exhorted even the rulers of the Jews and all the people to repentance. They proved their assertions, and supported their exhortations by no other method, but by reasonings from the scriptures, and by a healing power exerted on many miserable objects. But, however, the priests, and all the rulers were grieved that they taught the people, and preached through Jesus the resurrection of the dead; and though these disciples of Jesus made no tumult, yet they were very firm in their tenets; and, when commanded by the council, "not to speak at all, nor preach in the name of Jesus," they scrupled not to profess, that it was with them an undoubted maxim rather to "obey God than them," and told them, Acts iv. 20, that they "could not but speak the things which they had seen and heard." And so they did. Whereupon we find, they were brought again before the council, ch. v. 28, and "the high priest asked them, saying, Did not we straitly command you, that you should not teach in this name? And behold ye have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this man's blood upon us." May not any man be assured that the high priest, who spoke these words, and the council in whose name he spoke, would exert all the authority they were possessed of against the disciples of Jesus? as rulers in synagogues beat them there, as members of the council issue out orders for apprehending all of that way, imprison them, whip them in public

[a] Joseph. Ant. l. xviii. c. 5. sect. 3. [b] Ibid. cap. 6. sect. 3. [c] Ibid. cap. 5. sect. 3. [d] And yet Philo has made mention of one Capito, who was at this time collector of the Roman tribute in Judea; and ascribes in part the ill-will which Caligula bore the Jewish nation, to calumnies forged against them by this Capito, the better to defeat the complaints which might be brought against himself, for the exactions he had been guilty of in his office. Παρατεθηκται δε νυν μαλλον η προτερον εξ επιστολης ἡν επεμψε Καπιτων φορων εκλογευς·—— ειτα ευλαβηθεις μητις αυτȣ γενηται κατηγορια, τεχνην επενοησεν ἡ διαβολαις των αδικηθεντων διακρȣσεται τας αιτιας· κ. τ. λ. Philo de legat. p. 1020. E. And this passage ought to be added to the proofs I have given above, that the Jews were tributary to the Roman emperor.

places; and, if this was all they could do themselves, have them, after that, before the governor; and if he did not fully execute their rage, by artful insinuations raise a spirit in their people, which the most vigilant administration could not hinder from breaking out sometimes into riots, and such like disorders, by which some of the followers of Jesus might lose their lives. No people in the world are always peaceable and orderly as they should be, and the Jews were as likely as any to assume a power that was not legal. We have proofs of it in Josephus. 'When Fadus came procurator in Judea, he found the Jews of Peræa[a] in a riot fighting with 'the Philadelphians about the limits of the village Mias. And indeed the people of Peræa 'had taken up arms without the consent of their chief men, and had killed a good number 'of the Philadelphians. When Fadus heard of it, he was very much provoked that they had 'taken up arms and not left the decision to him, if they thought the Philadelphians had done 'them any wrong.'[b] There is another instance of the like kind afterwards. The Samaritans had offered an injury to some Jews, as they were passing through their country to Jerusalem. The Jews made reprisals. 'Hereupon the chief men of the Samaritans go to Umidius Qua-'dratus, president of Syria, then at Tyrus, and accuse the Jews of plundering and burning their 'towns. Nor were they so much concerned, they said, for the injury done to them, as for the 'contempt shewed to the Romans, to whom they ought rather to have appealed as judges, if 'they had been injured, and not make incursions of their own heads as they had done, as if 'they were under no subjection to the Romans. They therefore came to him for justice.'[c]

The riot of the Jews beyond Jordan seems to have happened in the interval between the death of Herod Agrippa, and the arrival of Fadus in the province. The incursions into Samaria were made while Cumanus was actually in Judea. Indeed Josephus endeavours to acquit the chief men of Judea as to both these facts. But the common people seldom take arms, and make incursions, without some encouragement from their superiors. And if the chief men at Jerusalem were perfectly innocent as to this last affair, Quadratus, the president of Syria, must have been horribly imposed upon, though he came into the country on purpose to examine the case upon the spot. For he beheaded some Jews, and crucified others, and sent the high priest, the captain of the temple, and divers other chief men at Jerusalem, to Rome, to answer for themselves.[d]

If then some of the Jewish proceedings mentioned in the Acts, seem not very suitable to the state of a Roman province, it may be fairly taken for granted, they were illegal or tumultuous.

But, secondly, I am apt to think the state of the Jews at this time, if reflected on, will help us to account for these proceedings. If our Saviour was crucified at the passover, A. D. 33, then this was the eighth passover of Pilate's administration, for he came into the province before the passover of the year 26. But if our Saviour was crucified in the 29th year of the Christian æra, which is the soonest that is supposed by any, yet that would be the fourth passover after Pilate's arrival in that country. Now it was very common for the presidents, if they had not behaved well, to stand in fear of the people of their province; and they dreaded extremely the sending complaints to the emperor. And in order to ward off these, they usually thought it proper to do some popular things.

Philo has given us a remarkable instance in Flaccus, prefect of Egypt, about this very time. The five first years of his administration, which were the five last years of Tiberius's reign, Flaccus was a most excellent governor. But in the sixth year of his presidentship, which was the first of Caligula's, he became quite another[e] man. It is not necessary to produce here all the reasons of this alteration. But in the life-time of Tiberius, Flaccus had been no friend of Caligula. When therefore Caligula came to be emperor, and had put to death the young Tiberius, and Macro, in whom Flaccus had some interest, he was thrown into a terrible fright: his concern was visible, and all the Egyptians knew very well the cause of it: hereupon they got him entirely into their own hands, 'and of a governor Flaccus became a subject, and they of subjects 'became presidents, inventors of useless decrees, directors of all affairs, taking him in as a mere 'mute image in a play, for no other reason but because he had the name of governor.[f] These

[a] That is, on the other side of Jordan. [b] Ταυτα πυθομενον τον Φαδον σφοδρα παρωξυνεν, ὁτι μη την κρισιν αυτῳ παραλειποιεν, ειπερ ὑποπτων Φιλαδελφηνων ενομιζον αδικεισθαι, αλλ' αδεως εφ' ὁπλα χωρησειεν. Ant. xx. c. 1. sect. 1.

[c] Και, περι μεν ων αυτοι πεπονθασιν, ουχ ουτως αγανακτειν, εφασκον, ως ὁτι Ῥωμαιων καταφρονησειαν, εφ' ους κριτας εχρην αυτους ειπερ ηδικουντο παραγενεσθαι, η νυν ως ουχ εχοντων ηγεμονας Ῥωμαιους καταδραμειν. Antiq. xx. c. 5. sect. 2. [d] Vid. de Bell. l. ii. c. 12. sect. 6. Antiq. ubi supra. [e] Philo in Flacc. p. 965, 966. [f] Και γινεται ὁ μεν αρχων υπηκοος, οι δ' ὑπηκοοι ἡγεμονες, εισηγεμενοι μεν αλυσιτελεστατας γνωμας —βεβαιωται γαρ ὡν εβουλευσαντο παντων εγινοντο, κυφον ως

'men therefore, the Dyonysii, the Lampones, the Isidores, all these conspire together to form 'a most wicked design against the Jews; and coming to Flaccus, they tell him; "Sir, you "have lost the young Tiberius, and your next hope after him, your friend Macro; you have "no expectations of favour from the emperor, but rather otherwise. We must necessarily "contrive for you some powerful advocate with Caius [Caligula]. This advocate, Sir, is the "city of Alexandria, which has been ever honoured by the imperial family, and especially by "our present sovereign: if she may but obtain some favour of you, she will undertake your "cause. You can oblige her by nothing so much, as by delivering up the Jews into her "hands." Then he, who ought to have been provoked at so impudent a proposal, and to have 'reprimanded the authors of it as incendiaries, and disturbers of the public peace, tamely com-'plied with what they desired.'

After this, Flaccus began to shew a strange neglect of the Jews, and in all causes the Jews were cast, till at length he became their open enemy. The Egyptians taking encouragement from this behaviour, came by degrees to the rifling of the Jews' houses, and murdered great numbers of them. 'And the president of the country, who, if he had pleased, could in one 'hour have quieted this mad multitude, pretended not to see or hear any thing.'[a] The Egyptians receiving no rebukes for what they had done already, proceeded to demolish the Jewish oratories at Alexandria.

Thus matters went in Egypt. The people there had no right, according to the constitution of the country, to treat the Jews as they did; nor did the prefect formally convey the power of life and death to them. But for his own convenience he overlooked their disorderly proceedings. The case of Pilate in Judea seems very much to have resembled that of Flaccus in Egypt: that is, they were both apprehensive of the emperor's displeasure, though perhaps the grounds of these apprehensions were different. Pilate had been tyrannical in the very beginning of his administration, and had thereby rendered himself disagreeable to the Jews: for this reason he stood in fear of them. This appears in the prosecution of Jesus before him. The Jews cried out, John xix. 12, "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend." Pilate seems to have understood the meaning of this speech. If he had not gratified them in this point, they might have drawn up a long list of mal-administrations for the emperor's view.

His condemnation of Jesus at the importunity of the Jews, contrary to his own judgment and inclination declared to them more than once, was a point gained: and his government must have been ever after much weakened by so mean a condescension. And that Pilate's influence in the province continued to decline is manifest, in that, the people of it prevailed at last to have him removed, in a very ignominious manner, by Vitellius, president of Syria. It is therefore highly probable, that to screen other acts of injustice, and to gratify the chief men at Jerusalem, he might sign decrees of condemnation against some of the disciples of Jesus; or at least connive at, or not restrain some irregular proceedings of the Jewish magistrates, and the riots of the people. Nor can it be concluded, that Pilate did not act in this manner, because he had not the favour of the people of his province. For Flaccus did himself no real service by all his compliances with the Egyptians, but was at last accused by the men whose tool he had been.[b]

After this manner, then, affairs might be carried on in Judea, during the remainder of Pilate's administration after the resurrection of our Saviour, till about the beginning of the year 36.

And after the removal of Pilate, the Jews would, very probably, take an unusual licence; they not having then any procurator among them, but being more immediately under the government of the president of Syria, whose chief residence was at Antioch.

Besides, Vitellius seems to have been at a yet greater distance from them the greatest part of the year that followed the removal of Pilate. This, if I mistake not, was the season of

επι σκηνης προσωπειον, ἑνεκα προσχηματος αυτον μονον παραλαμβανοντες επιγεγραμμενον ονομα αρχης, Διονυσιοι, Λαμπωνες, Ισιδωροι, στασιαρχαι, φιλοπραγμονες, κακων εὑρεται——συνταξαμενοι παντες ουτοι βουλευμα βουλευουσι κατα των Ιουδαιων αργάλεωτατον, και τῳ Φλακκῳ προσελθοντες, ιδιᾳ φασιν, ερρει μεν σοι τα απο Τιβεριου Νερωνος του παιδος, και ερρει δε και ὁ μετ' εκεινον ελπις ἑταιρος σοι Μακρων, αισια δ' ουκ εστι σοι τα απο του κρατουντος· δει δε παρακλητον ἡμας εὑρειν δυνατωτερον, ὑφ' ου Γαϊος εξευμενισθησεται· ὁ δε παρακλητος, ἡ πολις Αλεξανδρεων εστιν, ἡν τετιμηκεν μεν εξ αρχης ἁπας ο Σεβαστος οικος, διαφεροντως δ' ὁ νυν ἡμων δεσποτης· μειζον δ' αγαθον ουδεν αυτῃ παρεξεις, η τους Ιουδαιους εκδους και προεμενος· επι τουτοις οφειλων απωσεσθαι και δυσχεραναι τους λεγοντας ὡς νεωτεροποιους και κοινους πολεμιους, συνεπιγραφεται τοις λεχθεισι· ibid. p. 988. A.—C. [a] Του δε επιτροπου της χωρας, ὁς μονος εδυνατο βουληθεις ὡρᾳ μιᾳ την οχλοκρατιαν καθελειν, προσποιουμενου ἁ-τε ἑωρα μη ὁρᾳν, και ὡν ηκουε μη επακουειν. Id. de Legat. ad Cai. p. 1010. [b] Vid. Phil in Flacc. p. 985, 986.

Vitellius's expedition to Parthia. It is true, that Suetonius [a] and Dio [b] place the congress of Vitellius and Artabanus in the first year of Caligula. But Josephus [c] placeth it in the last of Tiberius's reign; and gives so distinct an account of this matter, that he cannot but be relied on. He says, that Vitellius having, whilst in Syria, ordered Pilate away for Rome, went up to Jerusalem to the passover, which appears to me very evidently to be the passover of the year 36. Having put Caiaphas out of the priesthood, and done divers other things to the great satisfaction of the Jews, he returned to Antioch. Josephus then says, that Vitellius having received orders from Tiberius to make an alliance with Artabanus, went to the Euphrates, where Vitellius and Artabanus had a congress, and a league was made; that Artabanus sent his son hostage to Tiberius; that after the league was made, Herod the Tetrarch of Galilee, who was there, entertained the president of Syria, and the king of Parthia; and sent an express to Rome with an account of the conclusion of this treaty, as did also Vitellius. Herod's messenger came first to Rome, and Tiberius wrote back to Vitellius, that his express brought him no news, for he had heard all before. Vitellius thinking Herod had done him a great injury herein, retained a secret grudge against him, till he had an opportunity of being revenged in the reign of Caligula. At the next passover, A. D. 37, Vitellius was again at Jerusalem. So that this expedition to the Euphrates was made in the year 36. Josephus appears perfectly master of this whole affair: the concerns of Herod the tetrarch are interwoven with it. Josephus was nearer the event than Suetonius or Dio. Besides, Tacitus concurs with him. For he says, that A. U. 788, which is the year of our Lord 35, when C. Cestius Gallus and M. Servilius Nonianus were consuls, Tiberius [d] gave Vitellius the command of all things in the east. He then relates Vitellius's expedition, and what he performed in it, and concludes his account thus; 'And 'then he returned with the army into Syria. I have here put together the actions of two summers.'[e] I think it therefore very plain, that according to Tacitus, this commission given to Vitellius in the year 35, was finished in 36.

This then was a fine opportunity for a people fond of power, to exert some acts of authority they could not have done, whilst a governor was among them or near them. The behaviour of Ananus and his council, in the interval between the death of Porcius Festus, and the arrival of his successor Albinus, is a proof of it. Nor were there any, on whom they were so likely to shew their power, as the followers of Jesus.

Moreover, such was the temper of this Vitellius, that it may be fairly supposed, the Jews enjoyed some peculiar indulgencies under his administration.

There are divers things recorded of him in Josephus, which may satisfy us there was a very loving correspondence between him and the chief men of the Jewish nation. At the request of the Jews and Samaritans he removed Pilate. The passover following, he went up to Jerusalem, and was magnificently received by the Jews. It was through his hands that the Jews obtained from Tiberius the right of having in their own keeping the high priest's sacred vestment, which he wore on their great solemnities;[f] a privilege they had not enjoyed before, since the beginning of Herod's reign. This favour they received at the passover in the year 36.

In the beginning of the next year, when Vitellius was going to march his forces through Judea, which was the shortest way, to attack Aretas, at the request of the Jews he ordered his troops to take another route, that he might not offend them with his idolatrous ensigns; and when he had given these orders, he went up himself to Jerusalem to worship God.[g] Vitellius is not to be blamed for any of these things; but they are an argument, that the Jewish people had a great influence upon him.

And from the Roman historians it appears, that Vitellius was a man of a most obsequious disposition. For he, who had sacrificed to God at Jerusalem, when he was out of his province and returned to Rome, paid divine honours to the emperor; and indeed was one of the first that began that idolatrous worship, which Caligula was so fond of in the latter part of his reign.

[a] Namque Artabanus, Parthorum rex, odium semper contemptumque Tiberii præ se ferens, amicitiam ejus [Caii] ultro petiit, venitque ad colloquium legati consularis; & transgressus Euphratem, aquilas & signa Romana Cæsarumque imagines adoravit, Calig. cap. 14.

[b] Ὁ γȣν Βιτελλιος ὁ Λȣκιος—και τον Αρταβανον κατεπληξε τε απαντησας αυτῳ εξαπιναιως περι τον Ευφρατην ηδη οντι, και ες τε λογȣς αυτον ὑπηγαγετο, και θυσαι ταις τȣ Αυγȣςȣ τȣ τε Γαιȣ εικοσιν ηναγκασε. Lib. 59. p. 661. B. C.

[c] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 5.

[d] Et cunctis quæ apud Orientem parabantur, L. Vitellium præfecit. Ann. l. 6. c. 32.

[e] Exin cum legionibus in Syriam remeavit. Quæ duabus æstatibus gesta conjunxi, quo requiesceret animus a domesticis malis. Ibid. c. 37. fin. 38. init.

[f] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 5. sect. 3.

[g] Και δια μεγαλȣ πεδιȣ κελευσας χωρειν το ϛραιοπεδον, αυτος τε μετα Ἡρωδȣ τȣ τετραρχȣ και των φιλων εις Ἱεροσολυμα ανῃει, ΘΥΣΩΝ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ. Joseph. ibid.

Vitellius was so exquisite in this and other kinds of flattery, that at length his name became proverbial to denote an eminent flatterer.[a]

And though it should be still thought, notwithstanding what I have said above, that Marcellus and Marullus were possessed of the full powers of a procurator in Judea, yet it must be allowed, that Vitellius had a great influence on the affairs of Judea all the time he was president of Syria after the removal of Pilate, because all the great concerns of the Jews mentioned by Josephus are transacted by him.

I have not attempted to settle the date of the particular facts of this second period related in the Acts of the apostles. Learned men are very much divided about the year of Stephen's death, which is the most remarkable of all those facts. Archbishop Usher places it in the year 33,[b] Bishop Pearson in the latter end of the year 34,[c] Mr. Basnage in the year 37.[d] The disciples of Jesus were, I think, much harassed by the Jewish council from the very beginning, immediately after the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them at Pentecost; though about the time that Stephen was stoned, a more fierce and more general persecution came on, and continued for some time, Acts viii. 1. xi. 19. And though it may be difficult to settle exactly when it began, and when it ended, yet I think it most probable, that though it might be abated in the year 38, it was not over before the third year of Caligula's reign, that is, the thirty-ninth year of the Christian æra; in which year Vitellius was recalled from Syria, and was succeeded by Petronius.[e] Nay, possibly it was not quite at an end till the year 40.

If some few of the Jewish proceedings in this period seem somewhat extraordinary, I imagine, they may be accounted for from the particular state of the affairs in Judea which I have just given a view of. The reader is able to judge of it himself, and I make no more reflections.

We are now to observe the remarkable words of St. Luke, Acts ix. 31. "Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria." This rest of the churches will be easily accounted for from the following particulars. Soon after Caligula's accession, the Jews at Alexandria suffered very much from the Egyptians in that city, (as has been already observed) and at length their oratories there were all destroyed. In the third year of Caligula, A. D. 39, Petronius was sent into Syria, with orders to set up the emperor's statue in the temple at Jerusalem. It is not improbable, but the Jews of Judea might be affected at the condition of their countrymen at Alexandria, where by this time they were almost ruined; but this order from Caligula was a thunder-stroke. There is indeed some doubt, whether Petronius published this order in the year of our Lord 39 or 40. But whenever it was made known, the Jews must have been too much engaged afterwards to mind any thing else, as may appear from the accounts which Philo and Josephus have given us of this affair.

Josephus says, 'That Caligula ordered Petronius to go with an army to Jerusalem to set 'up his statues in the temple there; enjoining him, if the Jews opposed it, to put to death all 'that made any resistance, and to make all the rest of the nation slaves. Petronius therefore 'marched from Antioch into Judea with three legions, and a large body of auxiliaries raised in 'Syria ——All were hereupon filled with consternation, the army being come as far as Ptole-'mais.[f] The Jews then gathering together went to the plain near Ptolemais, and entreated 'Petronius in the first place for their laws, and in the next place for themselves.' Petronius was moved by their entreaties, and leaving his army and the statues at Ptolemais, went into Galilee; and at Tiberias calls together the chief men of the Jewish people, and exhorts them to submit to the emperor's orders. When they could not engage so to do, he asked them, 'Will 'ye then fight against Cæsar? The Jews answered him, that they offered up sacrifices twice 'every day for Cæsar and the Roman people. But that if he would set up the images, he ought 'first of all to sacrifice the whole Jewish nation, and that they were ready to submit themselves, 'their wives and children, to the slaughter.'[g]

Philo says, that the tidings of these orders having reached Jerusalem, the Jews, 'abandon-'ing their cities, villages, and the open country, all went to Petronius in Phenicia, both men 'and women, the old, the young, and the middle aged;—that they threw themselves down

[a] Idem, miri in adulando ingenii, primus C. Cæsarem adorari ut Deum instituit: cum reversus ex Syriâ non aliter adire ausus esset, quam capite velato, circumvertensque se, deinde procumbens. Suet. A. Vitell. cap. 2. Cæterum regendis provinciis priscâ virtute egit. Unde regressus, & formidine C. Cæsaris, familiaritate Claudii, turpe in servitium mutatus, exemplar apud posteros adulatorii dedecoris habetur. Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. c. 32. vid. & Senec. Natur. Quæst. lib. iv. c. 1. & Dion. l. lix. p. 661. C. D. [b] Ann. p. 617 ed. Lat. Lond. 1650. [c] Ann. Paulin. p. 1. [d] Annal. Pol. Eccles. A. D. 37. n. 14, 15. [e] Vid. Noris. Cenotaph. Pis. Diss. ii. p. 330, 331. n. 2. [f] Joseph de B. J. lib. ii. cap. 10. sect. 1. Pagi Critic. in Baron. A. D. 32. [g] Ibid. sect. 3, 4. vid. & Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 9.

'upon the ground before Pretonius, with weeping and lamentation;—that being ordered by 'him to rise up, they approached him covered with dust, with their hands behind them, as 'men condemned to die; and that then the senate bespoke Petronius in this manner: "We "come to you, Sir, as you see, unarmed. We have brought with us our wives, and children, "and relations, and throw ourselves down before you, as at the feet of Caius, having left none "at home, that you may save all, or destroy all."[a]

Petronius deferred his journey to Jerusalem, that the Jews might not, out of concern for such a violation of their religion, neglect their gathering in their corn, it being then ripe, as Philo says;[b] or lose the seeds-time, as Josephus says.[c] He was the more moved by this consideration, because it was expected, that Caligula would be at Alexandria the next summer: and he judged it not proper to do any thing that might hinder a sufficient plenty for the company that would follow the emperor from Italy, and the concourse of the princes of Asia, and other great men in those parts. And in his letter to Caligula he made use of this, as the excuse for not immediately executing his orders.[d] These two writers differ somewhat as to the time when the Jews waited on Petronius. Possibly they might be reconciled together even as to this. However, they agree in representing the concern of the Jews as very great and general. And it is very likely, that the persecution of the Christians ceased now, and that the Jews were fully employed in warding off this terrible blow from the temple, which was their glory and confidence.

Some learned men have ascribed this rest of the churches to the conversion of St. Paul, who had been a very zealous persecutor. But this is, in my opinion, to do St. Paul a great deal of wrong on one hand, and too much honour on the other. It appears to me a great injustice, to ascribe to him all the sufferings of the Christians which ensued upon the death of Stephen; when, after his conversion, we find the Jews of Judea, Damascus, and every other place, were filled with malice and spite against Christianity, and against St. Paul and every one else of that way. On the other hand, it is doing him at the same time too much honour. St. Paul was then but a young man, Acts vii. 58, and though a forward and active instrument, yet he could be no more than an instrument in that persecution. It cannot be supposed, that whilst he was with the high priests and pharisees, they were directed and animated by him; and that when he had left them, their spirits were so sunk that they could no longer pursue their old measures. His own dangers at Damascus and Jerusalem are a proof of the contrary.

Moreover, according to the series of St. Luke's history, though the great persecution he speaks of, Acts viii. 1. xi. 19, might be abated sooner, yet it could not be quite over till several years after St. Paul's conversion. St. Luke first mentions St. Paul's return from Damascus to Jerusalem, (which was not till three years after his conversion, Gal. i. 18.) and the treatment he met with from the Grecians: "which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cæsarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus. *Then* had the Churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified, and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied," Acts ix. 30, 31.

Lastly, according to the description St. Luke gives us of this rest of the churches in the words just now transcribed, it was very extensive, even all over Judea and Galilee and Samaria, and very complete, and the churches had no molestation. So considerable an event must have been owing to some other considerable event with which the whole people of that country was affected. I had no sooner read the account which Philo and Josephus have given of the sufferings of the Jews in Alexandria, and the imminent danger of ruin which that whole people in Judea and other places were in, in the reign of Caligula, but I concluded, that this state of their affairs brought on the rest of the Christian churches which St. Luke speaks of, and which certainly happened about this time. Whether I am in the right or not others will judge.

St. Luke has not expressly told us how long this rest of the churches lasted, but it is likely that it reached some way into Herod Agrippa's reign. He was at Rome when Caligula was killed, and was very serviceable to his successor Claudius, in settling matters between him and the senate.[e] But this is certain, that the great danger the Jews were in of utter ruin in the reign of Caligula, and the gracious as well as just edicts passed in their favour by Claudius, in the beginning of his reign, had little effect upon them. For St. Luke says, that when "Herod stretched forth his hand to vex certain of the church, and killed James with the sword," the

[a] Philo de legat. ad Cai. p. 1024, 1025. [b] Ibid. p. 1028, A. [c] Joseph. Antiq. l. xviii. cap. 9 sect. 4.
[d] Philo ubi supra. [e] Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. c. 11.

satisfaction which they expressed in these cruelties, was an inducement to him "to take Peter also," Acts xii. 1—3.

XIII. This brings me to the proceedings of the third period, the reign of Herod. But I need not add any thing here to what has been already said in the former chapter; where it has been shewn, that Herod had at this time sovereign authority in Judea, though he was dependant on the Roman emperor.

I have now given the reader a view of the state of Judea, according to the sacred and other writers, so far as I proposed at the beginning of this chapter.

I must not proceed any farther, till I have owned myself much indebted to Mr. Huber, for his Dissertation[a] on this subject. But by this acknowledgment I have not discharged all my obligations to that learned and agreeable writer. I have found him a good guide upon other occasions beside this.

I am sensible some learned men have given a different account of this matter: but it will not be expected I should enter here into controversies with any. This argument is long enough already. I shall, however, make a few remarks on Dr. Lightfoot's[b] account taken from the Talmudical and other Jewish writers.

1. Lightfoot[c] quotes these words from the Jerusalem Talmud. 'A tradition: forty years 'before the temple was destroyed, judgment in capital causes was taken away from Israel.' And he says himself,[d] 'It cannot be denied but that all capital judgment, or sentence upon life, 'had been taken from the Jews for above forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, as 'they oftentimes themselves confess.' I think, the natural meaning of the words of the tradition is, that the people of the Jews were deprived of the right of inflicting capital punishment by some superior power or force. It does therefore in the main confirm my account. For since we know, that Judea was a Roman province for some considerable time before the destruction of Jerusalem, it may be reasonably concluded, the Roman government had taken away judgment in capital causes. But this tradition is inaccurate as to the time; for if the Jews had lost this power for forty years before the destruction of the temple, then they had it not in the reign of Herod Agrippa, and consequently not after Judea was first made a Roman province, A. D. 6 or 7, which was above sixty years before the ruin of their city. However, it is plain the just mentioned Herod had supreme power in Judea. How far he entrusted the council with judgment in capital causes, I do not pretend to determine.

2. But yet Lightfoot says, 'The Romans did not take away their power of judging in 'capital matters, but they by their own oscitancy, supine and unreasonable lenity, lost it them-"selves. For so the Gemarah goes on: "Rabh Nachmanbar Isaac saith, Let him not say that "they did not judge judgments of mulcts, for they did not judge capital judgments either. And "whence comes this? When they saw that so many murders and homicides multiplied upon "them, that they could not well judge and call them to an account, they said, It is better for "us that we remove from place to place; for how can we otherwise not contract a guilt upon "ourselves?"—They thought themselves obliged to punish 'murderers, whilst they sat in the 'room Gazith; for "the place itself engaged them to it." They are the words of the Gema-'rists. Upon which the gloss.—They removed therefore from Gazith, and sate in the Taberne.'[e] I cannot think this a just account. If robbers and murderers were so numerous, that the council could not punish them; yet certainly the christians were not able for forty years together, before the destruction of the temple, either by their own numbers, or by their interest with the people, to strike any awe upon the council. And if they had a lenity and tenderness for Israelitish robbers and murderers (which I do not deny) yet they had little or no tenderness for christians, if there be any truth in the history of the New Testament, or of ancient christian writers. And yet they did not judge any of these capitally. For so the tradition, confirmed likewise (as Lightfoot allows) by many Jewish writers, says, 'judgment in capital causes had 'been taken away from them for forty years before the destruction of the temple.' Since therefore they did not judge christians capitally, and since they could not be restrained from it by any dread of the christians, nor by lenity toward them, it follows, they must have been hindered by some superior authority. And what could that be but the Roman?

3. 'That we may yet farther confirm our opinion,' says Lightfoot, 'that the authority of 'their council was not taken away by the Romans, we will produce two stories, as clear

[a] Zacharie Huber Dissertationum Libri tres Amst. 1721. Dissertatio prima, quâ adseritur Judæorum magistratus, tempore Christi Servatoris, non habuisse merum imperium, sive jus gladii.

[b] See his Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on Matt. xxvi. 3. John viii. 31.

[c] Ibid. p. 248. [d] Ibid. p. 611. [e] Id. ibid. p. 612.

'examples of the thing we assert. One is this: R. Lazar, son of R. Sadock, said, "When I was "a little boy, sitting on my father's shoulders, I saw the daughter of a priest that had played "the harlot, compassed round with faggots and burnt." Hieros. Sanhedr. fol. 24. 2. The 'council no doubt judging and condemning her, and this after Judea had then groaned many 'years under the Roman yoke, for that same R. Lazar saw the destruction of the city.' The other story is taken from the same book, and is told of one 'Ben Sudta in Lydda. They 'placed two disciples of the wise in ambush for him, and they brought him before the council 'and stoned him.—The Jews openly profess that this was done to him in the days of R. Akiba, 'long after the destruction of the city; and yet then, as you see, the council still retained its 'authority in judging of capital causes. They might do it for all the Romans, if they dared 'to do it to the criminals.'[a] I think the first, R. Lazar's story, proves too much; for it not only proves that the Romans had not taken away this power from the council, but that it was not taken away at all for forty years before the destruction of the temple. But this is a contradiction to the tradition, which Lightfoot allows to be true, and well supported. If we must suppose the sight, the little boy is said to have had sitting upon his father's shoulders, to be matter of fact, it will be needful to reconcile it with the tradition above-mentioned. This I do not know how to do any otherwise, than by supposing, that the tradition represents the legal state of the constitution they were under, for forty years before the destruction of the temple; and that the burning of the priest's daughter, if it was done by order of the Jewish council, was an irregular and illegal action. The same thing ought also to be supposed of the second story, if it be true. But this way of reconciliation would not suit Lightfoot.

Upon the whole, though the tradition confirms my account, I cannot but think, that the testimonies I have alleged relating to this subject, are preferable to the testimonies of Talmudical, or other later Jewish writers. All the authors I have quoted must be allowed to have been acquainted with the form of government, which the Romans established in their provinces; and Josephus must have known the state of Judea in particular. And I hope the reader is convinced, that there is upon this subject a perfect agreement between these authors and the sacred writers of the New Testament.

I shall borrow one passage more from that learned writer: 'Christ answers the treachery 'of the question propounded (upon the tribute money) out of the very determinations of the 'schools, where this was taught;—Wheresoever the money of any king is current, there the 'inhabitants acknowledge that king for their lord. Maimon. on Gezelah, ch. 5.'[b]

There remain two or three particulars, which, not regarding the main point in question, have not yet been considered; but however may not be quite omitted.

XIV. St. John says, chap. xviii. 3, "Judas then having received a *band* of men, and officers from the chief priests and pharisees, cometh thither, to the garden. Ver. 12, "Then the *band* and the captain, and officers of the Jews took Jesus." This band I suppose to have consisted of Roman soldiers. The Greek word [σπειρα] is, I think, ever used in the New Testament concerning soldiers. "Then the soldiers of the governor took Jesus.—And gathered unto him the whole *band* of soldiers," Matt. xxvii. 27. Mark xv. 6, "Cornelius a centurion of the Italian band," Acts. x. 1. xxi. 31. xxvii. 1.

Farther, when the chief priests and pharisees went to Pilate, and desired he would "command that the sepulchre be made sure unto the third day.—He said unto them, Ye have a watch, [εχετε κουστωδιαν] go your way, make it as sure as you can," Matt. xxvii. 64, 65. From whence one would be apt to conclude, that there was, at least at the feast times, a guard of soldiers upon duty, from which they might draw out a sufficient number for any particular purpose.

"As they were about to kill him, [Paul,] tidings came unto the *chief captain of the band* that all Jerusalem was in an uproar: who immediately took soldiers and centurions, and ran down unto them, Acts xxi. 31, 32. And he commanded him to be carried into the *castle*. And as Paul was to be led into the castle,—when the chief captain had given him licence, Paul stood on the *stairs*, and there spake unto the people, ver. 37—40. And when Lysias sent Paul from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, it was under a strong guard of horse and foot," ch. xxiii. 33.

There was therefore at Jerusalem a Roman officer, who had the government of the castle, and a good body of troops under him.

[a] Ibid. p. 219.

[b] Id. on Matt. xxii. 20.

A passage or two from Josephus will confirm and illustrate these particulars. 'Antonia,' says he, 'was situated at the angle of the western and northern porticoes of the outer temple, '[or outer court of the temple]. It was built upon a rock fifty cubits high, steep on all sides. 'It was the work of king Herod, in which he had shewn his usual magnificence.—On that 'side where it joined to the porticoes of the temple, there were *stairs* reaching to each portico, 'by which the guard descended; (for there was always lodged here a Roman legion) and 'posting themselves in their armour in several places in the porticoes, they kept a watch on 'the people on the feast days, to prevent all disorders. For as the temple was a guard to the 'city, so was Antonia to the temple.' This from the history of the Jewish War.[a] In his Antiquities he says: 'The feast called the passover approaching, at which it is our custom to 'eat unleavened bread, and a great number of people being come up from all parts to the feast, 'Cumanus fearing some disturbance, commanded a company of soldiers to post themselves in 'their armour in the porticoes of the temple, to suppress disorders, if any should happen: 'which was what the procurators had been wont to do at the feasts.'[b] This Cumanus was Felix's predecessor: and this order was given, as it seems, A.D. 48.[c]

The reader must needs observe here two things: first, that there was always a legion which kept garrison in the castle at Jerusalem. Secondly, that at the feasts there was a detachment of these soldiers, which came down from the castle, and kept guard in the porticoes of the temple. It may be questioned what was Lysias's post at Jerusalem. Grotius[d] supposed that he was captain of a cohort that kept guard at the feast time. I cannot at present assent to this. It does not appear to have been feast time when Paul was seized, (though Pentecost was near, Acts xx. 6, 16.) It seems plain to me, that Lysias was not upon duty at the temple at this time. "They laid hands upon Paul.—And all the city was moved, and the people ran together; and they took Paul, and drew him out of the temple, and forthwith the doors were shut. And as they went about to kill Paul, tidings came to the chief captain of the band, that all Jerusalem was in an uproar. Who immediately took soldiers, and centurions, and ran down unto them," ch. xxi. 30—32. If Lysias had been in the porticoes of the temple, he would have perceived the disturbance himself; whereas he knew nothing of it but by tidings brought to him, and that not till "all Jerusalem was in an uproar." It is observable also, that Lysias afterwards summoned the whole council of the Jews. The word[e] which we render 'band,' is used with considerable latitude: the word we have rendered 'chief captain,' signifies properly a captain of a thousand, and is often used particularly for a tribune. I suppose therefore, that Lysias was the oldest tribune at Jerusalem, and that he was the commanding officer at the castle of Antonia, and was entrusted by Felix with what power he thought fit to give to the chief officer under him at Jerusalam.

XV. We may now proceed to another particular. St. John says, ch. xviii. 12, "Then the band, and the *captain* [και ο χιλιαρχος] and officers of the Jews, took Jesus and bound him." I am inclined to think the captain here mentioned was a Jewish officer; but I do not insist upon it. I add, therefore, two or three other texts. "And as they spake to the people, the priests, and the captain of the temple [ο ςρατηγος τȣ ιερȣ] and the sadducees came upon them, Acts iv. 1. Now when the high priest, and the *captain of the temple*, and the chief priests heard these things, ver. 24. Then went the *captain* with the officers," ver. 26. I believe most persons will suppose, that this 'captain of the temple' was a Jewish officer. There is in Josephus such an officer mentioned, who is evidently a Jew.

Whilst the above-named Cumanus was procurator of Judea, there happened a dreadful difference between the Jews and Samaritans. Cumanus not being able to put an end to it, Ummidius Quadratus, president of Syria, came into Judea, and punished several Jews and Samaritans upon the spot, and sent others to Rome. This last part of his conduct is thus expressed by Josephus in his Antiquities: 'Having bound the high priest Ananias, and the '*captain* Ananus,[f] he sent them to Rome to give an account of their conduct to Claudius

[a] Καθα δε συνηπτο ταις τȣ ιερȣ ςοαις, εις αμφοτερας ειχε καταβασεις· δι' ὡν κατιοντες οἱ φρȣροι, καθηςο γαρ αει επ' αυτης ταγμα Ῥωμαιων, και διιςαμενοι περι τας ςοας μετα των ὁπλων, εν ταις ἑορταις, τον δημον, ὡς μη τι νεωτερισθειη, παρεφυλαττον· φρȣριον γαρ επεκειτο τῃ πολει μεν το ἱερον, τῳ ἱερῳ δε ἡ Αντωνια. Lib. v c. 5. sect. 8.

[b] Κελευει των ςρατιωτων μιαν ταξιν αναλαβȣσαν τα ὁπλα επι των τȣ ιερȣ ςοων εςαναι καταςελȣντας τον νεωτερισμον, ει αρα τις γενοιτο· τȣτο δε και οἱ προ αυτȣ της Ιȣδαιας επιτροπευσαντες εν ταις ἑορταις επραττον. Antiq. l. xx. c. 4. sect. 3.

[c] Vid. Pagi Critic. in Baron. & Basnage Annal. A. D. 48.

[d] Præfecto ejus cohortis, quæ temporibus festis, ac proinde etiam in Pentecoste, præsidium habebat in porticibus templi ad prohibendos tumultus, si qui orirentur, in Act. xxi. 31.

[e] Σπειρα, συναξις, πληθος ςρατευματων. Phavorinus.

[f] Τον ςρατηγον Ανανον δησας.

'Cæsar.'[a] In his War of the Jews it is thus: 'And moreover he sent away to Cæsar the 'high priests Jonathan and Ananias, and Ananus the son of this last mentioned.'[b] Ananus, who in the former passage has the title of captain, is in this latter said to be the son of the high priest.

When Josephus is reckoning up the causes of offence which the Jews gave the Romans, he says: 'And at the temple Eleazar, the son of Ananias the high priest, a young man of a bold and 'resolute disposition, then *captain*,[c] persuaded those who performed the sacred ministrations, 'not to receive the gift or sacrifice of any stranger (or man of another nation). This was the 'foundation of the war with the Romans; for they rejected the sacrifice of Cæsar for them. 'And though the high priests, and many of the chief men, entreated them not to omit the 'ancient custom of sacrificing for their governors, they would not be persuaded; relying 'upon the multitude they had on their side,—and especially being much at the direction of the 'captain Eleazar.' Here is another captain, who is a son of an high priest; and he appears to have an authority over those who were in waiting at the temple.

St. Luke, in one place, speaks of the captains in the plural number, ch. xxii. 52, "Then Jesus said unto the chief priests and *captains*[d] of the temple, and the elders which were come to him." As there was a great variety of ministrations at the temple, and a great number of priests and Levites always in waiting, but especially at the feasts, it is very likely there was an officer who presided over each division, and that there was one who had a command above all the rest.

XVI. I have but one thing more to take notice of here. When St. Paul had appealed to Cæsar, "Then Festus, when he had consulted the *council*, answered, Hast thou appealed unto Cæsar? Unto Cæsar shalt thou go," Acts xxv. 12. The reason of the thing will induce us to suppose this was not the Jewish sanhedrim, but some council which the governor had with him.

It was always usual for the presidents to have a council consisting of their friends, and other chief Romans in the province.[e] Philo says, when the Jews waited upon Petronius, and entreated him to defer his march to Jerusalem till they had sent an embassy to Rome, Petronius was moved by their tears and lamentations, 'and consulted with his assessors what 'was proper to be done.'[f] Josephus speaks of Cumanus's acting with the advice of his 'friends,' in the sentence he pronounced upon a Roman soldier, who had tore a book of the law of Moses.[g] In the year of our Lord 66, Florus, who was then procurator of Judea, sent Cestius Gallus president of Syria, false accounts (as Josephus says) of the Jewish behaviour. 'And the chief men of Jerusalem were not silent. For they, and Bernice, wrote to Cestius 'an account of Florus's mal-administrations in the city. He, therefore, having read the 'informations he had received from both parties, consulted with his captains.'[h] It is one of Cicero's complaints against Verres, that when he was in Sicily, he condemned a person without asking the advice of the council, which his predecessor, and he himself had been wont to advise with.[i]

[a] L. xx. cap. 5. sect. 2. [b] Και Ανανιαν, τον τε τελε παιδα Ανανον. De Bell. l. ii. cap. 12. sect. 6.

[c] Ελεαζαρος υιος Ανανια τε αρχιερεως, νεανιας θρασυ̃αλος, σραλήσων τοτε, τες καὶα τὴν λαὶρειαν λειτερ̃ενίας αναπειθει, μηδενος αλλοφυλε δωρον ἡ θυσιαν προσδεχεσθαι· τετο δε ην τε προς Ρωμαιες πολεμε καὶαβολη· την γαρ ὑπερ τελων θυσιαν Καισαρος απερρὶψαν· και πολλα των τε αρχιερεων και των γνωριμων παρακαλεντων, μη παραλιπειν το ὑπερ των ἡγεμονων εθος, εκ ενεδοσαν· πολυ μεν και τω σφετερω πληθει πεποιθοῖες —— μαλισ̃α δε αφορμὶες εις τον Ελεαζαρον σραλήγενὶα. De B. J. ii. c 17. sect. 2. [d] See Whitby upon the place.

[e] Τες δε δη παρεδρες αυ̃ος ἑαυ̃ῳ ἑκασ̃ος αἱρειται· κ. τ. λ. Dio. p. 505. E. [f] Επεξαναγας δε μεὶα των συνεδρων εβελευσε̃ο τα πρακὶεα. De legat. ad Cai. p. 1027. B.

[g] Και ὁ Κεμανος —— συμβελευσανὶων και των φιλων, τον ενυ̃ρισανὶα τοις νομοις σραλιωὶην πελεκισας. Ant. lib. xx. cap. 4. sect. 4. [h] Μεὶα ἡγεμονων εβελευσε̃ο. De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 16. sect. 1. [i] Illud negare posses, aut nunc negabis; te consilio tuo dimisso, viris primariis, qui in consilio C. Sacerdotis fuerant, tibique esse solebant, remotis, de re judicatâ judicasse? In Verrem. lib. ii. n. 81.

CHAP. III.

OF THE STATE OF THE JEWS OUT OF JUDEA.

I. *The Jews numerous in divers parts out of Judea.* II. *The twelve Tribes in being.* III. *Prayer wont to be made [at Philippi] by the river side.* IV. *The Synagogue of the Libertines.* V. *Of Jewish Proselytes.*

I INTEND not here a distinct consideration of the power or privileges, which the Jews enjoyed in foreign countries. Somewhat has been already said upon this subject in the preceding chapter, and more particulars may be found in the eighth chapter of this book. I here take notice of a few things which fall within the compass of my design, but are omitted in those other places.

I. There are frequent intimations in the New Testament, that at the time the apostles preached the gospel, after the ascension of our Saviour, there were great number of Jews in several parts of the world, beside those which lived in Judea.

When the disciples had "been filled with the Holy Ghost, (on the day of Pentecost), and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance, it is said: There were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven.—And they were all amazed, saying one to another, Behold, are not all these which speak Galileans? And how hear we every man in our own tongue wherein we were born? Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, and Cappadocia, Pontus, and Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Lybia about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretes and Arabians, we do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God," Acts ii. 4—11.

The persons spoken of are Jews, or proselytes, chiefly the former. By dwelling at Jerusalem must be understood residing there for a time only, on account of the feast, or some other particular occasion. The word [a] is so used sometimes, and the context obliges us to understand it so here.

In the history of St. Paul's travels, we find him preaching in Jewish synagogues in many places: when "Paul and Barnabas came to Antioch in Pisidia, they went into the synagogue on the sabbath day," Acts xiii. 14. They did so likewise at Iconium, ch. xiv. 1. Paul taught in a synagogue at Thessalonica, ch. xvii. 2; at Athens, ver. 17; at Corinth, ch. xviii. 4; at Ephesus, ch. xix. 8.

That the Jews were scattered abroad, and dwelt in almost all parts of the world, even before the destruction of their city and state by Titus, is evident from many passages of Philo, Josephus, and several heathen authors. I shall select a few of them, which will be sufficient for the present design.

Philo, in his book against Flaccus, prefect of Egypt in the beginning of Caligula's reign, says, 'There were not less than a million of Jews in Alexandria and other parts of Egypt.' [b] He adds, 'For one country does not contain the Jewish people, they being extremely numer-'ous; for which reason there are of them in all the best and most flourishing countries of 'Europe and Asia, in the islands as well as on the continents; all esteeming for their metropolis 'the holy city, in which is the sacred temple of the most high [c] God.'

Caligula had given orders [d] to Petronius president of Syria, to erect his statue at Jerusalem. When the tidings that Petronius had published these orders came to Rome, Agrippa the elder was there. He therefore sent the emperor a letter (for he was not then able to appear before him in person) to dissuade him from this design. In this letter, which Philo has given us an

[a] Vid. Grot. Act. ii. 5.

[b] Και ὁτι ȣκ αποδεȣσι μυριαδων ἑκατον την Αλεξανδρειαν και την χωραν Ιȣδαιοι κατοικȣντες επι τȣ προς Λιβυην καταβαθμȣ μεχρι των ὁριων Αιθιοπιας. In Flacc. p. 971. C.

[c] Ιȣδαιȣς γαρ χωρα μια κα πολυανθρωπιαν ȣ χωρει· ἡς αιτιας ἑνεκα τας πλειστας και ευδαιμονεστατας των εν Ευρωπῃ και Ασιᾳ κατα τε νησȣς και ηπειρȣς εκνεμονται, μητροπολιν μεν την ἱεροπολιν ἡγȣμενοι, καθ' ἡν ἱδρυται ὁ τȣ ὑψιστȣ θεȣ νεως ἁγιος. Ibid. E.

[d] A. D. 39, or 40.

account of, among other things Agrippa says: 'Nor can I forbear to allege in behalf of the 'holy city, the place of my nativity, that it is the metropolis, not of the country of Judea only, 'but of many others, on account of the many colonies that have been sent out of it at different 'times, not only into the neighbouring countries, Egypt, Phenicia, both the Syrias, but also 'into places more distant, to Pamphylia, Cilicia and many parts of Asia, as far as Bithynia, and 'the recesses of Pontus. They are in the same manner in Europe, in Thessaly, Beotia, Mace-'donia, Ætolia, Argos, Corinth, in the most and best parts of Peloponnesus. Nor are the 'continents only full of Jewish colonies, but also the most celebrated islands, Eubœa, Cyprus, 'Crete; not to mention those which are beyond the Euphrates. For excepting only a small 'part of Babylon, and some other lesser districts, scarce any country of note can be mentioned, 'in which there are not Jewish inhabitants. If you grant this request in favour of my native 'place, you will be a benefactor not to one city only, but to thousands of cities in every part 'of the world; in Europe, in Asia, in Lybia, in the maritime and in the inland parts of the 'continents and the islands.'[a]

When the war was breaking out in Judea, Agrippa the younger, in a speech he delivered at Jerusalem, makes use of this as an argument to persuade the Jews in Judea to be peaceable; that if they should be worsted, they would involve their countrymen in other parts of the Roman empire in the same ruin. 'You expose to danger, says he, not only yourselves, but 'those who live in other cities: for there is not a people, in all the world, which has not some 'of you among[b] them.'

II. St. James's epistle is thus inscribed, ch. i. 1, "To the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad greeting:" by whom, I think, the apostle intends the believing Jews of all the twelve tribes, who lived in any part of the world out of Judea.[c] For I suppose, that the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin were not entire in Judea, but that many of those tribes lived also in other parts, and that the ten other tribes were not extinct. Ptolemy Philadelphus having a desire to enrich his library at Alexandria with the Jewish law, wrote to Eleazar the high priest, to send six Jews out of each tribe to make a translation of it for him into the Greek language. In the answer which Eleazar sent to Ptolemy are these words: 'We have chosen six elders out of each tribe, whom we have sent to you with the law.'[d] This is a proof that Josephus (from whom I have taken this account) did not suppose the ten tribes were extinct.

In the account of Ezra's journey from Babylon to Jerusalem, and of the people that went with him, in the reign of Artaxerxes, Josephus is more express. For he says: 'But the whole 'people of the Israelites remained in that country; whence it has come to pass, that there are 'but two tribes subject to the Romans in Asia and Europe. But the ten tribes are still in being 'beyond the Euphrates, an infinite multitude, whose numbers are not be known.'[e]

III. There is frequent mention made in the Acts of the apostles, of the Jewish synagogues in the heathen countries, and of the worship they performed in them: but there is somewhat particular in the description of the place of worship which the Jews had at Philippi. Acts xvi. 13, "And on the sabbath we went out of the city by a *river side*, where prayer was wont to be made." There is some difference among learned men, whether the original word in this place, which we have rendered prayer, should be here understood of the act, or the place of prayer.[f] I am inclined to think with Whitby, Grotius and others, that it is a place of worship which is here spoken of. But what I am chiefly concerned to observe here, agreeably to my design, is that it may be inferred from this text, that it was not unusual for the Jews, at least in strange countries, to worship, or to erect places of worship, near a *river*.

There is an instance of this kind recorded by Josephus, who has given us the decree of the city of Halicarnassus, permitting the Jews to build oratories; a part of which decree runs thus: 'We ordain that the Jews, who are willing, men and women, do observe the sabbaths, and perform sacred rites according to the Jewish laws, and build oratories *by the sea-side* according

[a] Πασαι γαρ εξω μερȣς βραχεος Βαβυλωνος και των αλλων σατραπειων, αἱ αρετωσαν εχȣσι την εν κυκλῳ γην, Ιȣδαιȣς εχȣσιν οικητορας· ὡς τε αν μεταλαβῃ σȣ της ευμενειας ἡ εμη πατρις, ȣ μια πολις, αλλα και μυριαι των αλλων ευεργετȣνται καθ' ἑκαστον κλιμα της οικȣμενης ἱδρυθεισαι, το Ευρωπαιον, το Λιβυκον, το Ασιανον, το εν ηπειροις, το εν νησοις, παραλον τε και μεσογειον. De legat. ad Cai. p. 1031, 1032.

[b] Joseph. de Bell. l. ii. cap. 16. p. 1089. fin.

[c] Vid. Grot. in loc.

[d] Επελεξαμεν δε και πρεσβυτερȣς ανδρας ἑξ απο φυλης ἑκαστης, οὑς πεπομφαμεν εχοντας τον νομον. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 2. sect. 5.

[e] Ὁ δε πας λαος Ισραηλιτων κατα χωραν εμεινε· διο και δυο φυλας ειναι συμβεβηκεν επι τε της Ασιας και της Ευρωπης Ρωμαιοις ὑπακȣȣσας· αἱ δε δεκα φυλαι περαν εισιν Ευφρατȣ ἑως δευρο, μυριαδες απειροι, και αριθμῳ γνωσθηναι μη δυναμεναι· Antiq. l. xi. c. 5. sect. 2.

[f] Οὐ ενομιζετο προσευχη ειναι.

'to the custom of their country; and if any man, whether magistrate or private person, give 'them any let or disturbance, he shall pay a fine to the city.'[a]

And Tertullian,[b] among other Jewish rites and customs, such as feasts, sabbaths, fasts, and unleavened bread, mentions shore-prayers, that is, prayers by the sea-side or river-side.

These two passages are sufficient to persuade us, that it was common for the Jews to worship in these places. But it may be a question, whether this practice was owing to their choice, or to some necessity laid upon them by the heathen magistrates, to perform their worship without the gates of their cities.

I shall lay together a few passages and remarks relating to this subject.

It seems to me, that Tertullian supposed the shore-prayers to be properly a Jewish custom, since he reckons them with others that were so. The terms of the decree of the people of Halicarnassus imply the same thing. And the sea-side does not appear to be mentioned as a restraint or limitation, but as a grant of a privilege, establishing the oratory in the place most agreeable to the Jews. Philo says, that when Flaccus the prefect of Egypt had been taken into custody at Alexandria by order of Caligula, the Jews offered up thanksgiving to God, spent the whole night in hymns and songs, 'and early in the morning flocking out of the gates 'of the city, they go to the neighbouring shores, for the [proseuchæ] oratories were destroyed; 'and standing in a most pure place, they lift up their voices with one accord.'[c]

It is true, their oratories at Alexandria were then all down. But yet methinks here are some signs, that the sea-side was a place agreeable to them. Why else did they go out of the city so universally toward the neighbouring shores, rather than any other way? Besides, Philo expresses much satisfaction in this situation, when he calls it a most pure place.

There is a passage very apposite to this text in the account Philo gives of the annual rejoicings, the Jews were wont to make for the Septuagint translation. 'Wherefore,' says he, 'even to this day, there is kept every year a feast and solemnity in the isle of Pharos; whither 'not only the Jews, but many others also cross over, to pay a respect to the place, where this 'version was first seen.—And after prayers and thanksgivings, some raise tents on the shore, 'others lay themselves down upon the sea sand, in the open air, and there feast with their friends 'and relations, *esteeming* the *shore* more sumptuous than the furniture of the richest palaces.'[d]

These passages have sometimes inclined me to think, that the true rendering of this text is thus: 'Where it had been thought fit that the oratory should be;' implying the Jews' choice of that situation. But if any think, that the more natural meaning of the words is, 'Where a house of prayer was allowed, or appointed, to be by the law;' yet I believe it ought to be supposed, that this appointment was perfectly agreeable to the Jews, if not owing to their own choice. Josephus, having mentioned the privileges bestowed upon the Jews at Alexandria by Alexander the Great, says: 'They continued to enjoy the same honour under his successors, 'who set apart for them a distinct place; that they might live in greater purity, than they 'could well do if they were mixed promiscuously with strangers; and allowed them also to be 'called Macedonians.'[e] This separating the Jews from other people was no hardship therefore, but a privilege.

St. Luke tells us, that St. Paul and his company, in their way to Jerusalem from Miletus, "sailed into Syria and landed at Tyre. And finding disciples, we tarried there seven days.—And when we had accomplished those days, we departed and went our way, and they all brought us on our way, with wives and children, till we were out of the city: and we kneeled down on *the shore and prayed*," Acts xxi. 3—5. I should have concluded from this very text, that it was then usual for the Jews, or some other people to pray by the sea-side. It appears from passages alleged above, that it was a very common practice among the Jews.

IV. We may now proceed to somewhat else. Ch. vi. 9, "Then there arose certain of the synagogue which is called the synagogue of the Libertines, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia, and of Asia, disputing with Stephen." This synagogue of the Liber-

[a] Δεδοκται ἡμιν Ιουδαιων τους βουλομενους ανδρας τε και γυναικας τα τε σαββατα αγειν, και τα ιερα συντελειν μετα τους Ιουδαικους νομους, και τας προσευχας ποιεισθαι προς τῃ θαλασσῃ κατα το πατριον εθος· κ. τ. λ. Jos. Ant. lib 14. c. 10. sect. 24.

[b] Judæi enim festi, sabbata, & cœna pura,—& jejunia cum azymis, & orationes LITORALES, quæ utique aliena sunt à diis vestris. Tertul. ad Nat. lib. 1. cap. 13.

[c] Ἁμα τῃ εω δια πυλων εκχυθεντες, επι τους πλησιον αιγιαλους αφικνουνται· τας γαρ προσευχας αφῃρηντο· κἀν τῳ καθαρωτατῳ σταντες ανεβοησαν ὁμοθυμαδον, κ. τ. λ. Phil. in Flacc. p. 982. D.

[d] Πολυτελεστεραν της εν βασιλειοις κατασκευης τοτε την ακτην ΝΟΜΙΖΟΝΤΕΣ. Phil. de vit. Mosis. lib. ii. p. 660. A. B.

[e] Διεμεινε δε αυτοις ἡ τιμη και παρα των διαδοχων, οἱ και τοπον ιδιον αυτοις αφωρισαν, ὁπως καθαρωτεραν εχοιεν πην διαιταν ἡντον επιμισγομενων των αλλοφυλων, κ. λ. De Bell. lib. ii. c. 18. sect. 7.

tines was at Jerusalem. But it has some relation to the state of the Jews out of their own country, as will appear presently: and therefore I consider this particular here.

Some have made a question, whether there be any more than one synagogue here spoken of. Others think the most natural meaning of the words imports as many synagogues, as there are nations, or sorts of men spoken of. The copulative particle *and*, is supposed a proof of it. If St. Luke had intended but one synagogue, he would have said, of the synagogue of the Libertines, Cyrenians, Alexandrians, &c. not as he does, of the Libertines, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians.

The Jewish writers say, there were four hundred and eighty synagogues in Jerusalem.[a] It is generally supposed by learned men, that beside the synagogues which belonged to the stated inhabitants of the city, the Jews of other countries, in which there was any considerable number of that people, had a synagogue at Jerusalem, built at their own cost, together with a school or academy adjoining, to which they might resort for divine worship, when they came to Jerusalem; and where their children might be educated and instructed in the perfect knowledge of their law. The Jewish authors do expressly mention a synagogue, which the Alexandrian Jews had at Jerusalem.[b] It is highly probable, the Jews of several other nations had one there likewise.

But the Libertines here mentioned seem not to be so called from any particular country. Libertinus, or Libertine, is one who had been a slave, but has now obtained his freedom; or one who is the son of a person that had been a slave, and was afterwards made free. And it is supposed by several learned men,[c] that the Libertines here spoken of are Jews, or proselytes of the Jewish religion, who had been slaves to Roman masters, and had been made free, or the children of such.

That these are the persons here spoken of, will appear from the following particulars.

There was a great number of Jews at Rome. Josephus says, the embassy which came thither from Judea to petition Augustus, that Archelaus might not be their king after Herod, was joined by above eight thousand Jews at Rome.[d] Philo informs us, that the Jews who lived at Rome, and who occupied a large quarter of the city,[e] were chiefly such as had been taken captive at several times, and had been carried into Italy, and were made free by their Roman masters.[f]

That these Jews were called Libertines will appear plainly from passages of Tacitus, and Josephus, and Suetonius, in which they speak of the banishment of the Jews from Rome in the reign of Tiberius. 'It was then resolved also,' says Tacitus, 'to expel the Egyptian and 'Jewish rites. And a decree of the senate was passed, that four thousand of the Libertine 'race infected with that superstition, and who were of a fit age, should be transported into the 'island of Sardinia,—and that the rest should depart Italy within a time limited, unless they 'renounced their profane rites.'[g]

Josephus says of the same affair, 'Tiberius ordered that all the Jews should be expelled 'from Rome. And the Consuls chose out four thousand of them, whom they sent into the 'island Sardinia.'[h]

Suetonius says, 'That Tiberius sent the Jewish youth into some of the most unhealthful 'provinces, and ordered the rest of that nation, and all others of their religion to leave the 'city, upon pain of perpetual servitude.'[i]

Josephus and Suetonius expressly call those Jews, whom Tacitus calls men of the Libertine race. As there were so great numbers of these men at Rome, it is not at all unlikely, that they had a synagogue at Jerusalem.

I have said nothing new under this article. I have only followed Grotius and Vitringa, especially the latter; who, I think, has given a just account of this matter: though, it is likely, some learned men may not be exactly of the same opinion.

[a] Vid. Vitring. de Synag. vet. l. i. Part 1. cap. 14 p. 253. vid. & Grot. in loc. [b] Vid. Lightfoot Heb. & Talm. Exercit. in loc. [c] Vid. Grot. in loc. Pearson. Lection. in Act. Apost. iv. sect. 7. Vittring. ubi supra. p. 254, 255. [d] Ant. lib. xvii. cap. 13. in.

[e] Μεγαλην της Ῥωμης απολομην. Philo de leg. ad Cai. p. 1014. C. [f] Ῥωμαιοι δε ησαν οι πλειες απελευθερωθενλες· αιχμαλωλοι γαρ αχθενλες εις Ιταλιαν ὑπο των κλησαμενων ηλευθερωθησαν. Ibid. D. [g] Actum & de sacris Ægyptiis Judaïcisque pellendis: factumque patrum consultum, ut quatuor millia libertini generis eâ superstitione infecti, quis idonea ætas, insulam Sardiniam veherentur.—cæteri cederent Italiâ nisi certum ante diem profanos ritus exuissent. Tac. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 85. [h] Κελευει παν το Ιουδαικον της Ῥωμης απελαθηναι· οι δε ὑπαλοι, τειρακισχιλιες ανθρωπων εξ αυλων σραλολοχησανλες, επεμψαν εις Σαρδω τεν νησον. Jos. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 4 fin. [i] Judæorum juventutem, per speciem sacramenti, in provincias gravioris cœli distribuit: reliquos gentis ejusdem, vel similia sectantes, urbe submovit, sub pœnâ perpetuæ servitutis, nisi obtemperâssent. Suet. Tiber. cap. 36.

V. We have mention made several times in the gospels and Acts of the Apostles, of the zeal of the Jews to make proselytes to their religion, and of several proselytes in particular. Matt. xxiii. 15, "Wo unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites; for ye compass sea and land to make one *proselyte*." Acts ii. 10, "And there were dwelling at Jerusalem, strangers of Rome, Jews, and proselytes." Acts vi. 5, "And the saying pleased the multitude: and they chose [for deacons] Stephen, Philip, Nicanor, and Nicolas a *proselyte of Antioch*." Chap. xiii. 43, "Now when the congregation [in the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia] was broken up, many of the Jews and religious *proselytes*, followed Paul and Barnabas." Ch. viii. 26—28, "And the Angel of the Lord spake unto Philip, saying: Go—unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza. And he arose and went: and behold a man of Ethiopia, an eunuch of great authority under Candace the queen of the Ethiopians, who had the charge of all her treasure, and had come to Jerusalem for to worship, was returning, and sitting in his chariot, read Esaias the prophet."

Josephus in his second book against Apion says, 'We choose not to imitate the institutions 'of other people: but we willingly embrace all that will follow ours.'[a] But the history which Josephus[b] has given us of Izates the king of the Adiabenes, who was converted to the Jewish religion about the fortieth year of the christian æra, will throw a great deal of light upon this subject. And therefore I shall set it here before the reader, though in as few words as I can.

'About this time,' says Josephus, 'Helene the queen of the Adiabenes, and her son Izates, 'came over to the observation of the Jewish customs.[c] It happened in this manner. Mono-'bazus, king of the Adiabenes, fell in love with his sister Helene, and married her.' By this marriage he had a son, whom he called Izates. 'But there was an elder son called Monobazus, 'whom he had by Helene, beside other sons by other wives.' However it was apparent to all, that Izates had his best affections, as if he had been an only son. The rest of the sons therefore envied him. The father was sensible of it: 'And therefore, lest any mischief should happen, 'having given Izates considerable presents, he sent him to king Abennerigus, who resided in 'a fortress called Spasina, entrusting him with the care of his son. Abennerigus received him 'very civilly, and married his daughter to him.'

Some time after this Monobazus the father dies: the queen calls a council of her nobles, puts them in mind, 'that they knew the king her husband had appointed her son Izates his 'successor.' They came into these measures; Izates returned home, was received, and gained peaceable possession of his father's kingdom.

'But whilst Izates resided in the fortress Spasina, a Jewish merchant, whose name was 'Ananias, who was wont to have access to the women of the court, [or the king's wives,] 'taught them to worship God according to the Jewish manner. By their means Ananias was 'introduced to Izates, and brought over him likewise to the same sentiments.—It happened 'also that Helene was taught by another Jew, and came over to their laws.'[d]

When Izates was returned and seated upon the throne, 'understanding that his mother was 'highly pleased with the customs of the Jews, he became extremely desirous to enter fully 'into them. And understanding that he could not be a perfect Jew unless he was circumcised, 'he was disposed to that also.'[e] His mother having had notice of these his intentions, dissuaded him from it, fearing it should alienate his subjects, and provoke them to rebel. She also informed Ananias what advice she had given her son. Ananias was of the same opinion with her, and told Izates, that if he persisted in this design he must necessarily leave him; for the people would impute this action to him, and it would not be safe for him to stay any longer in the country. 'He told him moreover, "That he might worship God without circumsion, if "he did but fully determine to follow the Jewish institution. For this was more important [or "essential] than circumcision."[f] And having assured him that God would forgive him his not 'doing what he declined only out of necessity, and for fear of his subjects, the king for a time

[a] Ἡμεις δε τα μεν των αλλων ζηλȣν ȣκ αξιȣμεν. τȣς μεντοι μετεχειν των ἡμετερων βȣλομενȣς ἡδεως δεχομεθα. Cont. Ap. l. ii. sect. 36

[b] Ant. lib. xx. cap. ii.

[c] Καὶα τȣτον δε τον καιρον των Αδιαβηνων βασιλις Ἑλενη, και ὁ παις αυτες Ιζατης εις τα Ιȣδαιων εθη τον βιον μετεβαλλον, δια ταιαυτην αιτιαν. Ibid. sect. 1.

[d] Καθ' ὁν δε καιρον ὁ Ιζατης εν τῳ Σπασινȣ χαρακι διετριβεν, Ιȣδαιος τις εμπορος, Ανανιας ονομα, προς τας γυναικας εισιων τȣ βασιλεως, εδιδασκεν αυτας τον Θεον ευσεβειν, ὡς Ιȣδαιοις πατριον ην· και δη δι' αυτων εις γνωσιν αφικομενος τῳ Ιζατῃ, κακεινον ὁμοιως συνανεπεισε——συνεβεβηκει δε και την Ἑλενην, ὁμοιως ὑφ' ἑτερȣ τινος Ιȣδαιȣ διδαχθεισαν, εις τȣς εκεινων μετακεκομισθαι νομȣς. Ibid. sect. 4.

[e] Πυθομενος δε την μητερα την ἑαυτȣ πανυ χαιρειν τοις Ιȣδαιων εθεσιν, εσπευσε και αυτος εις εκεινα μετατιθεσθαι· νομιζων τε μη αν ειναι βεβαιως Ιȣδαιος, ει μη περιτεμνοιτο, πραττειν ην ἑτοιμος. Ibid. sect. 5.

[f] Δυναμενον δε αυτον, εφη, και χωρις της περιτομης το θειον σεβειν, ειτε παντως κεκρινε ζηλȣν τα πατρια των Ιȣδαιων· τȣτο ειναι κυριωτερον τȣ επιτεμνεσθαι. Ibid.

'submitted to what he said. However he had not wholly abandoned his design. And some 'time after this another Jew, named Eleazar, coming thither out of Galilee, who was reckoned 'to be very skilful in the laws, he brought him to perfect his design. For when he came in 'to wait upon the king, he found him reading the law of Moses. And thereupon addressed 'himself to him in this manner: "You little think, O king, how great an injury you offer to "the laws, and in them to God. For you ought not only to read the laws, but, in the first "place, to do the things which are enjoined by them. How long do you remain uncircumcised? "If you have not yet read the law concerning circumcision, read it now, that you may know "what impiety you are in." The king having heard these words, deferred the thing no longer, 'but going into another chamber, and having called in a physician, performed the command-'ment.[a] And then sending for his mother, and the master Ananias, he told them, he had now 'done the work. They were immediately seized with an uncommon surprise and fear, lest, if 'this matter came to be public, the king should be in danger of losing his kingdom. But God 'suffered not those things to come to pass which they feared. For though Izates was in many 'dangers, God preserved him and his sons, and opened a way for their safety, when they were 'compassed with difficulties; manifesting[b] thereby, that they who look up to him, and trust 'in him alone, do not lose the fruit of their piety.'[c]

This story may give occasion for many reflections. I put the reader in mind of some of them only. We learn hence, that the Jews did sometimes gain over persons of distinction to their religion: we see here, in part, their methods of gaining proselytes. Here appear two distinct sentiments: Ananias did not absolutely insist upon circumcision, but Eleazar did. And it seems somewhat probable, that Josephus himself was on this side the question. Ananias dispensed with it only on account of a very great necessity: Eleazar is represented as most skilful in the laws: and in the conclusion Josephus intimates, that Izates, by embracing circumcision, had entitled himself to the special protection of Providence.

St. Luke has expressly called Nicolas a proselyte of Antioch. I must therefore, set down here one passage particularly for his sake. Josephus, speaking of the Jews at Antioch, says, 'They were continually bringing over a great number of Greeks to their religion; they made 'them also in some measure a part of themselves.'[d]

St. Luke has more than once spoke of women among the Gentiles who were worshippers of God. When Paul was at Philippi, he says, Acts xvi. 14, "And a certain woman named Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira,[e] which *worshipped* God, heard us." At Antioch in Pisidia, Acts xiii. 50, "The Jews stirred up[f] the *devout* and honourable women—and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas." From the history I have just now given of Izates's conversion, it appears, that some women were brought to approve of the Jewish customs, and to worship God after the manner of the Jews. Josephus says moreover, that when the men of Damascus [in the year 66,] had formed a design to make away with all the Jews of that place, 'They concealed their design very carefully from their wives, because all of them, 'except a very few, were devoted to the Jewish religion.'[g] It appears from a verse of Horace,[h] that the Jewish zeal in making proselytes was very extraordinary, and much taken notice of: and they were censured[i] as unkind to all who were not of their own religion.

[a] Αλλ' ει μηπω τον περι τουτου νομον ανεγνως, ιν' ειδης τις εστιν ἡ ασεβεια, νυν αναγνωθι· ταυτα ακουσας ὁ βασιλευς, ουχ ὑπερεβαλετο την πραξιν, μεταστας δε εις ἑτερον οικημα, και τον ιατρον εισκαλεσαμενος, το προσταχθεν ετελει· και μεταπεμψαμενος την τε μητερα, και τον διδασκαλον Ανανιαν, εσημανεν αυτον πεπραχεναι τ' ουργον· Ibid.

[b] Επιδεικνυς ὁτι τοις εις αυτον αποβλεπουσι, και μονῳ πεπιστευκοσιν, ὁ καρπος ουκ απολλυται ὁ της ευσεβειας. Ibid.

[c] And Josephus says, that afterward the king's brother Monobazus, and many of his relations, observing Izates, for his piety to God, blessed above all men, were induced to forsake their own rites and customs, and embrace those of the Jews. Antiq. l. xx. c. 3. sect. 1. And several of Izates's sons and brothers were within Jerusalem during the siege; and, when the city was taken, fell into the hands of Titus: who out of his great generosity gave them their lives, but put them in chains, and carried them bound to Rome. De Bell. lib. vi. cap. 6. sect. 4.

[d] Αει τε προσαγομενοι ταις θρησκειαις πολυ πληθος Ἑλληνων, κἀκεινους τροπῳ τινι μοιραν αυτων πεποιηντο. De B. J. lib. vii. cap. 3. sect. 3.

[e] Σεβομενη τον Θεον.

[f] Τας σεβομενας.

[g] Εδεδοικεσαν δε τας ἑαυτων γυναικας, ἁπασας πλην ολιγων ὑπηγμενας τῃ Ιουδαικῃ θρησκειᾳ· διο μεγιστος αυτοις αγων εγενετο λαθειν εκεινας. De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 20. sect. 2.

[h] ——— Ac, veluti, te,
Judæi, cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.
Lib. i. Sat. iv. v. ult.

[i] Non monstrare vias, eadem nisi sacra colenti;
Quæsitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.
JUVEN. Satyr. xiv. v. 203, 204.

CHAP. IV.

CONCERNING THE JEWISH SECTS, AND THE SAMARITANS.

I. *Of the principles of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and their opposition to each other.* II. *The Sadducees members of the Jewish council.* III. *Of the Scribes and Lawyers.* IV. *Of the Herodians not mentioned by Josephus.* V. *Of the Essenes not mentioned by the Evangelists.* VI. *Of the Samaritans.*

I. FROM the frequent mention of the Pharisees and Sadducees in the gospels and Acts of the Apostles, it is natural to conclude, that they were the prevailing sects among the Jews at that time. This is agreeable to the accounts which Josephus[a] has given of the Jewish sects; and will be evident from the particulars which will be taken notice of presently.

'The pharisees,' Josephus says, 'were reckoned the most religious of any of the Jews, and 'to be the most exact and skilful in explaining the laws.'[b] In which he concurs with St. Paul, who says, Acts xxvi. 5, "After the straitest sect of our religion, I lived a pharisee." There is an agreement not only in the sense, but also in the expression.[c]

St. Mark says, ch. vii. 3, 4, "That the pharisees, and all the Jews, except they wash, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders: and many other things there be which they have received to hold." And there is in the gospels frequent mention of the traditions of the elders. Josephus says, 'The pharisees have delivered to the people many institutions as received from the 'fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses.'[d] Whereas St. Mark says, "The Pharisees, and *all the Jews*, except they wash, eat not;" his expressions are extremely just. For Josephus adds, almost immediately after the words just now cited from him, 'That the Sad-'ducees were able to draw over to them the rich only, the people not following them: for the 'multitude was with the[e] Pharisees.'

In many parts of the gospels, and especially in the prosecution of our Saviour before Pilate, the common people appear to have been very much at the devotion of the pharisees. It is evident from what has been already alleged here from Josephus, that the people were usually on their side. He has said the same thing in other places. 'They had (says he) such 'an influence on the multitude, that if they gave out any thing against a king or an high 'priest, they were credited.'[f]

According to the evangelists, they affected the direction of public affairs, and very much abused the credulity of the people, and the reputation they had for sanctity. "They loved salutations in the market-places, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and the uppermost rooms at feasts, devoured widows' houses, and for a pretence made long prayers," Matt. xxiii. 14. Mark xii. 38—40. Luke xx. 46, 47.

And Josephus allows, they did sometimes make an ill use of the esteem they were in for piety. Alexandre, the widow of Alexander Jannæus, had for some time the government of Judea. She being a 'very religious woman,' thought the Pharisees might be her best counsellors; but 'they abusing her simplicity in this respect,' though on other accounts she was a woman of very good capacity, 'got the management of all things into their own hands, con-'demned or acquitted, punished or rewarded men according to their own pleasure; in a word, 'she governed others, the Pharisees governed her.'[g]

[a] De B. J. lib. ii. cap. 8. sect. 14. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1. sect. 2. & alibi. [b] Φαρισαιοι συνταγμα τι Ιουδαιων δοκουν ευσεβεστερον ειναι των αλλων, και τους νομους ακριβεστερον αφηγεισθαι. De B. J. l. i. cap. 5. sect. 2. [c] Κατα την ακριβεστατην αἱρεσιν. Vid. & Joseph. in vit. sect. 38. p. 923. —της δε Φαρισαιων αἱρεσεως, οἱ περι τα πατρια νομιμα δοκουσι των αλλων ακριβειᾳ διαφερειν. [d] Ὁτι νομιμα πολλα τινα παρεδοσαν τῳ δημῳ οἱ Φαρισαιοι εκ πατερων διαδοχης, ἁπερ ουκ αναγεγραπται εν τοις Μωϋσεως νομοις. Antiq. l. xiii. cap. 10. sect. 6. [e] Των μεν Σαδδουκαιων τους ευπορους μονον πειθοντων, το δε δημοτικον ουχ ἑπομενον αυτοις εχοντων, των δε Φαρισαιων το πληθος συμμαχον εχοντων. Ibid.

[f] Τοσαυτην δε εχουσι την ισχυν παρα τῳ πληθει, ὡς και κατα βασιλεως τι λεγοντες, και κατα αρχιερεως, ευθυς πιστευεσθαι. Ibid. sect. 5. [g] Τουτοις περισσον δε τι προσειχεν ἡ Αλεξανδρα σεβομενη περι το θειον· οἱ δε, την ἁπλοτητα της ανθρωπου κατα μικρον υπιοντες, ηδη και διοικηται των ὁλων εγινοντο, διωκειν τε και καταγειν οὑς εθελοιεν, λυειν τε και δειν—εκρατει δε των μεν αλλων αυτη, Φαρισαιοι δ' αυτης. De B. J. lib. i. c. 5. sect. 2.

The Pharisees and Sadducees are plainly represented in the gospels as very different from each other, and holding in a manner opposite opinions. Josephus, in one place, calls the Sadducees, 'the sect opposite to that of the Pharisees.'[a] They did at some times join together in one and the same design against our Saviour. Matt. xvi. 1. "The Pharisees also with the Sadducees came, and tempting him, desired him that he would shew them a sign from heaven." At other times they attacked him separately, and endeavoured to ensnare or puzzle him with questions suitable to their several schemes, Matt. xxii. 23—34. We have one instance, wherein their different principles drove them into very different measures, and occasioned a downright quarrel. When St. Paul was called before the council at Jerusalem, "and perceived that the one part were sadducees and the other pharisees, he cried out in the council, Men and brethren, I am a pharisee—Of the hope and resurrection of the dead, I am called in question. And when he had so said, there arose a dissension between them:—for the sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit: but the pharisees confess both: And there arose a great cry.—And when there arose a great dissension, the chief captain, fearing lest Paul should have been pulled in pieces of them, commanded the soldiers to go down, and to take him by force from among them, and to bring him into the castle," Acts xxiii. 6—10.

This will lead us to the consideration of some of their distinguishing tenets. I shall, therefore, set down the account Josephus has given of their opinions concerning the points mentioned in this text. Of the pharisees he says, 'Moreover it is their belief, that there is an immortal power in souls, and that under the earth there are rewards and punishments for those 'who in this life have practised virtue or vice; and that to these [souls] there is appointed an 'eternal prison, but that to the former there is a power of reviving.'[b] In another place he says of them, 'That they believe every soul to be immortal, but that the soul of the good only 'passes into another body, and the soul of the wicked is punished with eternal punishment.'[c] On the other hand he says: 'It is the opinion of the sadducees, that souls perish with the 'bodies.'[d] And in another place, 'that they deny the continuance of souls, and the punish-'ments and rewards of Hades.'[e]

It has been thought by some[f] that Josephus, in this account of the pharisees, has endeavoured to accommodate their sentiments to those of some of the Greek philosophers; and that he here represents them as believing something very much like the Pythagorean transmigration of souls. And there seem to be in the New Testament the traces of some such sentiment; particularly in some of the instances mentioned, Matt. xvi. 14. "And they said, some say, that thou art John the Baptist, some Elias, and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets.—Again it is said, His disciples asked him, saying, Master, who did sin, *this man* or his parents, *that he was born blind?* John ix. 2.

Some[g] think, that Josephus's words above-mentioned are altogether inconsistent with the notion of a transmigration, and that they import the belief of a proper resurrection. Possibly there were different sentiments concerning this matter among those called pharisees. It may be, they had none of them exactly that notion of a future state and a resurrection, which our Lord, and his apostles after him, taught: for St. Paul says, 2 Tim. i. 10, that "Jesus Christ had brought life and immortality to light through the gospel."

However, St. Paul's notions did directly contradict those of the sadducees, and favour and confirm, not to say improve, those of the pharisees, as is evident from Josephus's account. And it is not at all wonderful, that one sect laid hold of an advantage against the other.

Without staying any longer here, I shall give a passage or two, in which Josephus, who was of the sect of the pharisees, has represented some of his own sentiments concerning these points. The city of Jotapata, where Josephus commanded, was now taken; and he and some others had hid themselves in a cave. He was for surrendering to Vespasian; the rest of the company were rather for killing themselves, and threatened to kill him if he did not come into

[a] Σαδδεκαιων αἱρεσεως, οἱ την εναντιαν τοις Φαρισαιοις προαιρεσιν εχεσιν. Ant. lib. xiii. c. 10. sect. 6. in.

[b] Αθανατον τε ισχυν ταις ψυχαις πιστις αυτοις ειναι, και ὑπο χθονος δικαιωσεις τε και τιμας οἱς αρετης η κακιας επιτηδευσις εν τω βιω γεγονε· και ταις μεν ειργμον αϊδιον προσιθεσθαι, ταις δε ῥαστωνην τε αναδιδναι. Illis verò facultatem esse in vitam redeundi. vers. Huds. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 1. sect. 3.

[c] Ψυχην δε πασαν μεν αφθαρτον, μεταβαινειν δε εις ἑτερον σωμα την των ἀγαθων μονην, την δε των φαυλων ἀϊδιω τιμωρια κολαζεσθαι. De Bell. l. ii. c. 8. sect. 14.

[d] Σαδδεκαιοις δε τας ψυχας ὁ λογος συναφανιζει τοις σωμασι. Ant. lib. xviii. c. 1. sect. 4.

[e] Ψυχης δε την διαμονην, και τας καθ' ἁδε τιμωριας και τιμας αναιρεσι. De Bell. ubi supra.

[f] Vid. Grot. in Matt. xiv. 2. xxii. 28. Cleric. Hist. Ec. Prolegom. sect. 1. c. 2.

[g] Basnage, Ann. Pol. Ecc. A. D. i. n. 12.

the same sentiment. In order to dissuade them from this design, among other things, he says, 'All have mortal bodies, formed of corruptible matter. But the soul is immortal, and being 'a portion of God, is housed in bodies.—What! know you not, that they who depart out of life 'according to the law of nature, and return to God the debt they have received from him, when 'it is the will of him that gave it, have eternal praise, and durable houses and generations; 'and that pure and obedient souls remain, having received an holy place in heaven, from 'whence, after the revolution of ages, they shall be again housed in pure bodies. But the 'souls of those who have laid violent hands on themselves, shall be lodged in the darkest 'Hades.'[a] If I mistake not, St. Paul's figures in 2 Cor. v. 1, 2, have a resemblance with these of Josephus. "For we know, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For in this we groan earnestly, desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven."

The pharisees are said in the gospels "to fast oft," Matt. ix. 14; and Josephus says, 'They practise great temperance, and never indulge themselves in a luxurious way of life.'[b] This is as much as is reasonable to expect from him. It was not proper to tell all the world, that they "fasted twice in a week," from sun-set to sun-set,[c] Luke xviii, 12. The Jews fasting was one of those things which the Romans had always ridiculed.[d] And some thought they fasted on their sabbaths;[e] though that was a great mistake. Josephus, however, cannot be much blamed for endeavouring to give a good turn to what had been a foundatiou for many unlucky jests.

I do not remember that the evangelists have any where said expressly, that the sadducees rejected the tradition of the elders; but as these were the great concern of the pharisees, and as these two sects seem opposite to each other, I should think it very likely, even from the New Testament, that the sadducees were not very fond of these traditions; and Josephus says it plainly. 'The pharisees have delivered to the people many institutions as received from the 'fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses. For this reason the sadducees[f] reject 'these things, saying, that those things are binding which are written, but that the things 'received by tradition from the fathers need not to be observed. And about these things there 'have happened many disputes and contentions.' And again: 'They pretend not to observe 'any thing beside the laws; and it is with them a virtue to contradict the masters of wisdom, 'and wrangle with them about the science they teach.'[g]

II. But though these two sects stood thus, in a manner, in opposition to each other, yet St. Luke represents them both as concerned together in that administration of affairs, which was allowed the Jewish nation by the Romans, to whom they were then subject: and says, that the members of the council, before which St. Paul was brought, were "the one part sadducees, and the other pharisees," Acts xxiii. 6. And we have, before this, mention made of a council in which there was a good number of sadducees: "Then the high priest rose up, and all they that were with him, which is the sect of the sadducees," ch. v. 17.

And there is no reason to suspect that St. Luke has been mistaken herein. The sadducees were not excluded from public offices; but in proportion to their numbers seem to have had an equal share in the administration with the pharisees. But the reader is to judge for himself from what Josephus says. 'This opinion (speaking of the sadducees) is embraced by a few 'only; but then they are some of the chief men for dignity: however, they can do but little; 'for when they are in the magistracy, they generally fall into the measures of the pharisees; '(though unwillingly, and out of pure necessity;) for otherwise they would not be endured by 'the multitude.'[h] He says likewise, 'That they are the most cruel of all the Jews in their

[a] Τα μεν γε σωματα θνητα πασι, και εκ φθαρτης ὑλης δημιουργειται· ψυχη δε αθανατος αει, και θεου μοιρα τοις σωμασιν ενοικιζεται·——αρα εκ ιστε, ὁτι των μεν εξιοντων τα βιω καλα τον της φυσεως νομον, και το ληφθεν παρα τω θεω χρεος εκτινοντων, ὁταν ὁ δους κομισασθαι θελη, κλεος μεν αιωνιον, οικοι δε και γενεαι βεβαιοι, καθαραι δε και ὑπηκοοι μενουσιν αι ψυχαι, χωρον ἁγιον λαχουσαι τον αἰθεριον, ενθεν εκ περιὁδου αιωνων ἁπασι παλιν ανθενοικιζονται σωμασιν· ὁσοις δε καθ' ἑαυτων εμαγησαν αι χειρες, τουτων μεν ἁδης δεχεται τας ψυχας σκοτιωτερος. De Bell lib. iii. c. 7. p. 1144, 1145.

[b] Οὐτε γαρ Φαρισαιοι τον διαιταν εξευτελιζουσιν, ουδεν εις το μαλακωτερον ενδιδοντες. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 1. sect. 3.

[c] Buxt. Synag. Jud. cap. 30.

[d] Jejunia Sabbatariorum. Mart. l. iv. Epigr. 4.

[e] Ne Judæus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam diligenter Sabbati jejunium servat, quam ego hodie servavi. Suet. August. cap. 76.

[f] Και δια τουτο ταυτα το Σαδδουκαιων γενος εκβαλλει, λεγον εκεινα δειν ηγεισθαι νομιμα τα γεγραμμενα, τα δ' εκ παραδοσεως των πατερων μη τηρειν· και περι τουτων ζητησεις αυτοις και διαφορας γενεσθαι συνεβαινε μεγαλας. Antiq. lib. xiii. c. 10 sect. 6.

[g] Φυλακης δε ουδαμων τινων μεταποιησις αυτοις η των νομων· προς γαρ τους διδασκαλους σοφιας, ἡν μετιασιν, αμφιλογειν αρετην αριθμουσιν. Ant. l. xviii. c. 1. sect. 4.

[h] Εις ὁλιγους τε ανδρας ουσης ὁ λογος αφικετο, τοις μεντοι πρωτοις τοις ἀξιωμασι· πρασσεται τε απ' αυτων ουδεν, ως ειπειν· ὁποτε γαρ επ' αρχας παρελθοιεν, ακουσιως μεν και καθ' αναγκας, προσχωρουσι δ' ουν οις ὁ Φαρισαιος λεγει, δια το μη αλλως ανεκτους γενεσθαι τοις πληθεσιν· ibid.

'judicial sentences,'[a] which I think does appear also in some instances in the Acts of the apostles, where the pharisees were for the milder sentence, and had a majority. However these passages of Josephus plainly intimate that the sadducees were not seldom in office.

The high priests themselves were sometimes sadducees. John Hyrcanus, prince and high priest of the Jews, who died in the year 107 before the christian æra,[b] forsook the pharisees upon a disgust and turned sadducee. 'He abrogated the institutions which the pharisees had 'prescribed to the people, and punished those that observed them. Hence the multitude conceived an aversion for him and his sons.—But having suppressed this disturbance, he afterwards lived very happily; and having administered the government in an excellent manner 'one and thirty years, he died, leaving behind him five sons.'[c] There was another instance of this about the year of our Lord 60.[d] 'Cæsar having heard of the death of Festus sent Albinus 'prefect into Judea; and the king [sc. Agrippa the younger] took away the high priesthood 'from Joseph, and gave the succession of that office to Ananus the son of Ananus.—This Ananus 'the younger, who, as we said just now, had received the high priesthood, was fierce and 'haughty in his behaviour, and above all men bold and daring: and moreover was of the sect 'of the sadducees.'[e]

Many do suppose, that the high priest whom St. Luke speaks of, Acts v. 17, as being of the sect of the sadducees, was Caiaphas. But Josephus has said nothing concerning Caiaphas's principles one way or other.

We may, as we pass along, observe here the agreement between the style of the evangelists and Josephus. The people, as is evident, very generally held the tenets and observed the traditions of the pharisees; yet they are never dignified so far as to be called pharisees. They are rather an appendage than a part of the sect, and are always called very plainly the people, the multitude, and the like. The title of pharisee seems to have been almost entirely appropriated to men of leisure and substance. St. Augustine[f] made the same observation long ago.

Again, St. Mark introduces our Saviour telling the pharisees, ch. vii. 9, "Full well ye reject the commandment of God that ye may keep your *own* tradition." So that in one respect a tradition might be the fathers and in another the pharisees. And afterward; "Making the word of God of none effect through your tradition, which *ye have delivered*," ver. 13. And, to add no more texts, "They" (the scribes and pharisees) "bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders," Matt. xxiii. 4. Luke xi. 46. Here also the phrase and sense of the evangelists and Josephus agree together. In one of the passages just transcribed from him he says, 'The pharisees have *delivered* to the people many institutions:' in another, he speaks of the institutions which the pharisees had prescribed to, or enjoined upon the people.

III. There is in the gospels frequent mention of a set of men called scribes and lawyers. They are often joined with the chief priests, elders, and pharisees. They seem to have been men of skill and learning, and to have had a particular deference paid to them on that account, Matt. ii. 4. "And when he had gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where Christ should be born?—For he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes," vii. 39.

A passage or two of Josephus will explain these men's characters. 'Whilst he (Herod in 'his last sickness) lay under these disorders, there happened a tumult among the people. There 'were in the city two sophists [or rabbies] who were reckoned exceeding skilful in the laws of 'their country, and for that reason were highly honoured throughout the whole nation, Judas 'the son of Sepphoræus, and Matthias the son of Margalus. Not a few of the young men 'frequented them to hear them interpret the laws, and they had with them every day an army 'of the youth.'[g]

[a] Ant. 20. c. 8. p. 896. v. 37.

[b] Prideaux Connect. Part. II. Book iv. p. 328.

[c] Μαλιστα δε αυτον επιπαροξυνεν Ιωναθης, και διεθηκεν ουτως, ωστε τη Σαδδουκαιων ποιεισθαι προσθεσθαι μοιρα, των Φαρισαιων αποστασια, και ταις υπ' αυτων καταστασεσι νομιμα τω δημω καταλυσαι, και τους φυλαττουσας αυτα κολασαι· μισος ουν ενσευθεν αυτω τε και τοις υιοις παρα του πληθους διεσεσειστο—Υρκανος δε παυσας την στασιν, και μετ' αυτην βιωσας ευδαιμονως, και την αρχην διοικησαμενος τον αριστον τροπον εσχεν ενι και τριακοντα, τελευτα καταλιπων υιους πεντε. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 10. sect. 6, 7.

[d] Vid. Pagi Crit. in Bar. & Basnage An. P. E.

[e] Ὁ δε νεωτερος Ανανος, ὁν την αρχιερωσυνην εφαμεν παρειληφεναι, θρασυς την τον τροπον, και τολμητης διαφερουτως· αιρεσιν δε μειζει την Σαδδουκαιων· ibid. l. xx. c. 8. sect. 1.

[f] Pharisæi illi Judæi erant, quasi egregii Judæorum. Nobiliores enim atque doctiores tunc Pharisæi vocabantur. Aug. Serm. 106. n. 2. T. v. Benedict.

[g] Δυο ησαν σοφισται καθ' την πολιν, μαλιστα δοκουντες ακριβως τα πατρια, και δια τουτο εν απαντι τω εθνει μεγιστης ηξιωμενοι δοξης, Ιουδας τε υιος Σεπφωραιου, και Ματθιας ετερος Μαργαλω· τουτοις ουκ ολιγοι προσηεσαν των νεων εξηκριβωμενοις τους νομους, και συνηθον ὁσημεραι των ηλικιων γραπτεδον· de B. J. lib. i. cap. 33. sect. 2.

Of this same affair he speaks thus in his Antiquities. 'There were Judas the son of Sarisæus, and Matthias the son of Margalothus, men who had the most persuasive eloquence of any among the Jews, and were eminent interpreters of the laws, and were dear to the people 'because they taught the youth. These were daily frequented by those who gave themselves 'to the study of virtue.'[a]

Whether there be any difference between lawyers and scribes, or whether they are words perfectly synonimous, I cannot say. Perhaps some were chiefly employed in the schools, and others usually spoke in public in the synagogues.

IV. It ought to be observed, that Josephus has given an account of a third sect among the Jews which were called Essenes: and on the other hand there is a sort of men spoken of in the gospels of which Josephus has taken no notice, namely the Herodians.

As for the Herodians, they (or their leaven) are not often mentioned in the New Testament; I think not above four times in all the gospels, Matt. xxii. 16. Mark iii. 6. viii. 15. xii. 13. What their particular tenets were does not appear to me, and I suppose it is not necessary I should set down here all the conjectures of learned men concerning them.[b] They might be a subdivision or branch of one of the other sects, either of the pharisees or sadducees: or if they were properly a distinct sect from the rest, it might be a character that subsisted but a short time, at least under that name. From the time that prophecy ceased among the Jews new sects were continually arising. There were two disciples of Antigonus Sochæus that were the authors of two new sects: Sadoc of the sect of the sadducees; Baithos, or Bathus, the author likewise of a new sect which had its name from him, and which is mentioned in the Gemara,[c] though not in Josephus. There was likewise at this time a division in the sect of the pharisees, some following Hillel and others Shammai.[d] The followers of Judas of Galilee were at first but a small portion of the pharisees; in time they swallowed up almost all the other parties. Josephus, who so often says that the sects of the Jews are three, once or twice calls Judas of Galilee the leader or head of a fourth sect.[e] The reason of his not always distinguishing these from the rest was, I imagine, because they differed from the pharisees only in some few particulars. So that one and the same writer, who has professedly reckoned up the Jewish sects according to different ways of considering them, makes sometimes more and sometimes fewer: much more may two different writers, though they write professedly of this matter, which the evangelists have not done.

And after all, perhaps, these Herodians were never properly a distinct sect. Mr. Basnage, and [f] others, suppose they were some of the officers of Herod tetrarch of Galilee, which came up to Jerusalem at the feasts, and who were more devoted to the interests of the emperor than some of the Jews; and therefore the pharisees persuaded some of them to go along with their own disciples, when they sent them to our Saviour with the question concerning the lawfulness of tribute. Their leaven might comprise several things. Mr. Basnage supposes, that one thing meant by it, might be a conformity to Roman customs in some points which were forbidden the Jews [g] If this was the case, it is not strange, that they are not particularly mentioned by Josephus among the Jewish sects.

The late learned Albert Fabricius [h] supposed, that the Herodians mentioned in the gospels, were the courtiers and soldiers of Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee; and that the name Herodians no more denotes a sect, than Cæsareans and Pompeians, or any such like name would do. And he cites a passage of St. Jerom, which deserves to be remarked: who even banters those, who thought the Herodians were men who believed Herod the great to be Christ.

V. As for the Essenes not being mentioned by the evangelists, it was not their design to

[a] Ιουδαιων λογιωτατοι, και παρ ουςινας των πατριων εξηγηται νομων, ανδρες και δημῳ προσφιλεις δια παιδειαν τȣ νεωτερȣ· ὁσημεραι γαρ διημερευον αυτοις παντες οις προσποιησις αρετης επετηδευετο· Antiq. l. xvii. c. 6. sect. 2. [b] Vid. St. Hieron. Matth. xxii. 15, 16. Prid. Conn. Part ii. Book v. Reland. Ant. Heb. p. 242. 263. Clerici Prolegom. ad Hist. Ecc. p. 15. [c] Vid. Reland. ubi supra p. 262.

[d] See Dr. Prideaux's Connect. Part ii. Book viii. at the beginning. [e] Ant. lib. xvii. p. 794. in.

[f] Vid. Poli Synops. Matt xxii. 16. [g] Vid. Basnage Ann. Polit. Ecc. Vol. i. p. 293. n. 5. p. 318. n. 16 & passim. [h] Herodem magnum tribuisse nomen sectæ Herodianorum contendunt viri doctissimi, præeunte Epiphanio, hæresi xx. & Niceta lib. i. Thesauri c. 34. Verum Herodiani Matt. xxii. 16. Marc. iii. 6. xii. 13. fuere ministri vel milites Herodis Antipæ, qui Johannem Baptistam interfecit, & Herodis magni filius fuit. Nec magis hæresin vel sectam significat ibi hoc nomen, quam Cæsareanorum, Pompeianorum, & similia. S. Hieronymus ad Matt. xxii. 'Mittunt 'igitur Pharisæi discipulos suos cum Herodianis, id est, 'militibus Herodis; seu quos illudentes Pharisæi, quia Romanis 'tributa solvebant, Herodianos vocabant, & non divino cultui 'deditos. Quidam Latinorum ridicule Herodianos putant, 'qui Herodem Christum esse credebant; quod nusquam 'omnino legimus.' Vid. Fabric ad. Philastr. de Hær. cap. 28.

write the history of the Jewish sects, but of our Saviour's ministry. And it is likely this did not lead them to take any particular notice of them. They were not very numerous. Josephus computes their number at about four thousand; but I think, he means only those of them that entirely rejected marriage.[a] Philo says, that in Syria and Palestine there were about four thousand of them.[b] As they were not very numerous, so they lived very retired. Philo says, they sacrificed no living creatures, and that they shunned cities.[c] Josephus says, they sent presents to the temple, but offered no sacrifice there.[d] They seem not therefore to have come much abroad; and they would not admit a man of another sect into the apartments in which they lived.[e] In order to be admitted among them, a year's probation was required without doors, that it might be seen whether a person could bear their way of life.[f] 'The sect itself 'is divided into four classes, according to the time of their initiation. And the younger 'are reckoned so much inferior than the elder, that if any of these do but touch one of a 'junior class, they wash themselves, just as they would do if they had conversed with a stranger 'of another nation.'[g]

Is it any wonder, that the evangelists had no particular occasion to mention this private set of men in writing the life of our Saviour? John xviii. 19, 20, "The high priest then asked Jesus, of his disciples and of his doctrine. Jesus answered him; I spake openly to the world, I ever taught in the synagogue, and the temple, whither the Jews always resort: and in secret have I said nothing." This is one of the glories of our Saviour's character, as it is our very great happiness, that what he said and did was public. These men would not come to him; and it would have been a disparagement for him to have gone to them. It is, I think, a just observation of Dr. Prideaux, 'that almost all that is peculiar in this sect, is condemned by 'Christ and his apostles.'[h] And that is sufficient for us.

Sir John Marsham has strongly represented the obscurity of this sect in a passage, which I shall place in the[i] margin.

VI. We may not improperly subjoin the Samaritans to the Jewish sects.

In the discourse that passed between our Saviour and the woman of Samaria, she tells him, "our fathers worshipped in this mountain." John iv. 20. And Josephus says, that 'mount Garizim (the same the woman here speaks of) is by them esteemed the most sacred 'of all mountains.'[k]

The Jews and Samaritans appear to have had a very great aversion and contempt for each other. John iv. 5—9, "Then cometh he to a city of Samaria. Now Jacob's well was there. There cometh a woman to draw water. Jesus saith unto her, Give me to drink. For his disciples were gone away unto the city to buy meat. Then saith the woman of Samaria unto him, How is it, that thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me which am a woman of Samaria? for the Jews have no dealings[l] with the Samaritans.

It seems that the Jews were wont to take up provisions at their own cost of the Samaritans, as they past through their country; and therefore the disciples made no scruple to go into the city to buy what they wanted. And it is likely, that as Judea and Samaria were now both under one and the same government, namely that of the Romans, there was so good order preserved, that necessary accommodations should not be ordinarily refused any travellers, upon their paying the full value of them. But these people scorned to ask, or receive a favour of each other, even so small a kindness as a draught of water. Our Lord did not think himself bound by the rules they followed, as he was not moved by the passions with which they were

[a] P. 793. [b] Quod omnis probus liber. p. 876, C. D. [c] Ου ζωα καταθυονλες· ibid. [d] Εις δε το ιερον αναθηματα τε στελλονλες, θυσιας εκ επιτελεσι· κ. τ. λ. Antiq. xviii. c. 1 sect. 5. [e] Και μεσα ταυτην την αγνειαν εις ιδιον οικημα συνιασιν, ενθα μηδενι των ετεροδοξων επιτετραπται παρελθειν· de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 8. p. 1061. v. 25.

[f] Τω δε ζηλωτη την αιρεσιν αυτων εκ ευθυς ἡ παροδος, αλλ' επ' ενιαυτον εξω μενουτι την αυτην υποτιθενται διαιταν. Joseph. ibid. p. 1062 v. 18. [g] Διηρηνται δε, και τα χρονον ασκησεως, εις μοιρας τεσσαρας· και τοσουτον οι μεταγενεστεροι των προγενεστεραν ειλατθαι, ὡστε, ει ψαυσειαν αυτων, εκεινες απολεσθαι, καθαπερ αλλοφυλω συμφυρενται· ibid. p. 1063. v. 32—34.

[h] Connect. Part ii. Book v. p. 364. [i] Esseni autem παρωνυμοι δσιοτητος, a sanctitate nominati, κωμωδον οικεσι, τας πολεις εκτρεπομενοι, vicatim habitant, urbes fugiunt. Philo, Probus liber, p. 876. C D. Gens sola, sine ulla fœminâ, sine pecuniâ, socia palmarum. Plin. l. v. c. 17. a populorum frequentiâ separata; adeo ut non mirum sit, tantum esse de iis silentium in Evangelis, cum essent illi Hierosolymis peregrini & ignoti. Neque rabbinorum quispiam eorum Hebraice meminit, ante Zacuthium, scriptorem nuperum. [A. D. 1500.] Marsh. Can. Chr Sæc. ix. p. 157, 158. Franeq. 1696.

[k] Κελευων επι το Γαριζειν ορος αυτω συνελθειν, ὁ αγνοτατον τε αυτοις ορων υπειληπται. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 5. sect. 1.

[l] Cuthæi Cæsarienses interrogaverunt R. Ahhuc. Patres vestri usi sunt patribus nostris: vos igitur quare non utimini nobis? Dixit ipsis, Patres vestri non corruperunt opera sua: vos corrupistis opera vestra. Talm. Hieros. apud Buxtorf. Lex. Thalm. p. 1370.

possessed. But this woman was not a little surprised, that He, being a Jew, should ask drink of her that was a Samaritan.

They all knew how they stood affected to each other. The enmity betwixt them must have been the greatest that can be conceived. Doubtless those Jews gave our Saviour the most opprobrious language, which the most furious resentment could suggest, when "they said unto him, Say we not well, that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil?" John viii. 48.

It is certain, the animosity between these people had ever been very great, and new affronts and injuries had increased it about this time. Josephus has related a particular provocation, which the Samaritans gave the Jews, A. D. 8 or 9.

'When Coponius governed in Judea, an affair happened that deserves to be mentioned. At 'the feast of unleavened bread, which we call the passover, it was the custom of the priests to 'set open the gates of the temple at midnight. Soon after they had been opened, some 'Samaritans, who had come privately into Jerusalem, entered in and threw dead men's bones 'in the porticoes; for which reason the priests ever after guarded the temple more strictly.'[a]

The conversation which our Lord had with the woman of Samaria, happened as he was going from Jerusalem to Galilee. "He left Judea, and departed again into Galilee. And he must needs go through Samaria," John iv. 3, 4. And St. Luke has given us an account of an affront our Saviour met with in that country at another time, when he was passing through it to one of the feasts at Jerusalem. This may incline us to suppose, that as this was the shortest way, so it was usual for the Jews of Galilee to go this way up to their feasts. Josephus has assured us it was so. The story in which this is mentioned being remarkable, I shall set it down at length. The fact happened about the year of our Lord 52.[b]

'Moreover a difference arose between the Samaritans and the Jews upon this occasion. It 'was the custom of the Galileans, who went up to the holy city at the feasts, to travel through 'the country of Samaria. As they were in their journey, some of the village called Ginæa, 'which lies on the borders of Samaria and the great plain, falling upon them, killed a great 'many of them. When the chief men of Galilee heard what had been done, they went to 'Cumanus, (he was then procurator,) and desired that he would revenge the death of those 'men that had been killed. But he having been bribed by the Samaritans, paid no regard 'to them.'[c]

This passage gives light to what is said, Luke ix. 51. "And it came to pass, when the time was come that he should be received up, he stedfastly set his face to go up to Jerusalem. And sent messengers before his face, and they went, and entered into a village of the Samaritans, to make ready for him. And they did not receive him, because his face was, as though he would go up to Jerusalem." It was upon this people, that some of our Saviour's disciples were for commanding fire to "come down from heaven to consume them." Our blessed Lord rebuked his disciples: but it is evident, both from the evangelists and Josephus, that however this people might treat other travellers, or even Jews at other times, they were very apt to violate the common laws of civility and hospitality toward those that were going to worship God at Jerusalem, or that had been there upon that account.

CHAP. V.

OF THE JEWS AND SAMARITANS EXPECTATIONS, AND THEIR IDEA OF THE MESSIAH.

I. *The Jews had expectations of the Messiah, as a temporal deliverer.* II. *Of the Jews requiring a sign.* III. *The Samaritans expected the Messiah.* IV. *The Jews and Samaritans supposed the Messiah to be a prophet as well as a king.* V. *Some reflections.*

I. Two things are plainly intimated by the evangelists; that the Jewish nation had, about the time of our Saviour, very general expectations of the coming of the Messiah; and that the idea they formed of him, was that of a powerful and victorious temporal prince.

[a] Κωπωνιε δε την Ιεδαιαν διεπονλος,——ταδε πρασσεΐαι, των αζυμων της εορΐης αλομενης, ην Πασχα καλεμεν, εκ μεσης νυκλος εν εβει τοις ιερευσιν ην ανοιξυναι τε ιερε τες πυλωνας· και τοΐε εν επει το πρωΐον γινεΐαι ἡ ανοιξις αυΐων, ανδρες Σαμαρειΐαι, κρυφα εις Ἱεροσολυμα ελθονΐες, διαρριψιν ανθρωπειων οστων εν ταις στοαις τοιεννΐαι. Ant. l. xviii. c. 2. sect. 2.

[b] Vid. Cleric. Hist. Eccl.

[c] Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 5. sect. 1. Vid. & de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 12. sect. 3.

First, It is intimated, that they had very general expectations of the Messiah. "The Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem, to ask him, (John the Baptist) who art thou? and he confessed and denied not: but confessed, I am not the Christ. And they asked him, what then?—and they which were sent were of the pharisees, John i. 19—24. And as the people were in expectation, and all men mused in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ or not," Luke iii. 15. See ch. ii. 25, 26. John iv. 25.

Secondly, It is intimated, that the idea the Jews then had of the Messiah, was that of a powerful temporal prince. The disciples of Christ had these apprehensions; therefore there "arose a reasoning among them, which of them should be greatest," Luke ix. 46. This notion was the ground of that petition presented to our Saviour by the mother of Zebedee's children: "Grant that these my two sons may sit, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left in thy kingdom," Matt. xx. 21.

The common people, whenever they had formed a great idea of Jesus, from what he said or performed, continually betrayed expectations of his assuming some external marks of royalty, and very forwardly offer him their service, John vi. 14, 15. This was the intention of those acclamations they made, and of that solemn state, with which they attended him at last into Jerusalem; the circumstances of which are related by all the four evangelists: Matt. xxi. 8, 9. "And a very great multitude spread their garments in the way; others cut down branches from the trees, and strewed them in the way; and the multitudes that went before, and that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna to the Son of David." John xii. 13, "Blessed is the King that cometh in the name of the Lord." The acclamations, and the ceremonies they used, sufficiently declare their meaning. When Jehu had been anointed king, 2 Kings ix. 13, they that were with him, "hasted, and took every man his garment and put it under him, and blew the trumpet saying, Jehu is king."[a]

These were their expectations, this the notion they had of the Messiah; as is evident from the many impostors[b] which arose about this time in Judea; all which, according to Josephus, gained many followers. But as several passages concerning them will appear in other parts of this work, and one or two by and by in this chapter, I shall take no farther notice of them in this place. There are passages of divers ancient writers, in which these things are expressly asserted. Most of them have been already offered to the world in our own language; but nevertheless they cannot be omitted here.

One is in Josephus. 'But that which principally encouraged them to the war, was an ambiguous oracle, found likewise in the sacred writings, that about that time, some one from their country should obtain the empire of the world. This they understood to belong to themselves.[c] And many of the wise men were mistaken in their judgment of it. For the oracle intended Vespasian's government, who was proclaimed emperor in Judea.'[d]

There are two heathen historians, who have mentioned this same thing. Suetonius in his life of Vespasian says, 'There had been for a long time, all over the east, a notion firmly believed, that it was in the fates [in the decrees or books of the fates] that at that time, some which came out of Judea, should obtain the empire of the world. By the event it appeared, that prediction related to the Roman emperor. The Jews applying it to themselves went into a rebellion.'[e]

What Tacitus says is much to the same purpose. Having related many calamities of the Jews, and divers prodigies that preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, he goes on: 'The generality had a strong persuasion, that it was set down in the ancient writings of the priests, that at that very time the east should prevail; and that some who came out of Judea should obtain the empire of the world. Which ambiguities foretold Vespasian and Titus. But the common people, according to the usual influence of human passions, having once appro-

[a] Joseph. Antiq. l. ix. cap. 6. sect. 2. [b] See the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield's Defence of Christianity, ch. i. particularly p. 29, first edit. [c] For this they had received (by tradition) that it was spoke of one of their Nation. Bishop of Cov. Defence, p. 26. [d] Το δε επαραν αυθις μαλιστα τους τολεμον, την χρησμος αμφιβολος ομοιως εν τοις ιεροις ευρημενος γραμμασιν, ως καια τον καιρον εκεινον απο της χωρας τις αυλων αρξει της οικεμενης· τελο οι μεν ως οικειον εξελαβον, και τσλλοι των σοφων επλανηθησαν τερι την κρισιν· εθηλε δ' αρα τερι την Ουεσπασιανε το λοιτον ηγεμονιαν, αποδειχθενλος επι Ιεδαιας αυλοκρολορος. Jos. de Bell. l. vi. c. 5. sect. 4. [e] Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus & constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judææ profecti rerum potirentur. Id, de Imperatore Romano, quantum eventu postea paruit, prædictum, Judæi ad se trahentes, rebellârunt. Cap. iv.

'priated to themselves this vast grandeur of the fates, could not be brought to understand the 'true meaning by all their adversities.'[a]

There is a passage or two more, which I would give here, and which appear to me very material: they are the words of Celsus, who flourished not long after the middle of the second century. They are cited by Origen, from Celsus's books against the Christian religion, in a good part of which he argued in the character of a Jew. 'How could we,' says he, 'who 'had told all men, there would come one from God, who should punish the wicked, despise 'him if he came?'[b] And in another place he says, 'The prophets say, that he who is to come 'is great, and a prince, and lord of all the earth, and of all the nations, and of armies.'[c]

Beside these, there is another passage in Josephus,[d] which, I think, deserves a particular attention. It must be produced hereafter, upon[e] another occasion, and for that I reserve it.

II. The evangelists have related many wonderful works, of various kinds, which were performed by our Saviour. And in some places they say, he wrought signs. "And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples," John xx. 30. And St. Peter tells the Jews, Acts ii. 22, "that Jesus was a man approved of God among them by miracles, and wonders, and signs, which God did by him in the midst of them." But yet, they assure us, that notwithstanding this, the Jews would be often asking him for a sign. Matt. xii. 38, "Then certain of the scribes and of the pharisees answered, saying, Master we would see a *sign* from thee." The sadducees also had this demand to make; ch. xvi. 1, "The pharisees also with the sadducees came, and tempting him, desired him, that he would shew them a sign from heaven." Again, John vi. 30, "They said unto him, What sign shewest thou then that we may see and believe thee?" The sign they wanted must needs have been of a different kind from any of those, which Jesus had given them. The words that follow, ver. 31, are somewhat remarkable: "Our fathers did eat manna in the desert, as it is written, he gave them bread from heaven to eat." And the apostle Paul, a good while after this, says, "the Jews require a sign," 1 Cor. i. 22.

A short passage or two from Josephus will confirm and explain this matter. Representing the state of affairs in Judea under Felix, he says, 'And deceivers and impostors,[f] under a pre-'tence of divine inspiration aiming at innovations and changes, persuaded the people into dis-'traction, and drew them into the wilderness, where they assured them God would shew them '*signs of liberty*.' This is in his Jewish War. In his Antiquities he writes thus of the same affair: 'And impostors and deceivers persuaded the multitude to follow them into the wilder-'ness. For they said they would there shew them manifest wonders and signs, which would 'be wrought by the power [or providence] of God.'[g] This shews they wanted some sign of liberty, or of a temporal deliverance.

III. According to St. John the Samaritans also had at this time expectations of the Messiah. "The woman saith unto him, I know that *Messias cometh*, which is called Christ: when he is come he will tell us all things. Jesus saith unto her, I that speak unto thee am he—The woman went her way into the city, and saith to the men, Come see a man which told me all things that ever I did, is not this the Christ? Now when the Samaritans were come unto him—and had heard him, they said unto the woman, Now we believe, not because of thy saying; for we have heard him ourselves, and know that this is the Christ the Saviour of the world," John iv. 25, 26, 29, 42.

This supposition is confirmed by an account which Josephus has given of an affair which happened in the latter end of Pilate's government, A. D. 35, or 36. 'Nor were the Samari-'tans,' says he, 'free from disturbance. For there was among them a man who made no 'scruple of a lie, and contrived all he said so as might best please the people. He published

[a] —Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri, ut valesceret Oriens, profectique Judæâ rerum potirentur. Quæ ambages Vespasianum ac Titum prædixerant. Sed vulgus, more humanæ cupiditatis, sibi tantam fatorum magnitudinem interpretati, ne adversis quidem ad vera mutabantur. Tacit. Hist. l. v. c. 13. [b] Πως δε, φησιν, ἡμεις οἱ πασι ανθρωποις δηλωσαντες ἡξειν απο Θεου τον κολασοντα τους αδικους, ελθοντα αλιμαζομεν; Or. con. Cels. lib. i. p. 61. Ed. Cant. 4to. [c] Ὁτι μεγαν και δυναστην και πασης της γης, και παντων των εθνων και στρατοπεδων κυριον φασιν οἱ προφηται ειναι τον επιδημησοντα. Id. lib. ii. p. 78.

[d] Ant. lib. xvii. cap. 2. sub fin. [e] See Josephus in the Index, his account of a terrible execution at Jerusalem.

[f] Πλανοι γαρ ανθρωποι και απατεωνες, προσχηματι θειασμου, νεωτερισμους και μεταβολας πραγματευομενοι, δαιμονιαν το πληθος ανεπειθον, και προηγον εις την ερημιαν, ὡς εκει του Θεου δειξοντος αυτοις σημεια ελευθεριας. De Bell. J. lib. ii. cap. 13. sect. 4.

[g] Οἱ δε γοητες και απατεωνες ανθρωποι τον οχλον επειθον αυτοις εις την ερημιαν επεσθαι· δειξειν γαρ εφασαν εναργη τερατα και σημεια, κατα την του Θεου προνοιαν γενομενα. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 7. sect. 6.

'orders that they should meet together and go with him up to mount Garizim, which is esteemed 'by them the most holy of all mountains. He assured them that when they were got to the 'top of it, he would shew them the sacred vessels which had been laid up there underground 'by [a] Moses. They taking what he said for truth, armed themselves, and posting themselves 'in a certain village called Tirathaba, there received all that flocked to them, intending to 'ascend the mountain in a large body. But a detachment of Pilate's soldiers, horse and foot, 'having first intercepted their passage, fell upon them in the village, and at the first attack slew 'some, dispersed others, and took a good number prisoners, the chief of whom Pilate put to death.'

This affair is a proof that the Samaritans were now in expectation of some extraordinary events. This deceiver accommodated his speeches to the humour and sentiments of the people, and they credited readily what he said. But this is not all: the substance of his promises is a proof they were now in expectation of some discoveries and regulations concerning matters of religion. For certainly if they found these sacred vessels, they supposed they should have some instructions also what to do with them. Nor could they think him an ordinary prophet that should be honoured with such a commision.[b]

I must inform the reader, that in all our present copies of Josephus the hiding these sacred vessels is ascribed to Moses. And his name was read in this place by Epiphanius and Zonaras.[c] But Reland suspected that for Moses we ought to read Ozes. One of his reasons is, that in an ancient Samaritan chronicle, the manuscript of which he had in his possession, there is an account of the laying up of sacred vessels by the divine appointment in a cave on Mount Garizim, during the high priesthood of Ozes, or Ozi: but that, when afterwards he came to look for them, he could not find them. Reland is inclined to think, that the high priest here intended is Uzzi, mentioned 1 Chron. vi. 6, who was the fifth from Aaron. The story related in his Chronicle is almost the very same which is told in the second Book of Maccabees, ch. ii. with scarce any other difference but that of Jeremy for Ozi, and Nebo for Garizim.[d] I shall therefore set down here the account in the Maccabees. It is, I think, an argument that according to traditions which they then had among them, the discovery of the sacred vessels would be immediately followed by very glorious times; and consequently that this passage from Josephus is to the purpose for which I have alleged it. 2 Macc. ii. 4—8, "It was also contained in the same writing, that the prophet being warned of God, commanded the tabernacle and the ark to go with him, as he went forth into the mountain, where Moses climbed up, and saw the heritage of God. And when Jeremy came thither, he found an hollow cave wherein he laid the tabernacle and the ark, and the altar of incense, and so stopped the door. And some of those that followed him came to mark the way, but they could not find it. Which when Jeremy perceived, he blamed them, saying: As for that place it shall be unknown until the time that God gather his people again together, and receive them unto mercy. Then shall the Lord shew them these things, and the glory of the Lord shall appear, and the cloud also as it was shewed under Moses, and as when Solomon desired that the place might be honourably sanctified."

IV. It has been shewn that the Jews had now expectations of the coming of the Messiah, and that they hoped for a temporal salvation from him. But it is not to be thought they looked for nothing else. After the miracle of the five loaves, St. John says, chap. vi. 14, 15, "Then these men, when they had seen the miracle which Jesus did, said, This is of a truth that prophet which should come into the world. When Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him by force, to make him a king, he departed again into a mountain himself alone." These two characters therefore of a prophet, and a king, were joined together in the thoughts of these men.

The woman of Samaria likewise plainly supposes the Messiah was to be a great prophet.

[a] Οὐκ ἀπηλλακτο δε Θορυβε και το Σαμαρεων εθνος· συγχεφει γαρ αυτες ανηρ εν ολιγῳ το ψευδος τιθεμενος, και εφ' ἡδονη της πληθυος τεχναζων τα πανια, κελευων επι το Γαριζειν ορος αυτῳ συνελθειν, ὁ ἀγνοτατον τε αυτοις ορων ὑπειληπται, ισχυριζετο τε παραδηλομενοις δειξειν τα ἱερα σκευη τηδε καταρωρυγμενα, Μωϋσεως τηδε αυτων ποιησαμενε καταθεσιν· οἱ δε εν ὁπλοις τε ησαν, πιθανον ἡγεμενοι τον λογον· και καθισανες εν τινι κωμῃ, Τιραθαβα λεγεται, παρελαμβανον τες επισυλλεγομενες, ὡς μεγαλῳ πληθει την αναβασιν εις το ορος ποιησομενοι· φθανει δε Πιλατος την ανοδον αυτων προκαταλαβομενος ἱππεωνι πομπῃ και ὁπλιτων, οἱ συμβαλονες τοις εν τῃ κωμῃ προσυνηθροισμενοις, παραταξεως γενομενης, τες μεν εκτεινναν, τες δε εις φυγην τρεπονται, ζωγριας τε πολλες ἡγον, ὡν τες κορυφαιοτατες —— εκτεινε Πιλατος· Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 5. sect. 1.

[b] See Bishop Chandler's Defence of Christianity, chap. 1. sect. 3. at the end.

[c] Vid. Hudson. Notas in Joseph. loc.

[d] Substitue pro Jeremiâ Ozin, pro monte Nebo Garizim; cætera conveniunt. Reland. Dissert. de Monte Garizim, sect. 14.

She knew that when he who is called Christ was come he would "tell them all things." Upon Jesus "telling her all things that ever she did," she concluded he was "the Christ." And she supposed this would be an argument with the men whom she went to, to believe the same thing: and we find it had great weight with them, though they were farther confirmed by what they afterwards heard from Jesus themselves. The expectation of great discoveries in matters of religion appears also in the passage just transcribed from Josephus.

V. I choose to conclude this chapter with some reflections.

1. We may now perceive one reason why our Blessed Lord often forbad men to publish the cures he had wrought upon them; why he so often moved from one place to another; why he so rarely affirmed in express terms, in the hearing of the people, that he was the Christ. Whilst they had so strong a persuasion that the Messiah would be a temporal deliverer, there was a necessity for this conduct. It was impossible otherwise to avoid giving umbrage to the Roman government, and to hinder the people from actually making attempts that would have exposed them to justice. He therefore contented himself with declaring that the kingdom of heaven was at hand, that the Father had sent him, that he was he of whom Moses and the prophets had written, that he was blessed who should not be offended in him; (all which they knew to be characters of the Messiah;) wrought miracles, preached righteousness, and endeavoured to correct their false sentiments and corrupt affections. In a word, it was necessary he should do just as he did, according to the divine character he sustains throughout the gospels.

2. We see here the ground of the different respect which seems to have been shewn to John the Baptist and Jesus. "Many of the pharisees and sadducees came to his baptism," Matt. iii. 7. And of others there seems to have been a general resort. And for some time afterwards it was dangerous to deny the validity or authority of his baptism: "for all held John to be a prophet," Matt. xxi. 26. The general expectation of the Messiah raised their attention to John: but their particular idea of the Messiah disgusted them against Jesus. "He" (says our Lord to them) "was a burning and shining light, and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in his light," John v. 35. They had no doubt but that a very great person was coming among them: and they were pleased to hear John say that he was his fore-runner: but when Jesus came, he was not such a person as they wished for.

3. We see here the reason of the different reception given to Jesus by the pharisees and the people. The same notions seem to have been common to all, and the passion of the people for liberty was as warm as that of the pharisees for power and grandeur. But the people could not see very far; and they hoped, even contrary to present appearances, that Jesus might some time undertake the deliverance they wanted. But the pharisees, who had more penetration, saw from the beginning that he was a man void of all worldly ambition, and that no such principle would be gratified under him. His peculiar blessings were all bestowed on the "poor in spirit, the meek, and those that were persecuted for righteousness sake:" he exhorted "men to pray, fast, give alms in secret," to entertain "the poor, the maimed, the halt, the blind," in hopes of being recompensed at the resurrection of the just:" and he openly neglected "the traditions of the elders." They could be sure from hence, that Jesus did not intend to enrich his followers by worldly conquests; that this doctrine was no prelude to an universal temporal empire; and that according to these measures their darling principles instead of prevailing would be for ever disgraced. Therefore these men pursued him, almost universally, from first to last, with an uninterrupted course of secret or open malice.

4. This notion of theirs gives us the reason why many owned Jesus "for a time" and then forsook him. They came in to him upon the supposition of his being a temporal deliverer of the Jewish nation: but by his conduct, or some things they heard from him, they were convinced they had gone upon a wrong foundation.

5. It does also account for that sudden change in the people at the conclusion of our Saviour's ministry. They attend him with great state into Jerusalem; and a few days after they cry out, "not this man, but Barabbas." The reason seems to be this: his not assuming then the character of a temporal prince, or at least not giving them some sign of liberty, had been a vast disappointment, and left a deep resentment, which rendered them susceptible afterwards of the worst impressions from the chief priests and pharisees.

6. The particulars abovementioned may help us to conceive the truth of what is related, Acts v. 26. "Then went the captain with the officers, and brought them without violence; for

they feared the people, lest they should have been stoned." Strange! that they should now have such a zeal and affection for the disciples of Jesus, whom they had so lately desired with loud voices to be crucified, as to be ready to do violence to the officers of the council for their security. But however strange this may seem, there is no manner of reason to doubt the truth of it. What has been alleged from Josephus and Tacitus assures us, that though often disappointed they were not disheartened. Though Jesus had been crucified, a surprising power appeared in his disciples, and wonderful works were wrought by them in the name of Jesus, which were infallible proofs of his resurrection and ascension. Hereupon undoubtedly the hopes of the salvation they wished for revived in these men.

7. The Jews' expectation of a temporal deliverance for their nation, nourished and strengthened by sensual passions, together with their prodigious wickedness, which they in their fond imaginations had reconciled with the peculiar friendship and favour of God, does fully account for this people's so generally rejecting and despising Jesus, though there was the fullest proof given that he was he who was to come. John v. 43, "I am come," says our Lord, "in my Father's name, and ye receive me not; if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive." They were ready to join any one who made them promises of a temporal salvation; but they would not receive, or at least not hold to any one that did not. If they would have received any one without this condition, they would have received Jesus.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE GREAT CORRUPTION OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE.

THE evangelists have represented the Jewish nation as very corrupt and wicked about the time our Saviour conversed and taught in this world. When John the Baptist "saw many of the pharisees and sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?" Matt. iii. 7. Our Lord himself calls them "an evil and adulterous generation," ch. xii. 39. When they boasted of their relation to Abraham, and yet sought to kill him, who had told them the truth, our Saviour tells them: "Ye are of your father the devil, and the works of your father ye will do," John viii. 40—44. Our Lord often intimates, that the true reason why his doctrine was so little regarded by them, was this, that their affections were entirely engaged by worldly advantages, and they had no sincere love of truth or virtue. "This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world; and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil," John iii. 19. "How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another, and seek not that honour which cometh from God only?" ch. v. 44. And from many other parts of the Gospels it is evident, their righteousness consisted in a regard to some ritual parts of Moses's law, and in observing the traditional rules of the elders; "making broad their phylacteries, and enlarging the border of their garments; in paying tythes of mint and anise and cummin; while they omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and faith." Matt. xxiii. 5—23.

That the corruption of the Jews is not at all aggravated here, is evident from the character given of these times, or of those very near them, by Josephus himself, who was zealous for the honour of his country. 'Eleazer,' says he, 'the chief man among the Sicarii[a] was a descendant 'of Judas, who had persuaded not a few of the Jews not to enrol themselves, when Cyrenius 'the censor was sent into Judea. For then the Sicarii conspired against all that were willing 'to submit to the Romans. They treated all such as public enemies:——Affirming they were 'no better than strangers, since they surrendered to the Romans those privileges of their 'nation, which ought to be precious to all Jews.—But all this was mere pretence, and given out 'with no other view than to cover their cruelty and avarice.—That was indeed a time fruitful 'of all sorts of wickedness among the Jews, so that no evil whatever was left unpractised. It 'is impossible for man to contrive any new wickedness, which was not then committed. All 'were corrupt in their private and public character. They strove to exceed each other in

[a] Villains that went with short swords concealed under their clothes.

'impiety toward God, and injustice toward their neighbour. The great men oppressed the 'people, and the people strove to ruin them. The former were ambitious of dominion and 'power, the latter had an insatible thirst of violence and plunder.'[a]

It appears from hence, that the corruption of this people was general. If Josephus had not made this acknowledgment, it might have been proved by an enumeration of the many acts of injustice and villainy he has related, that all sorts of people were abandoned to wickedness. I think this is not needful; I shall, however, add two or three more passages.

In his account of their affairs, whilst Felix was procurator of Judea, he has these words: 'Such was the impudence of the high priests, that they would send their servants to the store-'houses, to seize and bring away the tythes that belonged to the priests; by which means some 'of the priests, whose circumstances were but strait, perished for want: so far did the violence 'of factious men prevail over justice and equity.'[b] Did not our Saviour say very truly, "It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves?" Matt. xxi. 13.

Not far off from this passage there is another, which may give us an idea of their hypocrisy, (a crime they are often charged with in the gospels) and of their artful and impudent pretensions to religion, when they intended the greatest villainies. Felix by a large sum of money persuaded Dora, a native of Jerusalem, and an intimate friend of the high priest Jonathan, to undertake that the said high priest should be murdered. Dora accordingly hired some of the[c] robbers (so Josephus calls a set of men the country was then filled with) for this purpose. 'Some of these men coming up into the city, as if with a design to worship God, 'and having short swords under their coats, mixing themselves with the multitude, kill Jona-'than. This murder passing unpunished, after this the robbers came in at the feasts without 'any manner of concern; and carrying, as before, swords under their clothes, and mixing with 'the multitudes, they killed divers people; some whom they reckoned their enemies, some whom 'they were hired by others to destroy. This they did, not only in other parts of the city, but 'within the bounds of the temple itself.[d] For even there would they kill men, and yet not 'seem to commit any crime. For this reason, it seems to me, that God detesting their impiety, 'forsook our city; and not esteeming the temple any longer a pure habitation for him, brought 'the Romans against us, threw on the city a fire to purify it, and delivered up us with our wives 'and children to servitude, that by these calamities we might learn wisdom.'

There is another noted passage of the same historian, which may not be omitted. 'I cannot 'say it without regret, yet I must declare it is my opinion, that if the Romans had delayed to 'come against these wretches, the city [Jerusalem] would have been swallowed up by an earth-'quake, or overwhelmed by a deluge, or else been consumed by fire from heaven, as Sodom 'was: for it bore a generation of men more wicked than those which had suffered such cala-'mities.'[e] I conclude with the following short passage. 'To reckon up all their villainies,' says he, 'is impossible; but in a word, never did any city suffer so great calamities; nor was 'there ever from the beginning of the world, a time more fruitful of wickedness than that was.'[f]

[a] Εξενεγκοι γαρ πως ὁ χρονος εκεινος πανοδαπης εν τοις Ιουδαιοις πονηριας πολυφορος, ὡς μηδεν κακιας εργον απρακτον καταλιπειν, μηδ' ει τις επινοια διαπλατειν εθελησειεν, εχειν αν τι καινοτερον εξευρειν· οὑτως ιδια τε και κοινη πανες ενοσησαν, και προς ὑπερβαλλειν αλληλες εν τε ταις προς τον Θεον ασεβειαις, και ταις εις τον πλησιον αδικιαις, εφιλονεικησαν· οἱ μεν δυνατοι τα πληθη κακωνες, οἱ πολλοι δε τες δυνατες απολλυναι σπευδοντες· ην γαρ εκεινοις μεν επιθυμια τε τυραννειν, τοις δε τε βιαζεσθαι και τα ευπορων διαρπαζειν. De B. J. lib. vii. c. 8. sect. 1.

[b] Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 7. sect. 8.

[c] Κακεινος ἱπακουσας εμηχανησατο δια των λῃστων πραχθηναι τοιουτῳ τροπῳ τον φονον. Ibid sect. 5.

[d] Ου μονον καθα την αλλην πολιν, αλλα, και καθα το ἱερον ενιους. και γαρ εκει σφατειν ετολμων, ὡδε εν τοπῳ δοκουντες ασεβειν. Ibid.

[e] Ουκ αν ὑποστειλαιμεν· ειπειν, ἁ μοι κελευει το παθος οιμαι, Ρωμαιων βραδυνοντων επι τες αλιτηριες, η καταποθηναι αν ὑπο χασματος, η κατακλυσθηναι την πολιν, η τες της Σοδομης μεταλαβειν κεραυνες· πολυ γαρ των ταυτα παθοντων ηνεγκε γενεαν ασεβεστεραν. De B. J. lib. v. c. 13. sect. 6.

[f] Καθ' ἑκαστον μεν εν επεξιεναι την παρανομιαν αδυνατον· συνελοντα δ' ειπειν, μητε πολιν αλλην τοιαυτα πεπονθεναι, μητε γενεαν εξ αιωνος γεγονεναι κακιας γονιμωτεραν. Ibid. cap. 10. sect. 5.

CHAP. VII.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF OUR SAVIOUR'S LAST SUFFERINGS.

I. *Caiaphas high priest at that time.* II. *Pontius Pilate governor of Judea.* III. *Pilate's wife in Judea.* IV. *Herod the tetrarch at Jerusalem.* V. *Of the high priest's rending his clothes.* VI. *High priests spoken of in the plural number.* VII. *Pilate now at Jerusalem.* VIII. *Pilate condemns Jesus to content the Jews.* IX. *Remarks concerning Pilate's power in Judea.* X. *Of the title written upon the cross.* XI. *In Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.* XII. *Of the scoffs and derisions which our Saviour met with.* XIII. *Jesus scourged before he was crucified.* XIV. *Bore his cross.* XV. *Of his being crucified without the city.* XVI. *Of his burial,* XVII. *And embalming.*

In the history of our Saviour's last sufferings at Jerusalem, there is mention made of four persons of distinction: Caiaphas the high priest, Pontius Pilate the governor, his wife, and Herod the tetrarch of Galilee.

I. St. Matthew says, ch. xxvi. 3, "Then assembled together the chief priests and the scribes, and the elders of the people, unto the palace of the *high priest*, who was called *Caiaphas.*" And afterwards, ver. 57, "Then they that had laid hold on Jesus, led him away to *Caiaphas* the high priest." St. John likewise assures us, that at this time Caiaphas was the high priest, and has informed us of a particular omitted by St. Matthew, namely, that our Saviour was carried to Annas, ch. xviii. 13. "And led him away to Annas first, (for he was father-in-law to Caiaphas which was the high priest that same year)." And again, "Now Annas had sent him bound unto *Caiaphas the high priest*," ver. 24—28.

That Caiaphas was now high priest appears hence: he was made high priest by Valerius Gratus, predecessor of Pontius Pilate, and was put out of that office by Vitellius president of Syria, after Pilate was sent away out of the province of Judea. Josephus informs us of Caiaphas's advancement to the priesthood in these words: 'And a year after he [Gratus] removed 'him, [Eleazar the son of Ananus,] and gave the high priesthood to Simon the son of Camithus. 'He, having enjoyed this honour not above a year, was succeeded by Joseph, who is also called '*Caiaphas*. After this Gratus went away for Rome, having been eleven years in Judea, and 'Pontius Pilate came thither as his successor.'[a] The same historian gives us the account of Caiaphas's removal in this manner. Vitellius whilst in Syria sent orders to Pilate to repair to Rome; after which Vitellius went up to Jerusalem, and there gave directions concerning several matters. 'Having done these things,' says Josephus, 'he took away the priesthood 'from the high priest Joseph, who is also called *Caiaphas*, and appointed Jonathan the son of 'Ananus high priest, and then returned to Antioch.'[b]

It is evident therefore that Caiaphas was high priest all the time that Pilate was in Judea.

II. We shall presently have occasion to take notice of several things concerning Pilate: I shall here only shew that *Pilate* was at this time governor of Judea. St. Luke says, ch. iii. 1, 2, "Now in the *fifteenth year* of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, *Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea*, the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness." If St. Luke in this text intends not the fifteenth year of Tiberius's reign from the death of Augustus, but the fifteenth year of his proconsular power when he was made colleague of Augustus, it may possibly admit a debate, whether Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea when John the Baptist began to preach: therefore I have reserved the consideration of that particular for the next book. But there can be no question made but that Pilate was governor of Judea at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion; whether St. Luke be understood in that place to speak of the proconsular power of Tiberius, or of his sole empire after the death of Augustus.

[a] Ενιαυΐϑ δε διαΐενομενϑ, και τονδε ϖαυσας, Σιμωνι τῳ Καμιϑϑ την αρχιερωσυνην ϖαραδιδωσιν· ϑ ϖλεον και τῳδε ενιαυΐϑ την τιμην εχονΐι διεΐινεΐο χρονος, και Ιωσηπος, ὁ και Καιαφας, διαδοχος ἡν. αυΐῳ· και Γραΐος μεν ταυΐα ϖραξας εις Ῥωμην επαναχωρει, ἐνδεκα ἐη διαΐριψας εν Ιϑδαιᾳ· Πονΐιος δε Πιλαΐος διαδοχος αυΐῳ ἡκεν. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 2. sect. 2.

[b] Και ταυΐα ϖραξας επι ευερΐεσια τϑ εϑνϑς, και τον αρχιερεα Ιωσηπον, τον και Καιαφαν επικαλεμενον, ϖαλλαξας της ἱερωσυνης, Ιωναϑην καϑιςησιν, Ανανϑ τϑ αρχιερεως υιον· επ' Αντιοχειας δ' αυϑις εποιειΐο την ὁδον. Ibid. c. 5. sect. 3.

The fifteenth year of Tiberius's proconsular empire, and the twelfth of his sole empire, are pretty near coincident. For the 15th of his proconsular empire is supposed to begin[a] about the 27th of August, A. D. 25. And the 12th of his sole empire, began the 19th of August in the same year.

There is undoubtedly some difficulty in computing exactly the time which the evangelists have allotted to John the Baptist's and our Saviour's ministry. But whether we understand St. Luke to speak of the "fifteenth year of Tiberius's" proconsular power, or of his sole empire, I think, that the earliest date of our Saviour's crucifixion must be that of the Jewish passover, which happened in the 15th year of Tiberius's sole empire, A. D. 29, and the latest date the Jewish passover, which happened in the 19th year of Tiberius's sole empire, A. D. 33.

Take any year from 29 to 33 inclusively, and Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea.

This may be made appear in this manner. Tiberius died the 16th of March, A. D. 37.[b] Vitellius received the tidings of it at Jerusalem.[c] But Pilate had been removed some time before this,[d] as is allowed by all: how long before we will not now inquire. Pilate therefore was removed from his government before the passover, A. D. 37, when he had been there ten years. So Josephus says expressly: 'And Pilate having been ten years in Judea hastened away 'to Rome, in obedience to the orders he had received from Vitellius, not daring to refuse.'[e] Subtract 10 from 37, and it appears that Pilate was governor of Judea before the passover in A. D. 27, and consequently before our Saviour's last sufferings.

That our Saviour was crucified in Judea in the reign of Tiberius under Pontius Pilate, is the unanimous testimony of Christian writers, is particularly mentioned[f] by Tacitus an heathen author, and is not denied by any. But this being a principal fact, I am not obliged to produce any passages relating to it now. All I am concerned to do at present is, to shew that according to the notes of time mentioned by the evangelists, Pontius Pilate must have been governor of Judea when our Saviour was crucified. This I presume I have made appear from Josephus, who must be allowed to have known what government his own country was under at that time.

III. St. Matthew says, chap. xxvii. 19, that "when he [Pilate] was set down on the judgment-seat, his *wife* sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man: for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him."

So long as the commonwealth subsisted, it was very unusual for the governors of the provinces to take their wives with them; and afterwards Augustus seems not much to have approved of it.[g] But, however, the contrary custom prevailed. It is evident from Tacitus, that at the time of Augustus's death, Germanicus had his wife Agrippina with him in Germany.[h] And in the beginning of Tiberius's reign he carried her with him into the east.[i] And Piso the prefect of Syria took his wife also along with him at the same time.[k] But there is nothing can render this more apparent, than a motion made in the Roman senate by Severus Cæsina, in the fourth consulship of Tiberius and second of Drusus Cæsar, A. D. 21, 'That no 'magistrate, to whom any province was assigned, should be accompanied by his wife;'[l] except the senate's rejecting it, and that with some indignation.[m]

IV. St. Luke says, ch. xxiii. 7, that "when Pilate heard of Galilee, he asked whether the man were a Galilean. And as soon as he knew that he belonged to Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him to Herod, who himself was also at Jerusalem at that time." As this Herod was the son of Herod the Great, and a Jew, there is all the reason in the world to suppose, that he often went to Jerusalem at the Jewish feasts. Josephus has particularly mentioned his being there at one of their feasts, A. D. 37, which I believe none will deny to be the feast of the passover. He is speaking of Vitellius president of Syria. 'Having given directions 'about these matters, he [Vitellius] went up to Jerusalem with Herod the tetrarch and his 'friends to worship God, a feast of the Jews being nigh at hand.'[n]

[a] Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. A. D. 25. [b] Ibid. A. 37. n. ii. [c] Joseph. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. vi. 806. in.

[d] Ibid. cap. v. sect. 2. [e] Και Πιλατος, δεκα ετεσιν διατριψας επι Ιουδαιας, εις Ῥωμην ηπειγετο, ταις Ουιτελλιου πειθομενος εντολαις, ουκ ον αντειπειν. Joseph. ibid.

[f] Auctor nominis ejus Christus, qui, Tiberio imperitante, per *Procuratorem Pontium Pilatum*, supplicio affectus erat Ann. lib. xv. cap. 44. [g] Disciplinam severissime rexit, ne legatorum quidem cuiquam nisi gravate, hibernisque demum mensibus, permisit uxorem intervisere. Sueton. in Aug. cap 24. [h] Tacit. ann. lib. i. cap. 40, 41.

[i] Id. lib. ii. cap. 54. [k] Ibid. cap. 55.

[l] Inter quæ Severus Cæcina censuit, ne quem magistratum, cui provincia obvenisset, uxor comitaretur. Id. An. lib. iii. c. 33. [m] Paucorum hæc adsensu audita, plures obturbabant, neque relatum de negotio, neque Cæcinam dignum tantæ rei censorem. Ibid. cap. 34. [n] Αυτος τε μετα Ἡρωδου του τετραρχου και των φιλων εις Ἱεροσολυμα ανηει, θυσων τῳ Θεῳ, ἑορτης πατριου Ιουδαιοις ενεστηκυιας· Jos. Ant. lib. xviii. c. 6. sect. 3.

Having dispatched these general things, we may now take the remaining particulars in the order in which they lie.

V. Whilst our Saviour was under examination before the high priest and rulers of the Jews, after they had in vain attempted to get evidence against him from witnesses, it is related, Matt. xxvi. 63—65, that the high priest "said unto him, I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ the Son of God. Jesus saith unto him, Thou hast said: nevertheless I say unto you, hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven. Then the high priest *rent his clothes*, saying, He hath spoken blasphemy."

It has been thought by some that the high priest might not rend his clothes: but that he might, and did do so, upon extraordinary occasions, will appear from the following particulars. The author of the first book of Maccabees says, ch. xi. 71, "Then Jonathan rent his clothes, and cast earth upon his head." Jonathan was then high priest; the occasion of this action was his men's running away from their enemies. Lightfoot in his Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations upon this text of St. Matthew, quotes these words from Maimonides:—'When 'witnesses speak out the blasphemy which they heard, then all hearing the blasphemy are 'bound to rend their clothes.' As the high priest among the Jews was one of their judges, and was present at their trials, he must be comprehended in this rule. I subjoin to these a passage of Josephus. Perhaps it will not be thought to come up to our point, because he does not speak of the high priest in the singular number. But I do not see why the person who was actually in the high priesthood must be excluded; and in one respect it exceeds the fact now before us. For Caiaphas undoubtedly had on at this time his ordinary clothes; whereas Josephus speaks of the priest rending the garments which they wore in their ministrations at the temple.

The case was this: Florus governor of Judea had plundered the sacred treasury at Jerusalem,[a] and committed many other abuses. Hereupon the Jews being highly provoked, were ready to break out into war with the Romans. And a great number of them being got together into an open place in the city, gave out many reflections upon Florus. Josephus says, that upon this, 'The chief men and the high priests being filled with concern *rent their* '*garments*, and falling down upon their knees[b] beseeched the people to be peaceable, and to 'bear patiently what had passed already, rather than provoke Florus to do still worse.'

When this tumult was appeased, Florus intending (as Josephus supposes) to exact conditions the people would not comply with, and thereby to bring on an open war, 'called the 'chief men to him, and told them, that 'he would esteem this a testimony of their fidelity 'and of their intention to be quiet for the future, if the people would go out of the city and 'salute his soldiers which were then coming from Cæsarea.' The chief men of the Jews then called the people to the temple and desired them to submit to these demands, but were not able to prevail upon them. 'Then every priest and minister of God, when they had brought 'forth the holy vessels, being clothed in the vestments which they wear in their sacred 'functions, entreated them not to exasperate the Romans to come and take away from them 'those things which were consecrated to God. Then might be seen the high priests them-'selves with ashes on their heads, and their breasts naked, *their garments being rent*.'[c]

VI. In this history we have frequent mention of chief priests, in the plural number. Matt. xxvi. 59. "Now the chief priests and elders and all the council sought false witness against him." Mark xiv. 53, "And they led Jesus away to the high priest: and with him were assembled the chief priests and the elders and the scribes." I know not, but this may be thought by some an impropriety in the evangelists expression, because strictly there was but one high priest among the Jews at a time. This is certainly very true, and the evangelists appear to have known it very well. But then, all those who had ever bore the office of high priest were called so likewise, and I believe some others besides; I need not now enquire who. But so far is this style from affording any just objection against the sacred historians, that it may very well be reckoned one proof of their being well acquainted with the things of which they have

[a] De Bell. J. lib. ii. cap. 14. sect. 6. [b] Οἱ δυνατοι συν τοις αρχιερευσι τας ἐσθητας περιερρηξαντο· Ibid. cap. 15. sect 2. [c] Ενθα δη πας μεν ἱερευς, πας δ' ὑπερητης τε Θεε, τα ἁγια σκευη προκομισαντες, και τον κοσμον εν ᾧ λειτουργειν ἐθος ην αυτοις, αναλαβοντες,—κατηντιβολουν φυλαξαι τον ἱερον κοσμον αυτοις, και μη προς ἁρπαγην των θειων κειμηλιων Ῥωμαιους ερεθισαι· τους δε αρχιερεις αυτους ην ιδειν, καταμωμενους μεν της κεφαλης κονιν, γυμνους δε τα στερνα, των εσθητων περιερρηγμενων· Ibid. sect. 3, 4.

written, since it is the usual style of Josephus. I need not produce any particular passages for the proof of it. The expression occurs more than once in those I have just now transcribed.

VII. We are informed, that from the high priests our Saviour "was led away, and delivered to Pontius Pilate." All the evangelists assure us of this, Matt. xxvii. 2. Mark xv. 1. Luke xxiii. 1. John xviii. 28, 29. It is plain from the New Testament, and other ancient writings, that the Roman governor of Judea usually resided at Cæsarea,[a] there being only an inferior officer left at Jerusalem, with a band or legion of soldiers, to keep all things there in order: but yet it is certain, that at the time of their great feasts, and especially at the passover, the governor himself was wont to be at Jerusalem, to prevent or suppress disturbances. There is frequent mention in Josephus's history of the presence of the procurators of Judea, or of the presidents of Syria, at Jerusalem at these times. I have just now shewn that Vitellius, president of Syria, was at Jerusalem, at the passover, A. D. 37. He had been there also at the passover of the year before, as is very plain in Josephus.[b] In the reign of Claudius, Cumanus, procurator of Judea, was at Jerusalem at one of the passovers.[c] And afterwards, in the reign of the same emperor, Quadratus, president of Syria, having sent away Cumanus, just now mentioned, to give an account of his administration to Cæsar, went up himself to Jerusalem. Josephus's words are these: 'Having finished these affairs, he went up from Lydda to Jeru-'salem: and finding the people celebrating the feast of unleavened bread very quietly, he 'returned to Antioch,[d] the seat of the presidents of Syriæ.' In another place he speaks of a great number of Jews, who presented complaints at the passover to Cestius Gallius, president of Syria, against Florus their own governor, then likewise at Jerusalem.[e]

Moreover, very probably Pilate was often at Jerusalem, at the feasts, for the administration of justice. Jerusalem was the chief city of Judea, and had a council in it. And it was very usual for the Roman governors to go, at times, to the chief towns of their provinces, on this account, as is evident from many passages of the Roman authors.[f] And it may be fairly concluded from the evangelists, that Pilate was at Jerusalem now for this very end: as it is also very plain, that he had used to keep court there at this feast. "Ye have a custom," says he, "that I should release unto you one at the passover," John xviii. 39.

VIII. In the account the evangelists have given us of Pilate's conduct, there are several things very remarkable; which ought therefore to be considered and accounted for. The high priests and elders of the Jews were very earnest for our Saviour's condemnation; but Pilate appears very backward to pronounce any sentence upon him. "He knew that for envy they had delivered him," Matt. xxvii. 18. When they charged him with stirring up the people, and saying that he was a king, "Pilate said unto him, art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world. Pilate therefore said unto him, Art thou a king then? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness to the truth.—Pilate saith unto him, What is truth? And when he had said this, he went out again unto the Jews, and saith unto them, I find in him no fault at all," Luke xxiii. 2, 3. John xviii. 33, 36—38.

There being no proof of any disturbances caused by our Saviour among the people, Pilate enquires into this charge, of his taking upon him the title of a king: and perceiving, that he intended not by it any worldly government, but only that his design had been to teach men some certain principles, he asks him "What is truth?" or what was that truth which he professed to teach? But not being solicitous to know particularly what these principles were, and being satisfied from what he had already heard from our Saviour, that there was nothing seditious in them, he did not stay for an answer to this question, but immediately goes out to the Jews, and tells them, "I find in him no fault at all."

[a] Haud dubiâ destinatione discessere, Mucianus Antiochiam, Vespasianus Cæsaream: illa Syriæ, hæc Judææ, caput est. Tacit. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 79. vid. & Joseph. de B. J. lib. ii. cap. 9. sect. 2. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 4. sect. 1. l. xx. cap. 4. sect. 4.

[b] Ant. lib. xviii. c. 5. sect. 3. [c] Ibid. l. xx. cap. 4. sect. 3. de B. J. lib. ii. cap. 12. sect. 1. [d] Ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος, ἀπὸ Λυδδῶν ἀνέβαινεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα· καὶ καλαλαβὼν τὸ πλῆθος ἀσὸν τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν ἀθορύβως, εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπανῆει· de Bell. l. ii. cap. 12. sect. 6.

[e] Ibid. cap. 14. sect. 3. [f] Paucos dies ipse [*Cæsar*] in provinciâ moratus, quum celeriter omnes conventus percurrisset, publicas controversias cognovisset, &c. A Hirt. de Bell. Gall.—Laodiceam pridie kal. Sext. venimus: ibi morati biduum perillustres fuimus, honorificisque verbis omnes injurias revellimus superiores. Quod idem dein Apameæ quinque dies morati, & Synnadis triduum, Philomeli quinque dies, Iconii decem fecimus. Nihil eâ jurisdictione æquabilius, nihil lenius, nihil gravius. Cic. ad Att lib. v. ep. 20. vid. & lib. vi. ep. 2. Quo loco mihi non prætermittenda videtur præclari imperatoris egregia ac singularis diligentia. Nam scitote esse oppidum in Siciliâ nullum ex iis oppidis, in quibus consistere prætores, & conventum agere solent, quo in oppido non isti, ex aliquâ familiâ non ignobili, delecta ad libidinem mulier esset. In ver. lib. v. cap. 11.

Grotius supposes that Pilate, by the kingdom our Saviour spoke of, understood such a kingdom as the Stoics ascribed to their wise men, a kingdom no more prejudicial to the Roman government than theirs.[a] He certainly conceived of our Saviour as a leader only of some innocent sect, and apprehended, that it was nothing but envy and secret malice, that moved the pharisees to demand judgment against him.

But notwithstanding what Pilate said of the innocence of Jesus, the Jews were still pressing for a sentence against him. However Pilate could not yet be prevailed on to answer their demands, but ordered him to be scourged; and the soldiers platted "a crown of thorns, and put it upon his head, and they put on him a purple robe," abused and mocked him. Pilate hoping[b] they might be satisfied with this, "went forth again; and saith unto them, Behold I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him. When the chief priests therefore, and the officers saw him, they cried out, saying, Crucify him, crucify him. Pilate saith unto them, Take ye him and crucify him; for I find no fault in him. The Jews answered him, We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the son of God. *When Pilate therefore heard that saying he was the more afraid,*" John xix. 1—8.

Many learned and judicious expositors understand by these last words, that Pilate became yet more afraid than before to pass sentence of condemnation upon Jesus; lest, after all, he should prove to be some extraordinary person. They think, that having, probably, received some accounts of our Saviour's miracles, and hearing this charge that he "had made himself the son of God," he was brought into some doubts whether he might not be some uncommon person, like those heroes or demi-gods, which were so much spoken of among the Greeks and Romans, and therefore he was seized with a fresh fear of being concerned in his death.[c]

The words will bear another sense, and ever since I have read Josephus, in whom there are divers instances of the Jewish zeal about this time, and of tumults and seditions which they run into, upon the least affront offered to their religious institutions, some of which tumults Pilate had been witness to, I have understood these words in a different sense; and have thought that Pilate finding they interested their religion in this cause, and that they were resolute in it, became afraid he must at last submit to them. And I am glad to find, that I am not singular in this interpretation. Beza says upon this place, 'he was not without reason 'afraid, that an open sedition might happen, if he did not comply with the multitude.'[d]

But this sense being liable to an objection, from an expression St. John uses after this, it will be needful to consider what follows. John xix. 9—12. Pilate having heard this, "went again into the judgment-hall, and saith unto Jesus, Whence art thou? but Jesus gave him no answer. Then saith Pilate unto him, Speakest thou not unto me? Knowest thou not, that I have power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee? Jesus answered, Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above: therefore he that delivered me unto thee, hath the greater sin. And from thenceforth Pilate sought to release him."

These last words may be reckoned an objection against the sense in which I understand the words above-mentioned. But certainly St. John does not hereby intend, that Pilate then began to seek to release Jesus. He has, before this, related divers attempts which Pilate had made to bring the Jews to temper. What he means hereby is, that he still sought to release him; that upon hearing what Jesus said in this last examination, he made another trial of the Jews, to see if they could not be contented. Our Lord had maintained his innocence, told Pilate that he could have no power against him, if it had not been allowed by the providence of God for particular ends and reasons; and that they who had delivered him to him, had been guilty of an heinous and aggravated crime. Pilate, therefore, being still satisfied of his innocence, made one and another attempt after this, to bring the Jews to consent to his being released. But at length, "the voices of them and of the chief priests prevailed. When Pilate

[a] Grot. in Joh. xviii. 38. [b] So Augustine understood this place. Tunc cum flagellâsset Jesum, & a militibus veste illusoriâ, multisque illusionibus male tractari permisisset; (credo ut hoc modo saltem eorum furorem mitigaret, ne usque ad mortem sævire pertenderent;) exiit iterum Pilatus foras, & dicit eis: ecce adduco eum vobis, &c. Aug. De Cons. Evang. l. 3. c. 13. n. 46. Ed. Bened. [c] Metuens, ob res miras de eo auditas, ne forte verum esset ortum eum divino satu, sicut Romani & Græci de heroïbus suis credebant. Grot. in loc. vid. & Hammond, &c. [d] *Magis metuit.*] Ergo jam antea perculsus erat, alternante nimirum conscientiâ, & clamoribus Judæorum, nunc etiam legem prætexentium: non temere veritus, ne tandem seditio aperta erumperet, nisi multitudinis voluntati obtemperaret. Bez. Nov. Test in loc. Calvin also allows that the words are capable of this sense. Duplex potest elici sensus: prior est, quod veritus fuerit Pilatus ne sustineret aliquam culpam si exortus esset tumultus, quia Christum non damnâsset; alter, quod, auditc Filii Dei nomine, mens ejus religione tacta fuerit. Which last Calvin approves, in loc.

saw that he could prevail nothing, but rather a tumult was made, then delivered he him unto them to be crucified," Luke xxiii. 23. Matt. xxvii. 24. John xix. 16.

So that, whether the fear which seized Pilate, upon the Jews telling him, that Jesus had "made himself the son of God," was a fear arising from an apprehension, that he might be some extraordinary person, and more than a man; or whether it was an apprehension of disturbances and tumults, if he did not hearken to the Jews; yet it is evident from the passages last quoted, and from many others in the gospels, that the evangelists have represented Pilate's condemnation of our Lord, as extorted from him.

He told them once and again, that he "found no fault in him:" he had him scourged, and brought him out to them in a mock royal dress, hoping they might be satisfied with this punishment and disgrace. It being his custom at the passover to release to them some prisoner of their nation, and the people being gathered together in great numbers, and now demanding this favour of him, he proposed to them that Jesus might be the person. But they being moved by the high priests, "desired that Barabbas might be released;" a criminal so infamous, that no one not void of all shame, would have spoken for him; a man that had been taken up in an insurrection against the Roman government, and that had committed robbery and murder. Not being able, by all these methods, to move the compassion or equity of the Jews; nor observing that there was any party among the common people, that favoured Jesus; and being willing "to content the people, he delivered Jesus unto them to be crucified," Mark xv. 15. The evangelists are unanimous in the account, that this sentence was pronounced only "to content the Jews;" that is, either to secure the peace of the province, or to maintain his interest with the people, when he saw that nothing could satisfy or appease their rage but the death of Jesus. "When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but rather a tumult was made, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent from the blood of this just person: see ye to it. Then answered all the people and said, His blood be on us, and on our children," Matt. xxvii. 24, 25. Luke xxiii. 24, 25. John xix. 14—16.

It will seem strange to some, that a Roman governor should have any inducements to comply with the demands of people, contrary to his own judgment and inclination. But he that considers the account we have of the principles and behaviour of the Jewish nation at this time will be satisfied the evangelists have here given a just and true representation of this transaction; and will be convinced, that a Roman governor, with all his authority, could not pass by any thing which they apprehended to be a breach on their religious constitution, without hazarding the peace of his province. All this will not justify an unrighteous sentence, but that this was the case is plain.

We have seen that the high priests pretended, that Jesus had been guilty of blasphemy, in making "himself the son of God," and that "by their law he ought to die," John xix. 7. And Pilate had had experience of their prodigious firmness and zeal for all the parts of their religion. There are two particular proofs they gave him of this, related by Josephus; the one on occasion of his placing the Roman ensigns in Jerusalem; the other upon his attempting to bring water into the city with money taken out of the sacred treasury. The former is related by Josephus thus: 'Pilate the prefect of Judea, sending his army from Cæsarea, and putting 'them into winter quarters at Jerusalem, brought the carved images of Cæsar, which are on 'the ensigns, into the city, in violation of the Jewish laws, since our law forbids the making 'of any images. For which reason the former governors were wont to come into the city 'with ensigns destitute of those ornaments. Pilate was the first who set up images in Jeru-'salem; and he did it privately, the army making their entry in the night time. But as soon as 'the people knew it, they went in a vast body to Cæsarea, making earnest supplication for many 'days that the images might be removed. He not granting their petition, thinking it would 'be dishonourable to the emperor to do so, and they still persisting in their request to him; on 'the sixth day, having privately ordered his soldiers to their arms, he seated himself on his 'tribunal in the Circus, near which he had placed his men, that they might be in readiness. 'And when the Jews came to him thither with their petition, his soldiers having, upon a signal 'given, surrounded them, he threatened them with immediate death, if they did not give over 'their clamours, and return home. They then threw themselves on the ground, and offered 'their necks to the sword, and said, 'they could die much more easily, than they could dare 'to do any thing contrary to the wisdom of their laws.' Pilate surprized at their firmness in

'the observation of their laws, immediately gave orders for bringing back the images from 'Jerusalem to Cæsarea.'[a]

There immediately follows after this an account of the disturbance raised at Jerusalem by Pilate's attempting to bring water into the city, at the expence of money taken out of the sacred treasury. Josephus says, 'That many thousands got together, crying out, that he ought 'to desist from this undertaking; that many vented most reproachful speeches against him.— 'Some were killed and others wounded in this tumult, but at length the sedition was suppressed.'

Both these attempts of Pilate were made at the beginning of his government. Some learned men, who suppose that Pilate came into Judea, A. D. 25, place them in that year.[b] And others who suppose that Pilate was not procurator of Judea till the year 27, place them there.[c] I am of opinion, the first attempt was made by him at the beginning of the first winter after his arrival in the province, and the other the summer following. Undoubtedly, he had seen the Jews' firmness upon both these occasions, and possibly upon some others, before the time of the event which we are considering.

We have another attempt of Pilate's, of the same nature, mentioned in the letter which Agrippa the elder sent to Caligula, as this letter is given us by Philo. In some particulars it has a great resemblance with the story Josephus has told, of Pilate's bringing the ensigns into Jerusalem, and in others it is very different from it: which has given occasion to some learned men to suppose, that Philo has been mistaken[d] For my own part, as I make no doubt, but Josephus's account of the ensigns is true; so I think, that Philo may also be relied on for the truth of a fact he has mentioned, as happening in his own time in Judea: and consequently I judge them to be two different facts.

Agrippa, reckoning up to Caligula the several favours conferred on the Jews by the imperial family, says: 'Pilate was procurator of Judea. He, not so much out of respect to 'Tiberius, as a malicious intention to vex the people, dedicates gilt shields, and places them in 'Herod's palace within the holy city. There was no figure upon them, nor any thing else 'which is forbidden, except an inscription, which expressed these two things, the name of the 'person who dedicated them, and of him to whom they were dedicated. When the people 'perceived what had been done,—they desired this innovation of the shields might be rectified, 'that their ancient customs, which had been preserved through so many ages, and had been 'hitherto untouched by kings and emperors, might not now be violated. He refused their 'demands with roughness: such was his temper, fierce and untractable. They then cried out, 'do not you raise a sedition yourself; do not you disturb the peace by your illegal practices. '—It is not Tiberius's pleasure, that any of our laws should be broken in upon. If you have 'received any edict, or letter from the emperor to this purpose, produce it, that we may leave 'you, and depute an embassy to him, and entreat him to revoke his orders. This put him out 'of all temper; for he was afraid, that if they should send an embassy, they might discover the 'many mal-administrations of his government, his extortions, his unjust decrees, his inhuman 'cruelties. This reduced him to the utmost perplexity. On the one hand, he was afraid to remove 'things that had been once dedicated, and was also unwilling to do a favour to men that were 'his subjects: and on the other hand, he knew very well the inflexible severity of Tiberius. The 'chief men of the nation observing this, and perceiving that he repented of what he had done, 'though he endeavoured to conceal it, write a most humble and submissive letter to Tiberius. 'It is needless to say, how he was provoked, when he had read the account of Pilate's speeches 'and threatenings, the event shewing it sufficiently. For he soon sent a letter to Pilate, 'reprimanding him for so audacious a proceeding, requiring also, that the shields should be 'removed. And accordingly they were carried from the metropolis to Cæsarea by the sea 'side, called Sebaste, from your great grandfather, that they might be placed in the temple 'there consecrated to him: and there they were deposited.'[e]

The reader doubtless observes the several different circumstances of this story from that of the ensigns, which Josephus has told; and particularly, that this dedication of the shields was made some time after Pilate had been in the province, because now he had been guilty of many mal-practices in his government, whereas, the fact which Josephus has related, happened very soon after his arrival in the province. This circumstance may be an argument, that Philo did

[a] Antiq. lib. xviiii. c. 4. sect. 1. [b] Cleric. Hist. Ecc. [c] Basnage Ann. Pol. Eccl.
[d] Vid. Basnage Ann. P. E. A. 27. n. 6. [e] Philo de leg. ad Cai. p. 1033, 1034.

not take the ensigns for shields; it being very unlikely he should mistake the time of such an affair.

I cannot however be positive that this fact happened before our Saviour's crucifixion. But yet methinks, it may help us to form an idea, how Pilate understood that threatening speech of the Jews, John xix. 12, "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend." For, supposing this affair of the shields not to have happened till after our Saviour's crucifixion, (which however is not certain,) yet undoubtedly Pilate had, before this time, committed many abuses. And though he might be very well satisfied, the acquitting Jesus and setting him at liberty would not be deemed any crime, if the case was fairly stated; yet he might be unwilling to provoke the principal men of the Jewish nation to send Tiberius an account of his behaviour on other occasions. This we may the more easily credit, not only because at all times the remonstrances of a province were very much dreaded by the prefects, but because they were more especially so under Tiberius; who was very solicitous for the peace of his provinces, and had endeavoured to secure them from the exactions of his officers. And it was for this reason, as he himself said, that he suffered the presidents to remain in the provinces for so long a time, because they all endeavoured to enrich themselves, and the shorter time they staid in them, the more eager they were to improve it to that end.[a]

Thus we see how Pilate, a man chiefly swayed by a regard to his private interest, might be in subjection to a clamorous and tumultuous people, in an affair in which they pretended their religion was concerned.

IX. I have, in the second chapter, shewn at large, what power the Jewish magistracy and the Roman governor were possessed of at this time in Judea. But the justness of the evangelists account upon this head (in which likewise they are perfectly harmonious) appears to me so very material, that I know not how to forbear making here two or three remarks upon occasion of Pilate's pronouncing the sentence of condemnation on Jesus; which is a proof of his supreme authority in that country, in capital causes.

1. According to the evangelists then, the Jews had not now the power of life and death. I have shewed, that according to other ancient authors, they had it not at this time, and could not have it, whilst in the state of a Roman province.

2. According to the evangelists, Pilate had the power of life and death. So he has also in Philo and Josephus. This is a place, in which later writers would have been in great danger of tripping. The accuracy of the evangelists is remarkable on two accounts. 1. Judea, though sometimes called a province, was properly a branch of the province of Syria:[b] but yet had a Roman governor residing in it with supreme authority, which was a very uncommon thing. 2. Pilate's proper title was that of procurator. The reader may perceive this from my translations of many passages concerning the Roman governors of Judea, in which, in conformity to Josephus's style, I also call them procurators. Tacitus also calls Pilate procurator.[c] Now this was ordinarily the title of the officer that took care of the emperor's revenue in a province, and is equivalent to that of quæstor under the republic, or in a province subject to the senate; which officer had not the power of life and death. But Pilate, though he had the title of procurator, had the power of a president. The evangelists, usually gave Pilate, Felix, and Festus the title of governor; a general word, and very proper, according to the usage of the best writers, and of Josephus in particular, in many places.

3. According to the evangelists, the Jewish council having, as they pretended, convicted Jesus of blasphemy, and judged him guilty of death, they go with him to Pilate; and they seem to have expected that Pilate should confirm their sentence, and sign an order that he might be punished accordingly. And they afterwards openly and confidently insist upon it, that he should not acquit a person who, they said, had been guilty of a crime, which according to their law was capital. John xix. 7, "The Jews answered him, we have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the son of God." This appears to me very observable: but yet nothing is more likely than that they should talk in this way, since they

[a] Vid. Jos. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 7. sect. 5.

[b] Iturææque & Judææi, defunctis regibus Sohemo atque Agrippâ, *Provinciæ Syriæ additi.* Tacit. Ann. 12. cap. 23. What Tacitus here says was done upon the death of Agrippa, had been the case before his reign: and was so, particularly, in the time of Pilate; as is evident, in that he was displaced by Vitellius, president of Syria. Vid. & Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 8. sect. 1. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. ult. sect. 5. & alibi.

[c] Ann. 15. cap. 44. See above, p. 80. n. f.

were governed by the Romans according to their own laws, as I have shewn above.[a] These are the remarks I had to make in this place.

But I would also take this opportunity of adding a text, not yet insisted on, which, if I understand it aright, is a fresh indication, that according to the sacred writers, the Jews had not now supreme power within themselves. When the Jewish elders had brought Jesus before Pilate, he said to them, John xviii. 29, 30, "What accusation bring you against this man? They answered and said unto him, *If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee.*" The original word, and our English word malefactor, I think, usually denote a criminal guilty of one of the worst of crimes: such as are ordinarily punished with death, perpetual imprisonment, the mines, galleys, or some such heavy punishment. These words then, in their mouths, import thus much: 1. 'If the crime he is charged with were not 'capital, we should have punished him ourselves, and not have come to you. 2. If he were 'not really guilty, we would not have accused him.' But to return to the course we were in.

X. Pilate having at length passed sentence on Jesus, and delivered him to be crucified, it will be proper next to consider what is said of an inscription put upon the cross. John xix. 19, 20. "And Pilate wrote a title and put it on the cross: and the writing was *Jesus of Nazareth the King of the Jews.*" This was the usual custom of the Romans, when any were condemned to death, to affix to the instrument of their punishment, or to order to be carried before them, a writing expressing the crime for which they suffered. And this writing was called in Latin, title, which word St. John has made use of. It will be sufficient to give an example or two of this in the margin.'[b]

XI. St. John says that this title was "written in Hebrew, Greek and Latin." And it was at this time usual at Jerusalem, to set up advertisements, that were designed to be read by all sorts of people in several languages. Titus, in a message he sent to the Jews by Josephus when the city was almost in his hands, and by which he endeavoured to persuade them to surrender, says: 'Did you not erect pillars with inscriptions on them in the Greek and in our 'language, "Let no one pass beyond these bounds?"'[c]

XII. Every one must needs observe the scoffs and derisions our Saviour met with. There are three or four instances recorded in the evangelists. One was whilst he was in the high priest's house. "Then did they spit in his face and buffetted him, and others smote him with the palms of their hands; saying, Prophesy unto us thou Christ, who is he that smote thee?" Matt. xxvi. 67, 68. Mark xiv. 65. Pilate hearing our Lord was of Galilee sent him to Herod; and before he was dismissed by him, "Herod with his men of war set him at nought: and mocked him, and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe," Luke xxiii. 11. He was insulted and mocked by the soldiers, when Pilate ordered him to be scourged the first time, that by that lesser punishment he might satisfy the Jews and save his life, as is related by St. John.[d] After Pilate had condemned him to be crucified, the like indignities were repeated by the soldiers, as we are assured by two evangelists. Matt. xxvii. 27—31. Mark xv. 16—20, "And they stripped him and put on him a scarlet robe, and when they had platted a crown of thorns they put it on his head, and a reed in his right hand: and they bowed the knee before him, and mocked him, saying, Hail king of the Jews. And they spit upon him, and took the reed, and smote him on the head."

These are tokens of contempt and ridicule which were in use at that time. Dio, among the other indignities offered to Sejanus the favourite of Tiberius, (in whose reign our Saviour was crucified,) as they were carrying him from the senate-house to prison, particularly mentions this; 'That they struck him on the head.'[e] But there is one instance of ridicule which happened so soon after this time, and has so great a resemblance with what our Saviour met with, that it ought to be set down here at length. Caligula, the successor of Tiberius, had in the very beginning of his reign given Agrippa the tetrarchy of his uncle Philip, being about the fourth part of his grandfather Herod's dominions, with the right of wearing a diadem or crown.

[a] See p. 45.

[b] Romæ publico epulo servum, ob detractam lectis argenteam laminam, carnifici confestim tradidit [Caius] ut, manibus abscissis, atque ante pectus e collo pendentibus, præcedente titulo qui caussam pœnæ indicaret, per cœtus epulantium circumduceretur. Suet. in Calig. c. 34. Patrem familias, quod Thracem mirmilloni parem, munerario imparem dixerat, detractum e spectaculis in arenam, canibus objecit, cum hoc titulo, Impie locutus parmularius. Sueton. Domit. cap. 10. Δια τε της αιδους μεσης μετα γραμματων την αιτιαν της θανατωσεως αυτω δηλωντων διαταξαντος, και μετα ταυτα ανασταυρωσαντος. Dio lib. liv. p. 523. A.

[c] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. vi. c. 2. sect. 4.

[d] John xix. 1, 2. See Dr. Clarke's paraphrase of these two verses.

[e] Επι κορρης επαιον. Dio. lib. lviii. p. 628. A.

When he was setting out from Rome to make a visit to his people, the Emperor advised him to go by Alexandria as the best way. When he came thither he kept himself very private; but the Alexandrians having got intelligence of his arrival there, and of the design of his journey, were filled with envy, as Philo says, at the thoughts of a Jew's having the title of king. Many ways they shewed their indignation: one was this:

'There was one Carabas, a sort of distracted fellow, that in all seasons of the year went 'naked about the streets. He was somewhat between a madman and a fool, the common jest 'of boys and other idle people. This wretch they brought into the theatre, and placed him 'on a lofty seat, that he might be conspicuous to all: then they put a thing made of paper on 'his head for a crown, the rest of his body they covered with a mat instead of a robe, and for 'a sceptre one put into his hand a little piece of a reed which he had just taken up from 'the ground. Having thus given a mimic royal dress, several young fellows with poles on 'their shoulders came and stood on each side of him as his guards. Then there came people 'toward him, some to pay their homage to him, others to ask justice of him, and some to know 'his will and pleasure concerning affairs of state; and in the crowd were loud and confused 'acclamations of Maris, Maris; that being, as they say, the Syriac word for Lord, thereby inti-'mating whom they intended to ridicule by all this mock shew;[a] Agrippa being a Syrian, and 'king of a large country in Syria.'[b]

XIII. Before our Saviour was had away to be crucified he was scourged. "Then released he Barabbas unto them; and when he had *scourged* Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified," Matt. xxvii. 26, Mark xv. 15. That it was the usual custom of the Romans, before execution, to scourge persons condemned to capital punishment, is evident from many examples recorded in ancient historians. I shall set down from them in the margin two or three instances in the original words.[c] Accounts of the executions of persons generally run in this form; They were stripped, whipped, and beheaded, or crucified, according as the sentence was.

XIV. Another particular mentioned here is, that our Saviour bore his cross. John xix. 16, 17, "And they took Jesus and led him away; and he bearing his cross went forth." But he having been fatigued by a long examination and a double scourging, (as it seems,) they were obliged after he had gone a short way to put it upon another. "And they laid hold on one Simon a Cyrenian: and on him they laid the cross that he might bear it after Jesus," Luke xxiii. 26. Mark xv. 21.

This was the constant practice among the Romans for criminals to carry their own cross. Insomuch that Plutarch makes use of it as an illustration of the misery of vice: 'that every 'kind of wickedness produces its own particular torment, just as every malefactor, when he 'is brought forth to execution, carries his own cross.'[d]

XV. It appears from the evangelists that our Lord was crucified without the city. "And he bearing his cross went forth to a place called the place of a skull, which is called in the Hebrew Golgotha," John xix. 17. "For the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city," ver. 20. And the apostle to the Hebrews has likewise mentioned this circumstance: "Wherefore Jesus also—suffered without the gate," Heb. xiii. 12.

This is conformable to the Jewish law, and to examples mentioned in the Old Testament. Numb. xv. 35. "And the Lord said unto Moses, The man shall surely be put to death: all the congregation shall stone him with stones without the camp." 1 Kings xxi. 13. "Then they carried him" [Naboth] "forth out of the city, and stoned him with stones that he died." This was done at Jesreel, in the territories of the king of Israel, not far from Samaria. And if this custom was practised there, we may be certain the Jews did not choose that criminals should be executed within Jerusalem, the sanctity of which they had so high an opinion of, and which they were very zealous to preserve free from all ceremonial impurity, though they defiled it with the practice of the most horrid immoralities. It is possible indeed they might, in their sudden and ungoverned rage, a thing they were mighty subject to at this time upon any affront

[a] Ειτ' εκ περιεστωίος εν κυκλω πληθος εξηχει βοη τις αλογος, Μαριν αποκαλεντων· ουτως δε φασιν τον κυριον ονομαζεσθαι παρα Συροις· ηδεσαν γαρ Αγριππαν και γενει Συρον, και Συριας μεγαλην απολομην εχοντα, ης εβασιλευσε. In Flacc. p. 970. B.C.

[b] Judea is here reckoned by Philo a part of Syria; as it is also by many other writers.

[c] Missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium, nudatos virgis cædunt. Liv. lib. ii. c. 5. Productique omnes, virgisque cæsi, ac securi percussi. Id. lib. xxvi. c. 15. Ους μαστιξι προαικισαμενος ανεσταυρωσε (Φλωρος). Joseph. p. 1080. 45. Μαστιθεμενοι —— ανεσταυρουντο τειχος αντικρυ. Id. p. 1247. 24. Ζων γαρ καλεκαυθη προτερον αικισθεις. Id. p. 1327. 43.

[d] Και τω σωματι των κολαζομενων εκαστος των κακουργων εκφερει τον αυτα σταυρον· η δε κακια των κολαστηριων εφ' εαυτην εκαστον εξ αυτης εκλαινεται. Plutarch. de iis qui sero puniuntur, p. 554. A. Paris. 1624.

offered to their laws or customs, put persons who thus provoked them to death, upon the spot, in the city, or the temple, or wherever they found them: but whenever they were calm enough to admit the form of a legal process, I dare say, they did not approve of an execution within the city.

And among the Romans this custom was very common,[a] at least in the provinces. The robbers at Ephesus which[b] Petronius Arbiter mentions, were crucified by order of the governor of the province without the city. This was the custom likewise in Sicily, as appears from Cicero.[c]

XVI. All the four evangelists have particularly mentioned our Saviour's burial: that "Joseph of Arimathea went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus; Then Pilate commanded the body to be delivered. And when Joseph had taken the body, he laid it in his own new tomb," Matt. xvii. 58—60. Mark xv. 45, 46. Luke xxiii. 50—53. John xix. 38—40. And it may be fairly concluded, the rulers of the Jews did not disapprove of it: since they were solicitous that the bodies might be taken down, and not hang on the cross the next day. John xix. 31. "The Jews therefore," says St. John, "because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain on the cross on the sabbath day, (for that sabbath day was an high day;) besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away."

Burial was not always allowed by the Romans in these cases. For we find that sometimes a soldier was appointed to guard the bodies of malefactors, that they might not be taken away and buried.[d] However it seems that it was not often refused, unless the criminals were very mean and infamous. Cicero reckons it one of the horrid crimes of Verres's administration in Sicily, that he would take money of parents for the burial of their children whom he had put to death.[e] Both Suetonius[f] and Tacitus[g] represent it as one of the uncommon cruelties of Tiberius in the latter part of his reign, that he generally denied burial to those who were put to death, by his orders at Rome. Ulpian in his treatise of the Duty of a Proconsul says; 'The 'bodies of those who are condemned to death are not to be denied to their relations: and 'Augustus writes in the tenth book of his own life, 'that he had been wont to observe this 'custom;'[h] that is, to grant the bodies to relations. Paulus says: 'that the bodies of those 'who have been punished, [with death,] are to be given to any that desire them in order to 'burial.'[i]

It is evident therefore from these two lawyers, that the governors of provinces had a right to grant burial to the bodies of those who had been executed by their order: nay they seem to intimate, that it ought not usually to be denied when requested by any.

We may then depend upon it, that burial was ordinarily allowed to persons put to death in Judea. The law of Moses is express, that malefactors should be buried. Deut. xxi. 22, 23. "And if a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree, his body shall not remain all night on the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day—that thy land be not defiled." And the later Jews retained a reverence for this law. A body of the Idumeans having been let into Jerusalem by the zealots, in order to strengthen their party; after the mention of very great barbarities they had committed in the city and in the temple, Josephus gives their neglect to bury those whom they had murdered, as one of the strongest proofs of their wickedness. 'They came,' says he, 'to such impiety, as to 'throw out men unburied, though the Jews had so great concern for burial, as to take down 'and bury before sun-set those who were crucified by a legal sentence.'[k] Since burial was so strictly required by the Mosaic law, and was so agreeable to the sentiments and inclinations of

[a] Credo ego istoc exemplo tibi esse eundum actutum extra portam, dispessis manibus patibulum cum habebis. Plautus in Mil. Glor. Act. 2. Scen. iv. [b] Quum interim imperator provinciæ latrones jussit crucibus adfigi, secundum illam eandem casulam, in quâ recens cadaver matrona deflebat. Satyr. c. 71. [c] Quid enim attinuit, cum Mamertini more atque instituto suo crucem fixissent post urbem in viâ Pompeiâ, te jubere in eâ parte figere, quæ ad fretum spectaret? in Verr. lib. v. c. 66. n. 169. [d] Miles cruces asservabat, ne quis ad sepulturam corpora detraheret. Petron. Arb. Satyr. c. 71. [e] Rapiunt eum ad supplicium dii patrii; quod iste inventus est, qui e complexu parentum abreptos filios ad necem duceret, & parentes pretium pro sepulturâ posceret. In Verr. lib. i. cap. 3. [f] Nemo punitorum non & in Gemonias abjectus, uncoque tractus. Vit. Tiber. c. 61. [g] Et quia damnati, publicatis bonis, sepulturâ prohibebantur. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 29. [h] Corpora eorum qui capite damnantur cognatis ipsorum neganda non sunt: & id se observâsse etiam D. Aug. lib. x. de vitâ suâ, scribit. Hodie autem eorum, in quos animadvertitur, corpora non aliter sepeliuntur, quam si fuerit petitum & permissum: & nonnunquam non permittitur, maxime majestatis causâ damnatorum. l. i. ff. de cadaver. Punit. [i] Corpora animadversorum quibuslibet petentibus ad sepulturam danda sunt. l. iii. eod. [k] Προηλθον δε εις τοσουτον ασεβειας, ὡστε και αλαφρος ριψαι, καιτοι τοσαυτην Ιουδαιων περι τας ταφας προνοιαν ποιουμενων, ὡστε και τους εκ καταδικης αναστανρουμενους προ δυνος ηλιου καθελειν τε και θαπτειν. De B. J. l. iv. c. 5. sect. 2.

the Jewish people, we have all the reason in the world to suppose it was seldom denied by the Roman governors in that country.

XVII. St. John says, ch. xix. 39, 40, "There came also Nicodemus, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight. Then took they [Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus] the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes, with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury." This may seem to some a large quantity of spices to be bestowed on a single body at its interment. And it has been made an objection by a modern[a] Jew against the history of the New Testament. And yet according to St. Mark and St. Luke, Mary Magdalene and some other women having observed the "sepulchre, and where the body was laid," went and "brought sweet spices, that they might anoint him. And on the first day of the week, early in the morning, they came to the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had prepared," Mark xvi. 1. Luke xxiii. 55, 56. xxiv. 1.

But the largeness of this quantity will not surprise any who consider the Jewish custom; and that they were wont not only to embalm or anoint the body, but to lay it also in a bed of spices. It is said of Asa, 2. Chron. xvi. 14, "They buried him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours, and divers kinds of spices prepared by the apothecaries art: and they made a very great burning for him." The Jews of this time seem not to have fallen short of their ancestors in this kind of expence: for Josephus in the account of Herod's funeral procession says: "The soldiery was followed by five hundred slaves and freed-men bearing sweet spices."[b] He mentions the same number in the War, and in the Antiquities. It is likely there were spices here for a burning, as well as for a bed to lay Herod's body in.

It is likewise objected by the same Jew, that the quantity of spices mentioned by St. John was a load for a mule, and therefore could not be carried by Nicodemus. One would not have expected such an objection from a reasonable creature, who might know it to be a very just, as well as common way of speaking, to ascribe to any person that which is done by his order or direction. St. John has made particular mention of Joseph and Nicodemus as present at the burial of Jesus. They were both of them men of substance, and may be supposed to have ordered the attendance of some of their servants on this occasion.

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE TREATMENT WHICH THE APOSTLES AND OTHER DISCIPLES OF JESUS MET WITH FROM JEWS AND GENTILES.

I. *The malice of the Jews against the first Christians, and the favour shewed to them by Governors and other Roman Officers, according to St. Luke.* II. *Proofs of the Jewish malice from other writers.* III. *The Romans at this time protected all people in the observation of their several religious rites.* IV. *The Jews in particular.* V. *Instances of the justice and equity of Roman Governors to men of different religions.* VI. *An objection considered.* VII. *Three observations for clearing up this matter.* VIII. *A difficulty removed, and the conclusion.*

I. THERE is no one that has read the New Testament, but must have observed the implacable malice of the Jews not only against our Saviour, but also against the apostles; and the heat and rage with which they opposed them, not only in Judea, but likewise in all other countries where they met with them, because they did not practise and recommend all their particular rites and traditions. But the Roman officers and governors were far from being equally offended with the neglect they shewed of their religion, and usually protected them from the injuries the Jews would have done them.

At Thessalonica, Acts xvii. 5—9, "The Jews which believed not, moved with envy took unto them certain lewd fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a company, and set all the city

[a] Amram, in B. Kidder, affirms, that this was enough for two hundred dead bodies, and that it could not be carried with less than the strength of a mule, and therefore not by Nicodemus. Kidder's Demonstrat. of the Messias, Part III. ch. iii. sect. 11.

[b] Πενταχοσιοι δε υπ' αυλοις των οικειων και απελευθερων αρωματοφοροι· de B. J. l. i. c. ult. sect. 9. Τοις επονλο πενταχοσιοι οικειων αρωματοφοροι· Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 8 sect. 3. As Bishop Kidder has not quoted these passages, I hope they will not be unacceptable here.

in an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason, and sought to bring them [Paul and Silas] "out to the people. And when they found them not, they drew Jason and certain of the brethren unto the rulers of the city, crying, These that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also, whom Jason has received, and these all do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying, that there is another king, one Jesus. And they troubled the people and the rulers of the city, when they heard these things. And when they had taken security of Jason, and the other, [brethren,] they let them go." This was a piece of great goodness. The magistrates did not imprison Jason and those with him, but took their security that Paul and Silas should appear if called for; which it is likely they never were.

St. Paul preached a year and six months at Corinth, and the *Jews* commenced a warm prosecution against him. But it was impossible to move Gallio, elder brother of Seneca the stoic philosopher, and then deputy of Achaia, to give any judgment upon the case. He protected Paul from their rage, stopped the prosecution, and did not so much as give Paul the trouble of replying. Acts xviii. 11—16. "And he continued there [at Corinth] a year and six months, teaching the word of God among them. And when Gallio was deputy of Achaia, the Jews made insurrection with one accord against Paul, and brought him to the judgment seat, saying, This fellow persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law. And when Paul was now about to open his mouth, Gallio said unto the Jews, If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you. But if it be a question of words and names, and of your law, look ye to it, for I will be no judge of such matters. And he drave them from the judgment seat."

At Ephesus, Demetrius a silversmith, "which made silver shrines for Diana, with the workmen of like occupation," made a speech to the people in behalf of themselves and their goddess; insomuch that "the whole city was filled with confusion, and having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions in travel, they rushed with one accord into the theatre. And when Paul would have entered in unto the people, the disciples suffered him not." And "certain of" the *chief of Asia*, "which were his friends, sent unto him, desiring him that he would not adventure himself into the theatre," Acts xix. 24—31.

By "the chief men of Asia," or Asiarchs, as it is in the Greek,[a] we are to understand the rulers of games af Asia.[b] It is generally supposed they were priests. But if they were not always priests, it is certain, that the rulers of games were magistrates of considerable wealth and reputation. And it was a piece of civility in them to send Paul a message from the theatre to advise him of the temper of the people, and to dissuade him from coming thither.

The town-clerk went yet farther, for he reprimanded the people who had been drawn into a riot by Demetrius and the other artificers and their workmen: assuring them, they might depend upon having justice done them according to the law, but that for this assembly they had deserved to be punished. Acts xix. 35—40. "And when the town-clerk had appeased the people, he said, Ye men of Ephesus, what man is there that knoweth not how that the city of the Ephesians is a worshipper of the great goddess Diana?—seeing then that these things cannot be spoken against, ye ought to be quiet and to do nothing rashly. For ye have brought hither these men, which are neither robbers of churches, nor yet blasphemers of your goddess. Wherefore if Demetrius and the craftsmen—have a matter against any man, the law is open; and there are deputies, let them implead one another. But if ye enquire any thing concerning other matters, it shall be determined in a lawful assembly. For we are in danger to be called in question for this day's uproar, there being no cause whereby we may give an account of this concourse." He blames this tumultuous assembly, and asserts the innocence of Paul and his companions, for as much as they had not been guilty of sacrilege, or of reviling their goddess; that is, had done nothing against religion that was punishable by the laws.

When the Jews had seized St. Paul at Jerusalem with intent to kill him, neither Lysias, the chief captain there, nor Felix the governor to whom Lysias sent him, nor Festus his successor, would condemn him, though earnestly importuned by the Jews, Acts xxii. xxiv. xxv.

St. Paul had made but a short progress in his voyage from Cæsarea to Rome, before he received a particular civility from Julius "a centurion of Augustus's band," to whom he and the other prisoners were committed. Acts xxvii. 2, 3. "And entering into a ship of Adramyttium, we launched, meaning to sail by the coasts of Asia.—And the next day we touched

[a] Τινες δε και των Ασιαρχων. Polit. Ecc. A. 55. n. 7. [b] Vid. Grot. & Whitb. in loc. Basnage Ann.

at Sidon. And Julius *courteously intreated Paul,* and gave him liberty to go unto his friends to refresh himself."

When the apostle and his company were shipwrecked in their voyage to Rome, the soldiers formed a design "to kill the prisoners, lest they should escape. But the (forementioned) centurion," who had the charge of them, "kept them from their purpose, being willing to save Paul," Acts xxvii. 42, 43.

And when he came to Rome he was well used there. "The centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard: but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him. There he dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no man forbidding him," Acts xxviii. 16, 30, 31. And there is no doubt but that he was quite freed from these bonds, and travelled again into Asia, Phil. i. 25. ii. 24.

We have here not one only but many instances of lenity, or justice at least, in the Roman officers or governors, toward Paul and other the first followers of Jesus: some in one place, and some in another: at Thessalonica, Corinth, Ephesus, in Judea, at Rome. These officers withstood the tumults, remonstrances, solicitations of the Jews of all characters, and of the common people of their own religion.

These facts did not all happen in one and the same reign. Pilate made some efforts to set Jesus at liberty in the reign of Tiberius. Gallio was deputy of Achaia under Claudius. Felix was sent into Judea by Claudius; but the justice which he and Festus did Paul was in the time of Nero. And it was from the captain of the guard or chief favourite of this same emperor, that he received so good treatment at Rome.

If Gallio only, who was a man of much wit and good sense,[a] and of a sweet and gentle disposition,[b] and, (if we may credit his brother,) of much generosity and virtue,[c] had protected the first followers of Jesus from the injuries which were offered them, we might have ascribed such conduct to his eminent qualifications. But Felix was infamous for his exactions and other crimes, not in Judea only but at Rome; and yet he could not be brought to condemn Paul.

Not that I think that Felix did Paul all the justice he ought to have done; far from it. After the first hearing of Paul and the chief priests and elders at Cæsarea, he ought to have released him: and his detaining an innocent man in prison so long as he did Paul, and leaving him in chains when he went out of the province, were very unrighteous actions.

St. Luke says, Acts xxiv. 27, "But after two years Porcius Festus came into Felix room: and Felix willing to *shew the Jews a pleasure,* left Paul bound." I believe that Felix at this time shewed the Jews a double pleasure; released robbers and other criminals, and "left Paul bound." The former pleasure St. Luke has omitted, according to his great candour and moderation, observable upon divers occasions in other parts of his history. But I make very little doubt but it was now done. Josephus has particularly taken notice that Albinus, successor of Porcius Festus, did so when he left the province, and that he aimed at pleasing the Jews in it. Josephus says, that thereby the prisons were emptied, but the country was filled with robbers.[d] Felix and Albinus were both of them disagreeable in their administration. It is likely they both took the same method of pacifying the Jews at the conclusion. Perhaps Felix's conduct was the pattern Albinus followed; nor was it I suppose an uncommon thing, for governors to release some prisoners at their leaving a province.

Porcius Festus was also manifestly unjust to Paul, in that he did not set him at liberty, but constrained him to appeal to Cæsar.

But though they did not do Paul all the justice which they ought to have done, yet they did not condemn him to death as the Jews desired. It is plain they withstood very pressing solicitations, and possibly, considerable offers of money. Felix gave him a great deal of liberty after the first hearing at Cæsarea, Acts xxiv. 23, which we may suppose was also allowed by Festus. Though they had neither of them resolution enough to release Paul against the incli-

[a] Vid. Dion. Cass. lib. lxi. p. 689. init. [b] Nemo enim mortalium uni tam dulcis est quam hic omnibus. Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iv. in Præf. [c] Solebam tibi dicere, Gallionem fratrem meum (quem nemo non parum amat, etiam qui amare plus non potest) alia vitia non nôsse, hoc etiam odisse.—Hoc quoque loco blanditiis tuis restitit, ut exclamares invenisse te inexpugnabilem virum adversus insidias, quas nemo non in sinum recipit. Id. ibid. [d] Jos. Ant. lib. xx. c. 8. sect. 5.

nations of the people of their province, they both give plain indications they thought him an innocent man. And it cannot be questioned but that Festus transmitted a favourable account of him to Rome.

In order to find out the true reason and foundation of this conduct, I mean the favour shewed to the disciples of Jesus by the Roman officers, it is needful to consider the grounds they go upon, and the reasons they themselves assign for it, as represented by St. Luke.

The reader will recollect the speeches of Gallio, and the town clerk of Ephesus, so that I need not repeat any part of them here. The substance of them all is, in short, in the letter which Lysias sent with Paul to Felix at Cæsarea. "And when I would have known the cause, wherefore they accused him, I brought him forth into their council, whom I perceived to be accused of questions of their law, but to have nothing laid to his charge worthy of death, or of bonds." Acts xxiii. 28, 29.

And with this agrees also the account, which Festus gave of Paul's affair at length to king Agrippa, Acts xxv. 13—27. "And after certain days, king Agrippa and Bernice came unto Cæsarea to salute Festus. And when they had been there many days, Festus declared Paul's cause unto the king, saying, There is a certain man left in bonds by Felix. About whom, when I was at Jerusalem, the chief priests and the elders of the Jews informed me, desiring to have judgment against him. To whom I answered, it is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man to die, before that he which is accused have the accusers face to face.—Therefore when they were come hither, without any delay, on the morrow I sat on the judgment-seat, and I commanded the man to be brought forth. Against whom when the accusers stood up, they brought none accusations of such things as I supposed: but had certain questions against him of their own superstition, and of one Jesus, which was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive. And because I doubted of such manner of questions, I asked him, whether he would go to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these matters. But when Paul had appealed to be reserved unto the hearing of Augustus, I commanded him to be kept till I might send him to Cæsar. Then Agrippa said unto Festus, I would also hear the man myself:—And on the morrow, when Agrippa was come, and Bernice, with great pomp,—at Festus' commandment Paul was brought forth. And Festus said, King Agrippa, and all men which are here present with us, ye see this man, about whom *all* the multitude of the Jews have dealt with me, both at Jerusalem, and also here, crying out, that he ought not to live any longer. But when I found that he had committed nothing worthy of death, and that he himself hath appealed to Augustus, I have determined to send him. Of whom *I have no certain thing to write unto my lord;* wherefore I have brought him forth before you, and especially before thee, O king Agrippa, that after examination had, *I might have somewhat to write.* For it seemeth to me unreasonable to send a prisoner, and not withal to signify the crimes laid against him."

Strange! Felix, it is likely, left behind him some memorial concerning this prisoner, and Festus had given Paul and his accusers a solemn hearing at Cæsarea: the high priest and the elders, and all the multitude of the Jews, had dealt with him about Paul once and again, at Jerusalem, and at Cæsarea: Festus seems to have spared no pains to go to the bottom of the matter: and yet after all, he brought him before Agrippa, that he "might have somewhat to write to Augustus." According to this account, the Roman empire must have had no laws, at this time, against new sects in religion, or the leaders of them, provided they injured no man's civil property, and gave no disturbance to other people in their worship.

Let us however see the progress of this examination before Agrippa and Bernice, and those who were with them, Acts xxvi. 4—23. Paul acquaints them with the manner of his life from the first, informs them of his conversion, freely declares his principles and conduct; tells them, that he had "seen a light from heaven, and heard a voice;" that he had been sent unto the "Gentiles, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, that they might receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith that is in Jesus." He lets them know, that he had not been "disobedient to the heavenly vision, but shewed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God; that having obtained help of God, he continued unto this day, witnessing both to small and great, that Christ should suffer, and that he should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should shew light unto the people and to the gentiles."

Paul here acknowledgeth two things, most contrary to the general opinion of the Jews at that time; first, "that Christ should suffer," and secondly, he mentions particularly his commission "to go to the gentiles;" which thing, when he related in his speech to the people at Jerusalem, Acts xxii. 22, 23, "they lift up their voices, and said, Away with such a fellow from the earth; for it is not fit that he should live." And he now declares, that he had propagated these principles every where with all his might.

Well, what is the result? Why truly, Paul's discourse appears to Festus so extravagant, that he tells him he was "beside himself;" only he softens the charge a little, by subjoining, that it was "much learning" that "made him mad." But still there was no crime discerned. Nay, after all this, Paul had the presence of mind to deliver a solemn wish, that not only Agrippa, but also "all that heard him that day, were not only almost, but altogether such as he was, except his bonds. And when he had thus spoken, the king rose up, and Bernice, and they that sat with them. And when they were gone aside, they talked between themselves, saying, this man doth nothing worthy of death, or of bonds. Then said Agrippa, (a Jew, but well acquainted with the Roman constitution) This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar," Acts xxvi. 30—32.

The sum, I think, is this; that since St. Paul had affirmed in his defence before Felix, ch. xxiv. 12, that "they had not found him in the temple disputing with any man, neither raising up the people, neither in the synagogues, nor in the city;" and before Festus, ch. xxv. 8, that "neither against the law, neither against the temple, nor yet against Cæsar, had he offended any thing at all:" And, since the Jews had brought no proofs of any such offences, but only there were some differences between Paul and the Jews, concerning "certain questions of their own superstition" [religion]; Paul was an innocent man, and might have been very justly set at liberty, and left to himself to go and propagate his principles in the way he had done hitherto.

This then was the reason of this conduct; they were not used to interpose their authority in differences purely religious: there was no act of sedition, injustice, or violence proved against Paul, or any of his companions: and these were the only things which these officers had a right to punish.

Here are therefore two things, which we are to look for some foreign proof of; namely, the fierce opposition made by the Jews against the followers of Jesus Christ; and then, in the next place, that the Roman officers had no right, according to the constitution of the Roman government at that time, to punish men for innocent principles, but only for wicked practices.

II. To the first point, the proceedings of the Jews, little needs to be said. Their character[a] for violence is so allowed, that no one can well suspect the evangelists have misrepresented them: not to say, that it was by no means their interest to say these things of them if not true. I shall however allege a passage or two to this purpose. Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho, written about the 140th[b] year of the christian æra, says, that in his time, 'the Jews cursed[c] in their synagogues all that believed in Christ. This,' says he, 'is all you can 'do. You have not now the power of killing us yourselves, because others have the governing 'of things. But this you have done, whenever you have been able. Nor have any other 'people shewed so much enmity against us and Christ as you, who have been likewise the 'authors of all those prejudices, which others have conceived against that righteous person 'and us his followers. For after that you had crucified that one unblameable and righteous 'man, (by whose stripes they are healed who go to the Father through him); when you knew, 'that he was risen from the dead, and ascended up into heaven, according as the prophecies 'had foretold he should, you were so far from repenting of your evil deeds, that you sent out 'from Jerusalem chosen men into all the world, giving out that the sect of the christians is 'atheistical, and saying all those evil things of us, which they, who know us not, do still say 'of us.'[d] And Tertullian affirms the same thing; 'That the Jews were the principal authors of 'the evil reports which were spread abroad concerning the christians.'[e]

III. Moderation and equity toward men of a different religion are more uncommon things.

[a] Πολλα μεν δη και δεινα και οι Ιουδαιοι τους Ρωμαιους εδρασαν (το γαρ τοι γενος αυτων, Συμεωθεν, πικρολατον εστι·) Dio. l. lix. p. 405. B.

[b] Vid. Pagi Critic. in Baron. A. C. 148.

[c] Καταρωμενοι εν ταις συναγωγαις υμων τους πιστευοντας επι τον Χριστον. Dialog. p. 234. B.

[d] Ibid. C. D.

[e] Et credidit vulgus Judæo. Quod enim aliud genus seminarium est infamiæ nostræ? Tertul. ad Nat. I. i. c. 14.

And therefore, it will be needful to be more particular on this head, and to account for the protection, which the heathen officers gave St. Paul and others, when the multitude would have mobbed them, or when the Jewish magistrates demanded a judicial sentence against them.

I shall therefore shew, that the Roman people did at this time protect all men in the practice of their several religious rites and institutions.

In the first place I shall consider, how they treated the heathen people in those provinces which they had subdued.

And secondly, I shall give a brief account of the treatment which the Jews received from them.

1. I shall consider how they treated the heathen people, in those provinces which they subdued to their obedience.

Livy informs us, that the Anagnini, a people in Italy, having disobliged the Romans, the senate took away from them several privileges, which they had let them enjoy to that time. 'Their senates were dissolved, and their magistrates were deprived of all power and authority, 'except what was necessary for the administration of their religious rites.'[a] This was done in the year of the city 449, before Christ 305; and is a proof, that they esteemed all men's religion inviolable.

The people of Syracuse in Sicily had an ancient custom of choosing an annual priest to Jupiter. It is one of the heavy charges which Cicero brings against Verres, that whilst he was prætor of that province, he had obstructed the people there, in the usual method of the choice, in order to get into the priesthood a creature of his own.[b]

Verres had a strong fancy for fine[c] statues: and, whenever he had seen any such in any town or city, as he travelled in his province, he would send to the people, and inform them of a desire he had to purchase of them the statue of such or such a god or goddess. Sometimes the people out of fear of his resentments complied with his desires, though with much regret. But others were more resolute, and told him plainly, such things could not be done without impiety. However this wretch (as Cicero says) would send his servants in the night time to steal images, which the people refused to part with. There was a statue of Ceres at Enna, which stood in an open place before her temple. 'The curious workmanship of it was a 'strong temptation, but it's bulk obstructed a clandestine removal. She held in her right hand 'a beautiful image of victory. This he caused to be taken away and brought to his house.'[d]

This statue of Ceres was, it seems, in great veneration at Rome, as well as in Sicily. Let us now hear, what Cicero says to the judges upon the trial of Verres. 'Heal, O ye judges, 'the wounds given to the religion of your allies; preserve your own. For this is not the 'branch of any foreign or strange religion. But if it were, and if you did not see fit to adopt 'it into your own religion, yet you ought to be willing to secure it by an exemplary punish-'ment of him who has offered to violate it.'[e]

Of all heathen rites within the bounds of the Roman empire, the Egyptian seem to have been the most different from those of the Romans. They were contemned and ridiculed by the emperors, by Augustus in particular,[f] and by the Roman[g] authors. And, if we may credit Philo, no strangers came into Egypt, but they were tempted to laugh at them, and banter them, till they became accustomed to those absurdities: and all travellers of good sense were wont to be filled with the utmost astonishment, joined with pity.[h]

[a] Anagninis, quique arma Romanis intulerant—concilia, connubiaque adempta: & magistratibus, præterquam sacrorum curatione, interdictum. Liv lib. ix. cap. 43. n. 24.

[b] ——Sacerdotia: quibus in rebus non solum jura, sed etiam deorum religiones immortalium omnes repudiavit. Syracusis lex est de religione, quæ in annos singulos Jovis sacerdotem sortito capi jubebat, &c. in Verr. lib. ii. cap. 51.

[c] Deum denique nullum Siculis, qui ei paullo magis affabre atque antiquo artificio factus videretur, reliquit. In Verr. act. 1. c. 5. n. 14.

[d] Ante ædem Cereris in aperto & propatulo loco signa duo sunt, Cereris unum, alterum Triptolemi, & pulcherrima & perampla. His pulchritudo periculo, amplitudo saluti fuit, quod eorum demolitio atque asportatio perdifficilis videbatur. Insistebat in manu Cereris dextrâ simulachrum pulcherrimè factum Victoriæ. Hoc ille e signo Cereris avellendum asportandumque curavit. In Verr. lib. iv. cap. 49. n. 110.

[e] Medemini religioni sociorum, judices: conservate vestram. Neque enim hæc externa vobis religio, neque aliena: quod si esset, si suscipere eam nolletis; tamen in eo, qui violasset, sancire vos velle oporteret. Ibid. cap. 51. n. 114.——Sancire (inquit Servius) est sanguine fuso confirmare. Hinc noster in orat. pro Bald. Sanctiones ait sacrandas aut genere ipso, ut obtestatione & consecratione legis; aut pœnâ, cum caput ejus qui contra facit consecratur. Hotom. not. in loc.

[f] Κἀκ της αυτης ταυτης αιτιας, ουδε τῳ Απιδι εντυχειν ηθελησε· λεγων Θεους, αλλ' ουχι βους, προσκυνειν ειθισθαι, Dio. l. li. p 455. A.

[g] Omne fere genus bestiarum Ægyptii consecraverunt. Cic. de nat. Deor. lib. iii. cap. 15.

——————Qualia demens
Ægyptus portenta colat! Crocodilon adorat
Pars hæc——————Illic
Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.
Juv. Sat. xv. in.

[h] Ὡν τι αν γενοιτο καταγελαστοτερον; και δη των ξενων οἱ πρωτον εις Αιγυπτον αφικομενοι, πριν τον εγχωριον τυφον ταις διανοιαις εισοικισασθαι, εξησθενηκασι χλευωζοντες· ὁσοι δε παιδειας

But yet they were practised, without any molestation from the Romans: and continued to be so, long after the time I am at present concerned with.[a]

It is true the Egyptian rites were more than once prohibited in the city of Rome. Augustus 'laid a restraint upon them and forbade the performing them in the city or suburbs, or 'within five hundred paces of the suburbs.'[b] And by Tiberius's order 'the temple of Isis at 'Rome was demolished, and her image thrown into the Tiber.'[c] But then this was for an high offence; and because her priests, under the cloke of religion, had promoted acts of debauchery which were ruinous of the peace of families, and that in the very temple itself which she had at Rome.[d]

And Flaccus the president of Egypt,[e] in the latter end of the reign of Tiberius, prohibited their fellowships at Alexandria; which they held under a pretence of religion indeed, but made use of for drunkenness only and such like excesses: on other accounts they met with no interruptions.

And those sacred rites which were more properly their own, were as severely restrained, when they were known to be abused to the like infamous practices. For this reason the Bacchanalia were prohibited at Rome and throughout Italy by a decree of the senate.[f] A. U. 568, before Christ 186.

That I may not enter into needless particulars, I shall take notice here of but one thing more. Philo says, that when the Jews waited on Petronius president of Syria, to entreat him not to proceed as yet to erect the statue of Caligula at Jerusalem, they desired that he would give them leave to send an embassy to the emperor: 'Possibly, say they, we may obtain thus 'much, not to be treated worse than the meanest of all people, whose religion is preserved 'inviolate.'[g]

IV. In the second place I shall give a brief account of the treatment which the Jews had from the Romans.

The Jews received very considerable favours and privileges from Alexander; and they enjoyed the same under his successors in Syria and Egypt, though with some interruptions, especially in Syria.[h] But I intend not to go so high as this. I take notice of this only, because the Jews enjoyed under the Romans the most extensive privileges out of Judea, which had been granted by Alexander and his immediate successors; and because the privileges which they received first from them, seem to have been in a great measure the models of those immunities which were granted by the Romans.

For Josephus says, that 'Seleucus Nicator gave them [the Jews] the privileges of citizens 'in all the cities which he built in Asia and in lower Syria, and even in Antioch the metropolis 'of his kingdom, and made them equal to the Macedonians and Grecians; which rights[i] they 'still enjoy.'

When Flaccus the prætor of Asia was accused[k] at Rome of several mal-administrations in that province, one of the charges brought against him was, that he by an edict had forbid the Jews of Asia to send any money out of that province to Jerusalem. Cicero endeavours to defend Flaccus's conduct in this as well as other matters; but Cicero[l] owns, that the Jews did then send money to Jerusalem annually from Italy, and from all the provinces subject to the

ορθης εγευσαντο, την επ' ασεμνοις πραγμασι σεμνοποιϊαν καταπλαγεντες, οικτιζονται τους χρωμενους. Philo de decalogo. p. 755. E. [a] Οἱ δε Αιγυπτιοι και αιλουρους, και κροκοδειλους, και οφεις, και ασπιδας, και κυνας, θεους νομιζουσιν· και τουτοις πασιν επιτρεπετε και ὑμεις και οἱ νομοι. Athenag. Legat. p. 2. A Parisiis. 1636. Nemo se ab invito coli volet, ne homo quidem: atque ideo & Ægyptiis permissa est tam vanæ superstitionis potestas, avibus & bestiis consecrandis, & capite damnandis qui aliquem hujusmodi deum occiderint. Unicuique etiam provinciæ & civitati suus deus est.—— Sed nos soli arcemur a religionis proprietate. Sed apud vos quodvis colere jus est, præter Deum verum. Tertul. Apol. cap. 24.

[b] Τα τε ἱερα τα Αιγυπτια επεισιοντα αυθις ες το αστυ ανεστειλεν· απειπων μηδενα μηδε εν τῳ προαστειῳ αυτα εντος ογδοον ἡμιστασιον ποιειν. Dio. lib. liv. p. 525. A. [c] Joseph. Ant. lib. xviii. cap 4. sect. 4. [d] Id. ibid. [e] Τας τε ἑταιρειας και συνοδους, αἱ αει επι προφασει θυσιων εἱστιωντο, τοις πραγμασιν εμπαροινουσαι, διελυε. Philo in Flac. p. 965. D.

[f] Deinde senatûsconsulto cautum est, Ne qua Bacchanalia Romæ, neve in Italia essent. Si quis tale sacrum solenne & necessarium duceret, nec sine religione & piaculo se id omittere posse, apud prætorem urbanum profiteretur; prætor senatum consuleret; si ei permissum esset, quum in senatu non minus centum essent, ita id sacrum faceret, dum ne plus quinque sacrificio interessent: neu qua pecunia communis, neu quis magister sacrorum, aut sacerdos esset. Liv. lib. xxxix. cap. 18. [g] Ταχα που πρεσβευσαμενοι πεισομεν,—η περι του μη παντων, και των εν εσχατιαις εθνων, οἱς τετηρηται τα πατρια, ελαττον ενεγκασθαι. Philo de Leg. ad Cai. p. 1026. E.

[h] Vid. Joseph. Ant. lib. xii. cap. 3. sect. 1. Contr. Apion. lib. ii. sect 4. [i] Joseph. Ant. ubi supra. See Prideaux Conn. Part. I. Book viii. year before Christ 293, p. 572.

[k] About the year 60 before Christ. [l] Sequitur auri illa invidia Judaïci ——Cum aurum Judæorum nomine quotannis ex Italiâ, & ex omnibus vestris provinciis Hierosolymam exportari soleret, Flaccus sanxit edicto, ne ex Asiâ exportari liceret. Pro. Flacc. cap. 28.

commonwealth. The bringing a charge against Flaccus upon this head is a proof that his edict was a novelty. Nor does Cicero produce an instance of a like restraint laid upon the Jews before this, by the president of any province, which he certainly would have done if there had been any.

There were after this several decrees passed by Julius Cæsar and the senate of Rome, in favour of the Jews who lived in Alexandria, Syria, and Asia; which were lodged in the capitol at Rome, and copies of them directed to the cities in which the Jews dwelt; requiring the magistrates of those cities to put them in their public acts, engraved upon two tables of brass, one in the Roman, another in the Greek language.[a] We have likewise in Josephus copies of the decrees of Delos, Laodicea, Pergamos, Sardis, and other cities, in their proper forms; which were passed and registered there in pursuance of the decrees of the Roman senate: 'Declaring, that out of their piety to God and the concern they have always had for the support of religion, and in imitation of the Roman people who are benefactors to all mankind, 'who had written to them that the Jews should be permitted to perform the sacred rites of 'their religion, observe their usual feasts, and hold their assemblies; they ordain that the Jews 'who think fit so to do, both men and women, do keep the sabbaths and perform sacred rites 'according to the Jewish laws.—And if any man, whether magistrate or private person, do 'give them any let or hinderance herein, he shall be fined, and be reckoned debtor to the 'city.'[b] This is the substance of the decree of the city of Halicarnassus, which the rest resemble.

But the rites of the Jews being extremely different from those of all others, and the people of most of the cities being superior in number to the Jews, they were often giving them disturbance: and perhaps the Jews did sometimes give them offences which they needed not to have done. It was then the business of the Roman officers to do them justice, according to the edicts of the senate and the emperor.

And we have some instances of their receiving relief from the higher powers, when they had been injured, and it is likely could not obtain satisfaction from the ordinary officers; either through their want of inclination, or of sufficient power and authority to controul the dispositions of the people where they resided.

When Agrippa the favourite of Augustus was in the East with extraordinary power, as he was passing through Ionia with *Herod the Great*[c] in his company, the Jews made complaints to him, that they were hindered in sending their tribute to the temple at Jerusalem; that they were obliged to serve in the army;[d] and had many other hardships put upon them inconsistent with the privileges granted them by the Romans.[e] Agrippa gave them and their adversaries a solemn hearing, and in court confirmed to them their ancient privileges, and gave orders, 'that 'no one should molest them in the observation of their peculiar rites and customs.'[f]

Some time after this,[g] the Jews who lived in Asia and in Cyrene in Libya, were oppressed and abused by the people in those countries; upon which the Jews sent an embassy to Augustus himself for redress. Josephus has preserved a copy of the edict of the emperor upon this occasion: wherein, having first briefly mentioned the favours shewed to the Jews by Julius Cæsar, and their fidelity to the Roman state, 'He ordains by his own authority, with 'the advice of his council, that the[h] Jews do practice their peculiar rites according to the law 'of their country, that their offerings be inviolable, that they be permitted to send them to 'Jerusalem, and to deliver them to those who are deputed to carry them to Jerusalem, that

[a] Vid. Joseph. Ant. lib. xiv. cap. 10. sect. 2.

[b] Επει το προς το θειον ευσεβες, και οσιον εν απανλι καιρω δια σπουδης εχομεν, κάλακολεθηνίες τω δημω των Ρωμαιων πανλων ανθρωπων ονλι ευεργετη, και οις περι της Ιουδαιων φιλιας και συμμαχιας προς την πολιν εγραψεν, οπως συνλελωνται αυλοις αι εις τον Θεον ιεροποιαι και εορλαι αι ειθισμεναι και συνοδοι· δεδοκται ημιν Ιουδαιων τους βελομενους ανδρας τε και γυναικας ταις Σαββαλα αγειν και τα ιερα συνλελειν καλα τους Ιουδαικους νομους·——αν δε τις κώλυση η αρχων η ιδιωλης, ὀφε τω ζημιωμαλι ὑπευθυνος εσ-ω, και ὀφειλέλω τη πολει. Ibid. sect. 23.

[c] About the 13th or 14th year before the nativity of our Lord, according to the common account.

[d] The Jews had been excused from serving as soldiers, because they could not travel on the sabbath, nor have provisions agreeable to their laws and customs. Vid. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. cap. 10. sect. 12.

[e] Και τας επηρειας ελεγον ας επηρεαζονλο, μηλε νομοις οικειοις εωμενοι χρησθαι,——και την εις Ιεροσολυμα χρημαλων αναλιθεμενων αφαιροινλο, σραλιων και λειλερλιων αναγκαζομενοι κοινωνειν,——Ρωμαιων αυλοις επιλρεψανλων καλα τας οικειας ζην νομους. Ant. lib. xvi. cap. 2. sect. 3.

[f] Βεβαιων αυλοις ανεπηρεασ-ους εν τοις οικειοις διαλελειν εθεσι. Ibid. sect. 5.

[g] Year before Christ 9.

[h] Εδοξε μοι και τω εμω συμβελιω μειά ὀρκωμοσιας γνωμη δημω Ρωμαιων, τους Ιουδαιους χρησθαι τοις ιδιοις δεσμοις καλα τον πάλρωον αυλων νομον, ταλε ιερα ειναι εν ασυλια, και αναπεμπεσθαι εις Ιεροσολυμα, και αποδιδοσθαι αυλα τοις αποδοχευσιν Ιεροσολυμων, εγγυας τε μη ἐμπολειν αλλους εν σαββασιν, η τη προ ταυλης παρασκευη, απο ὡρας εναλης· εαν δε τις φωραθη κλεπλων τας ιερας βιβλους αυλων, η τα ιερα χρηματα, εκ τε σαββαλειου, εκ τε ανδρωνος, ειναι αυλον ιεροσυλον, και τον βιον αυλε ενεχθηναι εις το δημοσιον των Ρωμαιων. Ant. l. xvi. c. 6 sect. 2. vid. & Philon. de legat. ad. Cai. p. 1035. E. 1020. A. B.

'they be not obliged to give appearance in any court of justice on the sabbath, nor on the day 'before, being the preparation after the ninth hour. And if any man be taken stealing their 'sacred books or their sacred money, out of the places of their worship, or out of the chests 'in which they are kept, he shall be deemed sacrilegious, and his goods shall be confiscated to 'the public treasury of the Romans.'

And Philo assures us, that Augustus maintained throughout his reign the indulgence given to the Jews: 'that there was in his time a large quarter of the city of Rome on the other side 'of the Tiber inhabited by Jews; that Augustus [a] knew they had oratories there, and they 'resorted to them especially on the sabbaths, and that they also sent money instead of first 'fruits by their own officers to Jerusalem.'

In the reign of Tiberius they were generally well used. They were indeed banished out of Italy by an edict: but it was for a misdemeanor committed by some villains of their nation at Rome.[b] The only hardship of it was, that a great many innocent persons suffered beside the guilty. On other occasions Tiberius shewed them all the favour they could desire, especially after the death of Sejanus; and is much applauded for it by Philo.[c] It was in the latter end of this reign that Vitellius president of Syria performed an act of great complaisance to them. He was marching with his forces against Aretas king of Petra in pursuance of orders he had received from Tiberius, and intended to pass through Judea. 'But some 'of their chief men waited upon him and entreated him not to lead his army through their 'country, because it was contrary to their laws that any images should be brought into it; 'whereas there were a great many in his ensigns. And he hearkened to them, altered his 'intention, and ordered his troops another way.'[d]

During the reign of Caligula, they met with great hardships, especially at Alexandria. But the orders which Caligula had given for the erecting a statue to himself as a god, in the temple at Jerusalem, and for punishing the Jews if they opposed it, did not take effect. By the kind and prudent management of Petronius president of Syria, and the intercessions of Agrippa the Great, delays were obtained, and Caligula died before the attempt was made.

Claudius the next succeeding emperor renewed to them all their privileges. He directed in particular, by a decree, that the Jews at Alexandria should be restored to all their rights, which had been injuriously taken away from them[e] in the reign of Caligula. He likewise published another edict in favour of the Jews living in other parts, in which he says: 'We 'approve that the Jews should in all parts of the world subject to us, practise the rites of their 'country without molestation; exhorting them likewise[f] to use this our humanity with mode-'ration and sobriety, and not to reproach the religions of other nations, but to observe their 'own laws. And I will that all magistrates of cities and colonies and municipal places, both 'within and without Italy, and all kings and princes, have this my edict transcribed by their 'own officers, and that within thirty days it be fixed in some public place where it may be 'conveniently read by all men.'

There was in the beginning of this reign,[g] a remarkable piece of justice done the Jews at Doris in Syria, by Petronius president of that province. The fact is this: Some rash young fellows of the place got in and set up a statue of the emperor in the Jews' synagogue. Agrippa the Great made complaints to Petronius concerning this injury. Whereupon Petronius issued a very sharp precept to the magistrates of Doris. 'He terms [h] this action an offence not

[a] Ηπιςαλο εν και προσευχας εχονλας και συνιονλας εις αυλας, και μαλις α ταις ιεραις εδδομαις, δλε δημοσια την παλριον παιδευονλαι φιλοσοφιαν· ηπις αλο και χρημαλα συναλαλονλας απο των απογραφων ιερα, και πεμπονλας εις Ιεροσολυμα δια των τας θυσιας αναξονλων. Ibid. p. 1014. D. [b] Jos. Ant. lib. xviii. c. 4. sect. 5. [c] Ubi supra, p. 1015. B. C.

[d] Ωρμημενω δ' αυλω δια της Ιεδαιων αλειν τον ςραλον, ὑπαναπασανλες ανδρες οι πρωλοι παρηεαν δια την της χωρας ὁδον· ε γαρ αυλοις ειναι παλριον, περιοραν εικονας εις αυλην φερομενας· πολλας δ' ειναι σημαιαις επικειμενας· και πεισθεις μελεβαλε τε της γνωμης το επι τοιδλοις προεδελευσαν, και δια τε μελαλε πεδιε κελευσας χωρειν το ςραλοπεδον· κ. τ. λ. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 6. sect. 3. [e] Βελομαι μηδεν δια την Γαϊε παραφροσυνην των δικαιων τω Ιεδαιων εδνει παραπεπλωκεναι, φυλασσεσδαι δε αυλοις και τα προλερον δικαιωμαλα· κ. λ. Ibid. l. xix. c. 5. sect. 2. [f] Καλως αν εχειν και Ιεδαιες τες εν παντι τω ὑφ' ημας κοσμω τα παλρια εδη ανεπικωλυλως Φυλασσειν, οις και αυλοις ηδη νον παραγγελλω με ταυτη τη φιλανδρωπια επιεικεςερον χρησδαι, και μη τας των αλλων εδνων δεισιδαιμονιας εξεδενιζειν, τες ιδιες δε νομες φυλασσειν· τδο με το διαταγμα τες αρχονλας των πολεων και των κολωνειων και μνικιπιων, των εν τη Ιταλια και των εκλος, βασιλεις τε και δυναςας δια των ιδιων πρεσδευλων εγραψασδαι βελομαι, εκκειμενον τε εχειν, εκ ελαλλον ημερων τριακονλα, δδεν εξεπιπεδε καλως αναγνωσδηναι δυναλαι. Ib. sect. 3. [g] A. D. 41, or 42. [h] Παρανομενλας εκ εις μονες Ιεδαιες, αλλα και εις τον αυλοκραλορα,—— τη φυσει δικαιε ενλος ενα εκας ον των ιδιων τοπων κυριευειν καλα τδ Καισαρος επικριμα·—τες μεν παρα το διαταγμα τε Σεβας ε τοιαυλα τελολμηκοτας, εφ' ω και αυλοι ηγανακτησαν οι δοκενλες αυλων εχειν, ε τη ιδια προαιρεσει γελενησδαι λεγοντες, αλλα τη τε πληδες ὁρμη, ὑπο εκαλονταρχε Προκλε Ουιτελλιε εκελευσα επ' εμε αναχδηναι των πεπραγμενων λογον αποδωσονλας, τοις δε πρωτοις

'against the Jews only but also against the emperor: says, it is agreeable to the law of nature, 'that every man should be master of his own places according to the decree of the emperor. 'I have, says he, given directions that they who dared to do these things contrary to the edict 'of Augustus, be delivered to the centurion Vitellius Proculus, that they may be brought to 'me and answer for their behaviour. And I require the chief men in the magistracy to discover 'the guilty to the centurion, unless they are willing to have it thought, that this injustice has 'been done with their consent; and that they see to it that no sedition or tumult happen upon 'this occasion; which I perceive is what some are aiming at.——I do also require, that for the 'future you seek no pretence for sedition or disturbance, but that all men worship [God] accord-'ing to their own customs.'

The reader will perhaps indulge a short interruption here in the course of this narration, in favour of an account we have in the xvith of the Acts of the apostles, of a transaction that in some respects resembles this fact at Doris, and may receive considerable light from it.

St. Paul was at Philippi in Macedonia: (it was now the 11th year of [a] Claudius.) He there cured a "certain damsel possessed with a spirit of divination, which brought her masters much gain by soothsaying. And when her masters saw that the hope of their gains was gone, they caught Paul and Silas, and drew them into the market-place unto the rulers——and the multitude rose up together against them, and the magistrates rent off their clothes, and commanded to beat them. And when they had laid many stripes upon them, they cast them into prison, charging the jailor to keep them safely. And when it was day the magistrates sent the sergeants, saying, let those men go. And the keeper of the prison told this saying to Paul.—But Paul said,——they have beaten us openly uncondemned being Romans, and have cast us into prison, and now do they thrust us out privily? but let them come themselves and fetch us out.——And when they heard that they were Romans—they came, and besought them and brought them out, and desired them to depart out of the city," Acts. xvi. 16—39.

Here we have an instance of a tumult raised by some self-interested and designing men, the common people incensed by their arguments, the magistrates drawn into an act of injustice, Petronius seems to have suspected, that the disorder at Doris had been committed with the connivance of the rulers there. It is not at all unlikely that the magistrates of cities and towns, who possibly were but a few degrees above the common people, might sometimes approve of these outrages and act a part in them: but the presidents and proconsuls, men of a larger genius, who had been educated at Rome and served offices there, who were better acquainted with the Roman constitution, had a greater charge, and were more immediately accountable to the emperor and the senate for the observation of their edicts and the peace of the provinces, never or very rarely entered into these measures; but punished such disorderly practices when they happened, and by fresh precepts endeavoured to prevent them for the future.

However, this act of the magistrates at Philippi was a sudden thing; ("they have beaten us openly uncondemned.") The order was given without a hearing; and as soon as it was light the next morning, they sent their officers with directions that the prisoners should be released. They soon repented of what they had done, and notwithstanding the specious pretences and obnoxious charges of the masters of this damsel, that Paul and Silas had "taught customs which were not lawful for them to observe," they were sensible they had gone beyond their commission, and were apprehensive of being called to an account, by a higher authority to which they were subject. This order of release was sent before they had heard that these men were Romans, and whilst they knew no better than that they were mere Jews, and defended by no other privileges than those that belonged to all of that nation. And the history Josephus has given us of the fact at Doris, and the conduct of the president of Syria upon the occasion of it, may very well render every part of this relation here highly probable. When these magistrates knew that Paul and Silas were Romans their concern was still increased; and their own interest obliged them to all the farther condescensions which Paul demanded.

But to return to the course of the narration.

There was another signal instance of the moderation of Claudius to the Jews, which may not be passed by. But before I produce it, I must give some short history of the vestment of the

αρχεσι παραινω, ει μη βελωνται δοκειν καλα την αυτων προαιρεσιν γεγενησθαι το αδικημα, επιδειξαι τους αιτιους τω εκατονταρχη, μηδεμιας στασεως μηδε μαχης εωνιας αφορμην γενεσθαι, ην περ δοκουσι μοι θηρευεσθαι δια των τοιουτων εργων.—εις τε εν το λοιπον, παραγγελλω, μηδεμιαν προφασιν στασεως μηδε ταραχης ζητειν, αλλα εκαστους τα ιδια θρησκευειν εθη." Ant. lib. xix. c. 6. sect. 3.

[a] Vid. Pears. Ann. Paul. p. 11. A. ch. 51.

high priest,[a] which I shall do in almost the very words of Josephus; who says, that Herod the Great and his son Archelaus had this sacred vestment in their keeping and lodged it in the castle Antonia; and that the Roman procurators who succeeded to them in the government of Judea finding it there, kept the possession of it till Vitellius president of Syria, in the latter end of Tiberius's reign, gave it to the Jews to keep it themselves. The high priest wore this garment four times only in the year; at the three great feasts and on the day of the fast. It was delivered to him seven days before these seasons, and was first purified before he put it on. The next day after these solemnities were over it was returned to the officer of the chest. This was the method whilst it was kept by Herod and the Roman governors. But, as was just hinted, Vitellius gave it to the Jews, that they might lock it up in a chest of their own in the temple, and take it out thence for their use without asking particular leave.[b]

But when Cuspius Fadus [c] was procurator of Judea, he received orders from the emperor to take 'the holy garment which the high priest alone wears into his own possession.' Josephus does immediately before this mention a disturbance which the Jews of Paræa gave to some of their neighbours. He does not say that irregular proceeding had brought upon them this disagreeable message: though it was highly probable, that it was owing to their irregular conduct in that or some other affair.

But however that be, when Fadus had received these orders, he called together 'the high 'priests [d] and chief men of Jerusalem, acquainted them with the emperor's orders, and com-'manded them "to deliver to him the vestment of the high priest, that it might be lodged in 'the castle of Antonia as formerly." They did not dare absolutely to refuse: but they 'earnestly entreated Fadus, and Cassius Longinus president of Syria, who was then likewise 'at Jerusalem,' (and who was indeed come thither with forces on purpose to prevent the sedition which it was apprehended the delivery and execution of this order might occasion;) 'that 'they would give them leave to send ambassadors to the emperor, and that they would wait till 'fresh directions came from Rome; with which request they complied.' When the Jewish ambassadors came to Rome they found there Agrippa the younger, who seconded their petition. The emperor granted their petition, and sent by them a letter directed to the magistrates of Jerusalem, the senate, people, and the whole nation of the Jews: in which he says, 'Agrippa '—having introduced to me your ambassadors, who thankfully acknowledge the benefits I 'have conferred upon your nation, and earnestly beseeched me, that you might have the 'sacred vestment and the crown in your own keeping, according as it had been allowed by 'the excellent and my well beloved Vitellius, I have granted that so it should be. I have 'ratified this sentence from that principle of piety with which I am possessed, and because I 'will that all men worship [God] according to the laws of their country.'[e]

This argument will be imperfect if I do not shew some instance of this equity to the Jews in the reign of Nero. The only fact I shall mention here is this. It happened in the time that Festus was governor of Judea,[f] who was the person who sent Paul to Rome. Agrippa the younger raised the buildings of the house in which he resided when he was at Jerusalem, and which had been the palace of the Asmonæan family: by which he had not only a fine prospect of the city, but likewise overlooked the inner court of the temple. 'When the people 'of Jerusalem saw what he had done they were greatly incensed: for neither do our customs 'nor our laws permit, that any beside the priests should see what is done in the temple. 'They therefore raised a high wall at the extremity of the west side of the inner court of the 'temple,[g] whereby they obstructed not only the king's view [sc. Agrippa's] out of his dining 'room, but also the view from the western portico without the court, where the Romans used 'to keep guard on the festival days. Agrippa was exceedingly provoked at it, and Festus the 'governor yet more; and commanded them to pull the wall down again. But they desired 'he would permit them to send ambassadors to Nero. Festus giving them leave, they deputed 'to Nero ten of their chief men, and Ishmael the high priest, and Helchias the keeper of the

[a] Την ςολην τȣ αρχιερεως. [b] Jos. Ant. lib. xviii. c. 5. sect. 3. [c] A. D. 45. [d] Ὁς δη και τοτε μεταπεμψαμενος τȣς αρχιερεις, και τȣς πρωτȣς Ἱεροσολυμιτων, κατα την κελευσιν τȣ αυτοκρατορος, παρηνεσεν αυτοις τον ποδηρη χιτωνα, και την ἱεραν ςολην ἡν φορειν μονος ὁ αρχιερευς εθος εχει, εις την Αντωνιαν, ἡπερ εςι φρȣριον, καταθεσθαι, κειςομενην ὑπο τῃ Ῥωμαιων εξȣσια, καθα δη και προτερον ην. Ant. lib. xx. c. 1. sect. 1. [e] Συγκατεθεμην δε τῃ γνωμῃ ταυτῃ, πρωτον δια το εμαυτȣ ευσεβες, και το βȣλεσθαι ἑκαςȣς κατα τα πατρια θρησκευειν· ib. sect. 2. [f] A. D. 60. Basnage Ann. P. E. A. 60. n. 3. [g] Τοιχον ȣν εγειρȣσιν επι της εξεδρας ὑψηλον, ἡτις ην εν τῳ εσωθεν ἱερῳ τετραμμενη προς δυσιν.

'sacred treasury. Nero having given them an audience, not only forgave what they had done, 'but allowed that the building should remain.'[a]

This must be acknowledged to be a remarkable instance of goodness. It shews a great backwardness in Nero, or those who then governed him, to break in upon their religion or any thing they esteemed sacred. This palace of Agrippa and the Roman fort stood either directly west, or at least very near west of the temple. The entrance into the temple was at the east end, so that they had no view from these buildings into the temple itself; only the high ground they stood upon and the loftiness of the fabric, gave a view into the inner court where the sacrifices were performed. And it being, as it seems, inconsistent with their law, or at least with their customs, that their sacred acts should be overlooked by any but the priests, the building that obstructed the view was permitted by the emperor to remain. I have already taken notice of the permission the Roman government had given the Jews, to kill any gentile, though a Roman, who entered beyond the bounds prescribed to those who were not Jews, and need not repeat it here.

V. I have now brought down my account of the treatment which the Roman commonwealth and empire gave to the several religions which obtained in the countries under their dominion, and particularly to the Jewish religion during the period I am concerned with. There are in this short view several acts of goodness and justice done to the Jews by presidents of provinces, besides the edicts and declarations of the senate or the emperors. But as the particulars relating to this subject mentioned in the Acts of the apostles, are chiefly instances of the conduct of governors of provinces, or of the officers next in authority under them, it will not be amiss to add two or three more testimonies relating to the behaviour of persons of those characters.

'There happened likewise, says Josephus, another disturbance at Cæsarea;[b] the Jews and 'Syrians, who lived there promiscuously, running both into a seditious behaviour. For they 'would have it that the city was theirs, because the founder of it Herod their king was a Jew. 'These allowed that the founder indeed was a Jew, but they asserted, that notwithstanding 'that the city was the Greeks. For if it had been given to the Jews, there would have been 'no right of erecting statues and temples in it. This point they disputed one with another 'till they came to blows, and the more resolute of each party had daily skirmishes together. 'For the elders of the Jews were not able to keep the seditious part of their own people in 'order; and the Greeks were ashamed to yield to the Jews. These had the advantage in point of 'wealth and strength of body; but the Greeks had the encouragement and assistance of the 'soldiers. For the greatest part of the Roman garrison there consisting of men raised in Syria, 'they were ready to join with the Greeks as being their countrymen.[c] The officers however 'did their best to suppress these disturbances, and from time to time seized the most factious 'of each side, and punished them with scourging or imprisonment. But yet the sufferings 'of those who were apprehended did very little restrain or terrify the rest, for they were the 'rather more provoked to be seditious. At length the Jews having had the better in a combat, 'Felix coming into the market-place required them to withdraw peaceably, threatening them 'severely if they did not. They not obeying him, he ordered his soldiers in amongst them; 'many were killed upon the spot, whose goods[d] happened also to be plundered afterwards. 'The sedition still continuing there, he having selected several of the chief men of each 'body sent them to Nero, that they might both lay their several pretensions before him.'[e]

This is the account which Josephus gives of this affair in the Jewish War. In his Antiquities[f] a part of this story stands thus: 'At length they came to throwing of stones at each 'other: and many were wounded on both sides. The Jews however had the victory. Felix 'then perceiving this contention between them like to become a sort of open war, came out

[a] Νερων δε διακεσας αυτων, ε μονον συνεγνω περι τε πραχθεντος, αλλα και συνεχωρησεν ουτως εαν την οικοδομιαν, τη γυναικι Ποππηια, θεοσεβης γαρ ην, ὑπερ των Ιουδαιων δεηθεισῃ χαριζομενος. Ant. l. xx c. 8. sect. 11. [b] A. D. 56. vid. Basnage Ann. Polit. Ecc. [c] Τοις γη μην επαρχοις φροντις ην αναστελλειν την ταραχην, και τες μαχιμωτερες εκαλεσωθεν αει συλλαμβανοντες εκολαζον μαστιξι και δεσμοις· Cæterum militum præfectis curæ erat tumultum comprimere, &c. Hudson. Vers. [d] Αναιρει συχνες, ων διαρπαζηναι συνεβη και τας οσιας. [e] De Bell. lib. ii. c. 13. fin.

[f] Φηλιξ δε, ως εθεασατο φιλονεικιαν εν τοιουτῳ τροπῳ γενομενην, προπηδησας, παυεσθαι τες Ιουδαιους παρεκαλει· μη πειθομενοις δε τες στρατιωτας ὁπλισας επαφιησι, και πολλες μεν αυτων ανειλε, πλειους δε ζωντας ελαβεν, οικιας δη τινας των εν τη πολει πολλων παυ χρηματων γεμουσας διαρπαζειν εφηκεν τοις στρατιωταις· οι δε των Ιουδαιων επιεικεστεροι, και προεχοντες καλα την αξιωσιν, δεισαντες περι εαυτων, παρεκαλεν τον Φηλικα τες στρατιωτας ανακαλεισθαι τη σαλπιγγι, και φειδεσθαι το λοιπον αυτων, δεναι τε μειζονοι επι τοις πεπραγμενοις· και Φηλιξ επειθη· lib. xx. c. 6. sect. 7.

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'to them and desired the Jews to give over. They not obeying him, he gave the soldiers 'orders to take their arms and fall upon them; and he slew a great many, took more prisoners, 'and gave his soldiers leave to plunder some houses which were full of treasure. But the more 'moderate and the most eminent men of the Jews, being concerned for themselves as well as 'for their people, entreated Felix to order his soldiers to retreat and to spare the rest, and also 'to forgive what had passed. And Felix granted their requests.'

These passages of Josephus deserve the more to be respected, because they assure us of the good measures taken by Felix, a person not much celebrated for the justice of his administration in other matters, and by the chief officers under him, where they had concerns with men of different religions: and that they did not attempt to subvert the rights of either side, but only endeavoured to keep the peace among them, as far as they were able, at a season in which the Jews were extremely resolute and tumultuous. And St. Paul received some civilities from Felix, as well as from Lysias, one of his principal officers.

Josephus gives an account of a sedition raised by the Jews at Alexandria, about the time [a] the war broke out in Judea. Having mentioned the privileges granted to the Jews there by Alexander the Great, he says; 'And when the Romans became masters of Egypt, neither 'Cæsar the first (of that name) nor any of his successors would suffer the honours conferred 'upon them [the Jews] by Alexander to be diminished. There were however continual con-'tentions between them and the Greeks. And [b] *though the Presidents daily punished many 'on both sides,* yet animosities increased. And as there were disturbances at that time in other 'places, so especially at Alexandria. The Alexandrians having called an assembly to consider 'of the embassy they were about to send to Nero, a great many of the Jews came into the 'amphitheatre, and mixed themselves with the Greeks. When some of the Alexandrians 'perceived them, they cried out, that there were enemies come in amongst them, to be spies 'upon their debates, and immediately laid hands upon several of them. Some others perished 'as they were getting out: and three in particular, which had gotten out, were taken and 'brought back. These they threatened to burn alive. Hereupon, all the Jews in general came 'to the rescue of these men. They began with throwing stones at the Greeks: then getting 'lighted torches they surrounded the amphitheatre, and threatened to set fire to it, and burn all 'the people there to a man. So they would have done, if Tiberius Alexander, prefect of the 'city, had not prevented them. Though indeed he did not begin immediately with hostilities; 'but sending some persons of distinction to them, advised them to be peaceable, and not to 'draw upon themselves the Roman garrison. But these seditious people ridiculed the advice, 'and reviled Tiberius.'

The president happened to have with him five thousand soldiers, who had halted at Alexandria, in their march from Libya into Judea, beside the two legions, the usual garrison there.

Tiberius therefore ordered his soldiers to their arms. The Jews made a long defence, but when once they were routed, there was a dreadful slaughter of them: 'fifty thousand were 'killed. Nor would any of them have been left alive, if they had not submitted, and cried 'out for mercy. Alexander then taking compassion on them, ordered his soldiers to desist. 'They being always trained to obedience, gave over the slaughter at the very first word of 'command. But the Alexandrians, being filled with inveterate hatred, were difficultly drawn 'off, and could scarce be restrained from insulting and abusing the dead bodies.' [c]

This is inded a long story. But the passage containing not only a character of the usual conduct of the presidents of Egypt, but giving us likewise an instance of a very great moderation, I was unwilling to abridge it very much. I term it moderation; for so it seems to me, for the governor to send amicable advice to so tumultuous a body of people, and warn them of the consequences of obstinacy, instead of coming upon them with his forces, especially when he was so well provided. And it was very honourable to accept the first tenders of submission.

I shall give but one passage more relating to this matter. 'They [the Jews] received like-'wise,' says Josephus, 'considerable honours from the king of Asia, because they had served 'them in their wars. Seleucus Nicator gave them the privileges of citizens in Antioch the 'metropolis of his kingdom, which privilege they enjoy to this day. I need give no other 'proof of it than this, that the Jews refusing to use oil prepared by other people, the Gymna-

[a] A.D. 66. [b] Και των ηγεμονων πολλες ὁσημεραι παρ' αμφοιν κολαζομενων, ἡ στασις μαλλον παρωξυνετο.
[c] De Bell. lib. ii. c. 18. sect. 7, 8.

'siarchs[a] give them a certain prescribed piece of money instead of the oil which should be 'allowed[b] them. And when the people of Antioch, in the time of the late war, would have 'broke in upon this custom, Mucianus, then president of Syria, obliged them to continue it. 'And afterwards, when Vespasian and his son Titus were become lords of the whole world, and 'the Alexandrians and Antiochians desired that the rights of citizenship might be taken from 'the Jews, they would not comply with their desire. From whence any may perceive the 'equity and true greatness[c] of the Romans, and especially of Vespasian and Titus; who though 'they had undergone many fatigues in the war with the Jews, and had been very much offended 'with them, that they would not submit themselves to them, but fought against them to the 'last as long as they were able, yet they did not take away from them the forementioned 'citizenship: but so moderated and resisted their own former displeasure against the Jews, 'and the entreaties of the Alexandrians and Antiochians, people of the greatest consequence, 'as not to abrogate any part of the ancient privileges given to the Jews, out of favour for those 'cities, or out of resentment toward those wicked people whom they had vanquished; saying, 'that they who had taken up arms against them, and had been subdued by them, had been 'sufficiently punished; and that it would be unjust to deprive those of their privileges, who had 'committed no fault.'[d] Here is one remarkable instance of Jewish niceness, and more than one example of Roman generosity.

These are authentic testimonies in behalf of the equity of the Roman government in general, and of the impartial administration of justice by the Roman presidents toward all the people of their provinces, how much soever they differed from each other in matters of religion.

It is undoubted, that many of these presidents were guilty of extortion, and other acts of injustice, and endeavoured to enrich themselves in the provinces. But there seem not to have been any one thing, which the Romans were more concerned to preserve inviolable, than the religion of all the people whom they conquered; judging, it is likely, that there is nothing gives a people so universal a disgust, as injuries done to their religion; and that therefore, the only way to preserve peace throughout their empire, was to protect all men every where in the practice of their own religious[e] rites.

VI. I imagine, however, that the reader will be apt to recollect here the several violations of things sacred, which I have related to have been committed by Verres in Sicily; and he may be inclined to think, that such instances do very much weaken this argument.

But then it ought to be remembered likewise, that these actions were very much cried out upon, and Verres was called to an account for them. Besides, there is no reason to think there were many such as Verres, whose administration was infamous to a[f] proverb. It ought also to be considered, that Verres was prætor of Sicily under the commonwealth, at a time when the courts of judicature at Rome, before whom complaints from the provinces were brought, were extremely corrupt; when justice was administered very slowly, and oftentimes not obtained at all. There are in Cicero himself many acknowledgments of the bad state of affairs at that time in this respect.[g] And I believe, the provinces were much happier under the emperors for a considerable time below the period of the evangelical history, than they had been for some time under the commonwealth.

There was a very signal piece of justice done the Jews by the emperor Claudius. It lies so much in the very midst of our history, that it is not easy to pass it by. In the time that Cumanus, predecessor to Felix, was procurator of Judea, there happened a difference between the Jews and Samaritans; the rise of which was an assault made by the Samaritans upon some Galileans as they were going up to Jerusalem. Cumanus not doing his duty, complaints were made to Ummidius Quadratus, president of Syria. The Jews affirmed that Cumanus had been bribed by the Samaritans, and each side made many complaints. Quadratus came into Judea,

[a] Officers that governed the places of exercise in the Greek cities. [b] Τεκμηριον δε τες Ιεδαιες, μη Βελομενες αλλοφυλω ελαιω χρησασθαι, λαμβανειν ωρισμενον τι παρα των γυμνασιαρχων εις ελαιε τιμην αργυριον. [c] Την Ρωμαιων επιεικειαν και μεγαλοφροσυνην. [d] Jos. Ant. lib. xii. cap. 3. init. [e] Quid? hem! mediocrine tandem dolore eos affectos esse arbitramini? non ita est, judices: primum quod omnes religione moventur: & deos patrios, quos a majoribus acceperunt, colendos sibi diligenter & retinendos esse arbitrantur. Cic. in Verr. lib. iv. c. 59. [f] Eodem tempore Metellus, Siciliæ prætor, cum fœdissimâ illâ C. Verris prætura Siciliam adflictam invenisset, &c. P. Oros. Hist. l. vi. c. 3. p. 370. Ed. Havercamp. [g] Spoliâsti Siculos. Solent enim inulti esse in injuriis suis provinciales. Cic. in Verr. lib. iii. c. 41. Lugent omnes provinciæ: queruntur omnes liberi populi: regna denique jam omnia de nostris cupiditatibus & injuriis expostulant. Ibid. cap. 89.

punished some himself, sent several of the chief Jews and Samaritans, as well as Cumanus, and Celer the tribune, to Rome, to give an account of themselves to Claudius: who having heard both sides, pronounced sentence, banished[a] Cumanus, and ordered that Celer the tribune should be had back to Jerusalem, and after he had been led through the city, to be beheaded.

I cannot be certain that Celer had the same post at Jerusalem under Cumanus, that Lysias had under Felix, though Josephus gives Celer the same title that St. Luke does Lysias. Nor would I be understood to insinuate, that this punishment of Celer was the chief cause of Lysias's good conduct. He appears to me so just, punctual, and prudent in every part of his behaviour, during that short time that St. Paul was at Jerusalem, after he was taken into custody, that I take it for granted he was actuated by some better principle. But though this favourable supposition be a piece of justice to Lysias, yet I make no doubt, but that this execution of Celer was a restraint upon some people; and that St. Paul and many others in Judea, and possibly in other provinces likewise had some benefit by it.

I have, I hope, in this chapter and other parts of this work, given passages enough to enable every reader to judge for himself in this point; and whereby he may be assured the Jews enjoyed their religion in Judea and out of it, without any very considerable molestations. They had particularly in Judea, their high priests, frequented Jerusalem at their great feasts; images and other abominations were kept out of the country, or if they were brought in they were soon carried back again.

Nay there appear in the accounts I have given, several positive proofs of an equal administration of justice in divers parts, where injuries were offered; and more might be given. A Roman soldier in Judea having rent and burnt a book of the laws of Moses, the forementioned Cumanus, at the request of the Jews, had him put[b] to death. I believe that most will allow, a capital punishment of a crime not particularly specified, it is likely, in any law whatsoever, to be an act of complete justice at least.

VII. It will be needful however, in order fully to clear up this matter, to subjoin two or three remarks.

1. It must be owned, that according to the Roman laws no man might introduce any new gods, or worship publicly or privately any strange or foreign gods not allowed of by public authority.[c]

2. But yet the disciples of Jesus Christ were under the protection of the Roman laws, since the God whom they worshipped, and whose worship they recommended, was the God of the heavens and the earth, the same God whom the Jews worshipped, the worship of whom was allowed of all over the Roman empire, and established by special edicts and decrees in most, perhaps in all the places in which we meet with St. Paul in his travels.

It is evident that St. Paul makes his defence before Felix in Judea upon this foot. "They neither found me in the temple disputing with any man.—But this I confess to thee, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I *the God of my fathers*," Acts xxiv. 14. They call this way a sect, a new sect; grant it to be so: but in this way I worship the God of my fathers, the same God which they do, and believe all things which are written in the law and the prophets as firmly as any Jew whatever: nor do I say any thing inconsistent with them, or which I cannot support by them: and therefore I am entitled to protection equally with them, since I have not attempted nor advised any disturbance or insurrection. This therefore was a very just and proper defence before Felix, a heathen magistrate, and it was completely valid.

And the Roman magistrates out of Judea, and the heathen people every where, considered St. Paul and his companions as Jews. It was so evidently in Achaia. The Jews brought Paul before the judgment-seat, "saying, this fellow persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law," Acts xviii. 13. But Gallio supposed that Paul had as good a right to protection as themselves, and that the differences between Paul and them were no other than such as might happen between men of one and the same religion; and that the only reason why Paul was brought before him, was the envy, malice, and bigotry of some of the leading men among the Jews of his province. "If it be a question of words and names," says he, "*and of your law*, look ye to it, for I will be no judge of such matters," ver. 15.

[a] Τῳ Κυμανῳ φυλὴν ἐπέβαλε, Κελερα δὲ τον χιλιαρχον ἀνελευσεσθαι εἰς τα Ἱεροσολυμα, πανίων ὁρωνίων ἐπι τὴν πολιν πασαν συρανίας, ὡΐως ἀποκλεινται. Antiq. lib. xx. c. 5. sect. 3. vid. & de B. p. 1074 20.

[b] Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 4. sect. 4. de B. J. l. ii. c. 12. sect. 2.

[c] Separatim nemo habessit deos, neve novos: Sed ne advenas, nisi publice adscitos, privatim colunto. Cic. de legib. lib. ii. c. 8. init.

From whence I think it appears, that Gallio was not so ignorant of the case brought before him as some may be ready to imagine. If, says he, the matter in dispute[a] be a "word," some particular opinion[b] and doctrine, which you say Paul preaches; or of names whether Jesus may be called the Christ; (or perhaps he means of matters about which the difference is so small that it is rather a controversy about names than things;) or "of your law," whether it obliges all men to be circumcised who go over to the worship of your God, I will be no judge between you concerning such matters.

If the sense I here give of these words, and particularly "of your law" be right, it is an evidence that Gallio knew very well that Paul had converted heathens to his sentiments, and yet he took no offence at it: only he was resolved not to pass any judicial sentence upon these matters. And indeed I think it plain from St. Luke's account, that Gallio had heard the Jews tell their story out. But when they had done, he had more honour and good sense than to oblige Paul make any apology for his principles in court, under the character of a criminal or accused person.

Nor is it at all strange, that Gallio did not resent St. Paul's converting men from heathenism to the worship of the true God; since the Jews had done the same thing in many parts of the Roman empire without offence, though not with so good success as St. Paul.

But to proceed. It is apparent that the heathen people also considered the apostle and those with him as Jews.

It is with this speech that the masters of the damsel at Philippi come before the magistrates, when they brought along with them Paul and Silas: "These men *being Jews* do exceedingly trouble our city," Acts xvi. 20. And though the magistrates were so far heated and misled by these men, as to order Paul and Silas to be beaten and imprisoned; yet they had no sooner reflected upon what they had done, but they were sensible that they themselves had broken the laws, in punishing men that were Jews for spreading their principles, and that they were liable to be reprimanded for it.

The uproar at Ephesus affords a remarkable proof of the same thing. The silversmiths that made shrines for Diana began a popular speech there, Acts xix. 26—34. "Ye see," say they, "and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying, *that they be no Gods which are made with hands.*" (All the Jews said the same thing). "And the whole city was filled with confusion.—And they rushed with one accord into the theatre.—And they drew Alexander out of the multitude, *the Jews putting him forward.* And Alexander beckoned with the hand, and would have made his defence unto the people. But when they knew that he was a *Jew*, all with one voice about the space of two hours cried out, Great is Diana of the Ephesians."

Alexander was put forward by the Jews, and undoubtedly intended to have declaimed against Paul; but so soon as the people knew that he was a Jew, instead of hearkening to him they were thrown into a fresh ferment.

I think I need not add that Festus so understood the matter likewise, his words having been already more than once produced, in which he tells Agrippa, that when Paul's accusers stood up they had only "certain questions against him of *their own supersition,*" Acts xxv. 18, 19.

3. It ought to be observed, that the first followers of Jesus did every where observe an admirable decorum in all their words and actions. It may perhaps be inconceivable by some, how they should be able thus to behave every where, animated as they were with a warm as well as just zeal for the truths of the Christian doctrine, and a thorough dislike of all the abominations and absurdities of the heathen worship. But yet it is certain they did so. We have uncontested evidence of it.

St. Luke assures us, Acts xvii. 16, that when St. Paul was at Athens, "his spirit was stirred in him, when he saw the city was wholly given to idolatry." But when he comes to make his speech in the Areopagus, his temper and address are equal to his argument, which certainly can never be exceeded. According to our translation indeed there is harshness in the very introduction: "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious:" whereas the original[c] is peculiarly soft, if any censure was intended: but[d] I apprehend that St. Paul

[a] Περι λοΐȣ. [b] Σαδδȣκαιοις δε τας ψυχας ὁ ΛΟΓΟΣ συναφανιζει τοις σωμασι. Joseph p 793. 20. ἐς ολιΐȣς τε ανδρας οὐτὸς ὁ ΛΟΓΟΣ αφικεῖο. Ibid. 23. [c] Si lenitatem Pauli spectemus —— confirmat hoc imprimis a Δεισιδαιμονια traducta vox: cui quidem inest multâ suavitate permista castigatio. Sam. Drake S. T. P. de arâ Ignoto Deo Sacrâ. Cantab. 1724. p. 12. [d] Καλα πανία ὡς δεισιδαιμονεςερȣς ὑμας θεωρω. The word δεισιδαιμονία is often used in

tells them, he perceived they were "in all things very devout." This would give no offence at Athens. It was their peculiar character, the encomium which they were fond of above any other.

It is true, St. Luke says, that at the conclusion, ver. 32, "when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked: and others said, We will hear thee again of this matter." It is very possible, some might be surprised at the novelty of St. Paul's principles, and be inclined to make themselves merry with them. But I do not perceive by St. Luke that they were; I think, there could not be any exceptions made to the propriety or decency of any of his expressions.

St. Luke has not recorded any of the discourses made by St. Paul, or those who were with him at Ephesus [illegible]. However, we have authentic evidence of the innocence of their words and actions there and [illegible]. "Ye have brought hither," says the town-clerk to the people of Ephesus, Acts xix. 37, "these men which are neither robbers of churches, nor yet blasphemers of your goddess." He says this of Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions in his travels. So that this temper and prudence were not peculiar to St. Paul, but common to him with his companions. What the town-clerk says here may be relied on: he is speaking to the enraged multitude: if there had been any blasphemies uttered by these men he would mention them as his own.

The conduct and express declarations of Felix, Festus, Agrippa, are testimonies to the like unblameable and inoffensive behaviour of St. Paul at Jerusalem.

I do not say, that according to laws since enacted in some states, the apostles would not have been judged offenders. But it ought to be remembered, that the Romans did for a long time as far surpass many modern governments in the justice and equity of their political maxims, as in the grandeur of their empire: nor had they yet renounced or departed from them.

Had there been any affront offered by Paul to the Jewish religion, either Felix or Festus

a bad sense, but it has also a good, or at least an innocent meaning. Festus tells Agrippa, that Paul's accusers had nothing against him "but certain questions *περι της ιδιας δεισιδαιμονιας*, of their own superstition," Acts xxv. 19. It should be rendered *religion*. It cannot be supposed that Festus would speak contemptuously to Agrippa of the Jewish, that is, Agrippa's own religion: when Agrippa was come to Cæsarea with his sister Bernice to salute him. It is also apparent, that Festus does show Agrippa a great deal of respect. Josephus says, that Manasses having repented of his idolatry and other sins against God, he resolved for the future *παση χρησθαι περι αὐτον δεισιδαιμονια*, to be constant in the worship of him. Jos. p. 437. 20. Claudius, in his edict published in favour of the Jews, exhorts them *μη τας των αλλων δεισιδαιμονιας εξουθενιζειν*, id. p. 866. 18. not to set at nought, or to revile the religions of other nations. Vid. eund. p. 632. 39. p. 1066. 31. It appears also from what follows, that St. Paul had not blamed the Athenians. Having mentioned the inscription of the altar, "To the unknown God;" he goes on, *ὁν ουν αγνοουντες ευσεβειτε*; "whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you." The verb here used for worship is always expressive of a laudable piety. See examples in Grotius upon the place. The harsh sense of the word Δεισιδαιμονια, is inconsistent with the whole design of St. Paul's argument. If he had told them at first that they were superstitious, he encourages them in it, and endeavours to make them more so. If St. Paul's instance had been that of some false god, there had been some reason to put the harsh sense upon the word in this place. But now there is no reason at all for it; since the inscription he produces directly intended, or at least comprehended under it, the true God, whom St. Paul preached. I think therefore that St. Paul says: "I perceive that ye are in all things very devout. For as I passed along, and observed the objects of your worship, I found also an altar with this inscription: *To the unknown God.* Whom therefore ye worship without knowing him, him do I declare unto you." *Ει γαρ τι αλλο της Αθηναιων πολεως, και τουτ' εν πρωτοις εστιν επιστημον, το περι παντος πραγματος, και εν παντι καιρω, τοις θεοις επεσθαι, και μηδεν ανευ μαντικης και χρησμων επιτελειν.* Dionys. Hal. de Thucyd. judic. sect. 40. vid. & Sophoc. Oed. Col. v. 1000. & seq. It was customary for eminent strangers who spoke in public at Athens, to give them in their first discourse some commendation from the wisdom of their laws and institutions, or some other topic. St. Paul had good reason not to be defective in this point upon so nice an occasion. He could very truly say they were a devout people. It was extremely to his purpose, and they would be much pleased to hear it from him. *Η μεν δη διαλεξις επαινοι ησαν του λογου, και απολογιαι προς τους Αθηναιους, ὑπερ του μη προτερον προς αυτους αφιχθαι.* Philost. vit. Alexand. Sophist. sect. 3. *Αθηναιοις μεν γαρ επιδεικνυμενος αὐτοσχεδιους λογους, ὁτε και πρωτον Αθηναζε αφικετο, εκ εις εκκλησιον καλεσαντος εαυτον του δημου, τοσουτων οντων, ὰ τις ὑπερ Αθηναιων ειποι·* id. vit. Polem. sect. 4. It was therefore a singularity in Polemon, a most proud man, that in his discourse at Athens, at his first visit he said nothing in their praise. There is another like example particularly observed in Adrian the sophist. *Μετος δε ουτω παρρησιας επι τον θρονον παρηλθε, τον Αθηνησιν, ὡς και προοιμιον οι γενεσθαι της προς αυτους διαλεξεως, μη την εκεινων σοφιαν, αλλα την εαυτου·* id. vit. Adrian. sect. 2. Grotius understood St. Paul to speak here of the Athenians in the way of commendation, as I do.

I take the liberty to add, in this third edition, a passage or two from Mr. Warburton, confirming the interpretation I have given of this text. His words are these: 'Athens 'was a city the most devoted to religion of any upon the face 'of the earth. On this account their poet Sophocles calls it 'the sacred building of 'the gods, *Αθηνων των Θεοδμητων.*' Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses. B. i. Sect. 4. p. 136. 2d. Edit. Again: 'This was the reason why St. Paul, who 'was regarded as the bringer in of foreign gods, was had up 'to the court of Areopagus; not as a criminal, but rather as 'a public benefactor, who had a new worship to propose to a 'people," above all other religions, *ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστεροις.*" Id. ib. Book ii. Sect. 6. p. 296.

would have discovered and punished it. When such things were done by Romans they could not escape. Undoubtedly therefore Paul had been as innocent in Judea as he had been out of it.

Upon the whole then, from the several particulars here alleged, it must appear highly probable, that the chief officers of such a government as the Roman was at the rise of the Christian religion, should treat the first preachers of it just as they are represented by St. Luke to have done.

They had no authority by virtue of any edicts or decrees then passed, to enter into the controversies then on foot between several cities in Egypt, who worshipped some one animal and some another, but none of them the gods of the Romans. These governors had not been wont to interpose between any of the sects of the Jews, of which there had been several for a long time, when no tumult or sedition arose among them. The Jews it is likely would have thought it the highest injustice, and would have made the loudest complaints if they had. The first christians did not differ more from the pharisees or essenes, I do not say from the sadducees, than these three sects differed one from another. How can it be thought then, that these governors should undertake to suppress the first[a] christians, when they were obliged to protect all the rest; not this or that sect, but all the Jews in general?

The Roman government protected the many rites of all their provinces. They protected Jews and heathens in one and the same city. The Jews had been now for some while, from time to time, making proselytes of Greeks and Syrians; converted them to the worship of the true God, the God whom the christians preached; and brought them, some indeed to part only, others, to the observation of all the peculiar rites of their religion. This they had done, and the presidents gave them no interruption or molestation. Must not then these officers have esteemed it, as St. Luke represents them to have done, a new species of envy and malice in the Jews, to bring before them and desire justice against Paul and his companions, barely because they did not submit to them in every particular? And must not these officers have been prepared likewise to controul their own people, when they would have abused Paul for what the Jews had been permittted to do; that is, for converting men to his peculiar sentiments when his principles were not at all more disagreeable to them, than those of the Jews; and his behaviour was far more peaceable and inoffensive than theirs had been?

VIII. There is however one difficulty which I am aware may be started by some persons. If the Roman government, to which all the world was then subject, was so mild and gentle, and protected all men in the profession of their several religious tenets, and the practice of all their peculiar rites, whence comes it to pass, that there are in their epistles so many exhortations to the christians to patience and constancy; and so many arguments of consolations suggested to them as a suffering body of men? Does not the apostle Paul tell the Philippians, Phil. i. 29, that "to them it was given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake?" And the Thessalonians, 1 Thess. ii. 14, "that they had suffered like things of their own countrymen; even as they" (the churches of Judea) "have of the Jews?" Is not Timothy directed, 2 Tim. ii. 3, to "endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ?" Are not the Hebrews reminded, Heb. x. 32, that they had "endured a great fight of affliction?" Does not St. Peter intimate, that, that they whom he had wrote to had "been in heaviness through manifold temptations?" 1 Pet. i. 6.

To this I answer,

1. That the account St. Luke has given in the Acts of the apostles, of the behaviour of the Roman officers out of Judea and in it, is confirmed not only by the account I have given of the genius and nature of the Roman government, but also by the testimonies of the most ancient christian writers. The Romans did afterwards depart from these moderate maxims; but it is certain that they were governed by them, as long the history of the Acts of the apostles reaches. Tertullian and divers others do affirm, that Nero was the first emperor that persecuted the christians;[b] nor did he begin to disturb them till after Paul had left Rome the

[a] 'When the Romans permitted the Jewish synagogues to 'use their own laws, and proper goverment, Why, I pray, 'should there not be the same alteration allowed to the apos- 'tolical churches? the Roman censure had as yet made no 'difference between the judaizing synagogues of the Jews 'and the christian synagogues, or churches of the Jews: nor 'did it permit them to live after their own laws, and forbid 'these.' Dr. Lightfoot. Hebr. and Talmud. Exerc. on Matt. iv. 23.

[b] Consulite commentarios vestros: illic reperietis primum Neronem in hanc sectam, tum maxime Romæ orientem, cæsariano gladio ferocisse. Tertul. Apol. cap. 5. Primus omnium persecutus Dei servos. Lactantius de Mortib. persecut. c. 2. Hic primus Christianorum nomen tollere aggressus est. Sulpic. Sev. Hist. l. ii. c. 40.

first time he was there, (when he was sent thither by Festus) and therefore not till he was become an enemy to all mankind. And I think, that according to the account which Tacitus has given of Nero's inhuman treatment of the christians at Rome in the tenth year of his reign, what he did then was not owing to their having different principles in religion from the Romans, but proceeded from a desire he had to throw off from himself the odium of a vile action, namely setting fire to the city, which he was generally charged[a] with. And Sulpicius Severus, a christian historian of the fourth century, says the same thing.[b]

2dly, I answer, that if the reader will be at the pains of comparing the history of the New Testament with the history of the Acts of the Apostles, he will find a perfect harmony in all these particulars which are mentioned in both.

Thus St. Paul writes to the Thessalonians, 1 Thess. ii. 14, "Ye became followers of the churches which in Judea are in Christ Jesus: for ye also have suffered like things of your own countrymen, even as they have of the Jews." And St. Luke informs us, Acts xvii. 5, that at "Thessalonica, the Jews which believed not, moved with envy, took unto them certain lewd fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a company, and set all the city on an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason."——

As according to St. Luke, they were the Jews who usually began, or aggravated the disturbances against Paul; so Paul himself ascribes his own sufferings, and those of others likewise, to the Jews. Thus it follows in the place just now cited from him: 1 Thess. ii. 15, 16, "who both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men: forbidding us to speak unto the gentiles that they may be saved." And to the Galatians he says, Gal. v. 11, "And I, brethren, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution? Then is the offence of the cross ceased." From which words it is plain, that all the apostle's sufferings came from the bigotted Jews; and that, if it had not been for them, he might have preached the gospel quietly enough.

3dly, Though the Romans were masters of the world, and were governed by these moderate maxims, as I have shewn; yet the first christians might be exposed to many hardships and sufferings, as they certainly were. The sources of them are very evident. There was a heavy persecution in Judea, which commenced not long after our Saviour's ascension, and lasted, probably, several years. The Jews had a right to call men before the council, could excommunicate men out of their synagogues, scourge and beat them; they could bring men before the governor, and prosecute for capital crimes. Doubtless, they exerted all the power they had against the believers, and did other things they had no right to do; partly, through connivance it is likely of the governor, and partly perhaps, because he could not hinder them. Then Herod Agrippa was king of Judea three years and more; and he, out of his own aversion to christianity, and to please the Jews, was an inveterate enemy of the followers of Jesus. And after this, when Judea was again put under Roman procurators, beside the lesser punishments the Jews could inflict themselves, they could prosecute before the procurators, as they did Paul. And we find, that though Felix and Festus were both convinced of his innocence, yet they did neither of them dare to release him against the inclinations of the people of their province. And such was the Jewish influence in this cause, that by their means Paul was kept two years in prison in Judea, and as many afterwards at Rome.

As for the sufferings which the christians were liable to out of Judea, every one must be sensible, that wherever Paul, or any other made any considerable number of converts among the heathens, many of the common people were provoked, and would be apt to insult them; and in some places, the inferior magistrates might be so weak as to concur with them, Acts xvi. 22. Besides, the Jews were numerous every where, throughout the Roman empire. When Paul was at Lystra, ch. xiv. 19, "there came thither certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people; and having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead." How the Jews of Thessalonica behaved, we have seen just now, ch. xvii. 5. These very same Jews of Thessalonica followed Paul and Silas to Beræa, "and stirred up the people," ver. 13. In Achaia, "the Jews made insurrection against Paul, and brought him before the judgment seat," ch. xviii. 12. At Ephesus, they would have heightened the rage

[a] Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos—Tacit. Ann. xv. c. 44. [b] Neque ullâ re Nero efficiebat, quin ab eo jussum incendium putaretur. Igitur vertit invidiam in Christianos, actæque in innoxios crudelissimæ quæstiones. Sulpic. ibid. c. 41.

of the people, though "the whole city was," before, "filled with confusion," ch. xix. 29. When this "uproar was ceased, and Paul was about to sail into Syria, the Jews laid wait for him," ch. xx. 1—3.

Nor ought it to be supposed, that the Jews were inconsiderable enemies. The malicious, however unfurnished, will always find some weapons; rage makes men, for a time at least, strong and terrible. We see a great deal of enmity against the first followers of Jesus, in the Jewish speeches and proceedings in Judea and other parts. But perhaps it is not easy to form a complete idea of it. What vexation must it not have given to the generality of this people, who were now in full expectation of subduing the whole world to themselves, to see a number of men of their own nation travelling over the Roman empire teaching that Jesus, who had been crucified, was the Messiah, the great king and deliverer that had been promised to the Jews; inviting gentiles also to the participation of all the privileges of the people of God, without insisting on circumcision or other rites of their law!

The peculiar principles, temper, and disposition of the Jewish people deserve to be somewhat farther considered in this place. These were such, that though the Roman governors had taken the first christians into their special protection, they could not have secured them from all injuries. The Jews then not only scorned subjection and obedience to others, and affected liberty and independence, but they expected dominion over all mankind. This we may perceive from divers characters and admonitions in the New Testament, and from the writings of Josephus. "They despise governments," says St. Peter, "presumptuous are they, self-willed: they are are not afraid to speak evil of dignities," 2 Pet. ii. 10. Jude 8. For this reason, there was so great occasion for those earnest exhortations to the believers among the Jews, not to follow the example of the rest of their countrymen, but "to submit themselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, 1 Pet. ii. 13. Again, "Let none of you," says the same Apostle, 1 Pet. iv. 15, "suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil doer, or as a busy body in[a] other men's matters." This last character, I apprehend, is not generally understood. A mere prying into, or meddling with the concerns of private families or particular persons, would not have been ranked with crimes that exposed to the severest censures of the civil magistrate. The word, I think, intends one that affects the inspection and direction of the affairs of other men; and in this place relates to the[b] public affairs of other people. Of this temper of the Jewish people at that time, we have a remarkable specimen in the long passage I have transcribed above, concerning the business at Alexandria: where divers Jews intruded themselves into the public councils of the people of that place; and the rest of the Jews would have rescued the offenders, or destroyed the whole people of Alexandria, if the president had not been furnished with a good body of regular forces. We have seen above,[c] that in the time of Felix, the Jews at Cæsarea were not contented with equal rights of citizenship, but would have the preference. They became after that, still more and more troublesome and tumultuous. Their behaviour at Alexandria, just now mentioned, is a proof of it. The Jews' disdain of other men, and their thirst of dominion ran so high at last, that they put the people of the several countries in which they lived, and the whole Roman empire, into a fright. They had been hated before, but now they were feared.[d] Josephus says expressly, that the expectation they had of some one from their country, who would obtain the empire of the world, was the great thing that induced them to the war with the Romans.[e] If the Romans were not able to preserve the heathen people from all injuries from the Jews, (as it is certain[f] they were not,)

[a] Η ὡς αλλοτριοεπισκοπος. [b] The phrase we have here is not that used in other places for an impertinent inquisitiveness. See 2 Thess. iii. 11. 1 Tim. v. 13. Αλλοτριος signifies sometimes a man of another nation. Αλλ' ἡς αλλοτριος ων, πολιτης γεγονα. Dionys. H. p. 468. 10. And if it should be still supposed, that Peter intends only a meddling with private affairs; yet he must refer to a busy governing temper, that led them into a very offensive conduct: since these busy bodies are reckoned up with criminals, who, in those places, could have their proper punishment from none but the chief Roman officers; or as Philostratus expresses it, judges who had the sword: δικας ου γαρ δεισθαι αυτας [δικας επι μοιχους, &c.] ξιφος εχοντος. Vit. Sophist. l. i. n. 25. sect. 2.

[c] Page 191, &c. [d] Ου μην οἱ Συροι τον Ιουδαιων ελαττον πληθος ανηρουν, αλλα και αυτοι τους εν ταις πολεσι λαμβανομενους ανεσφαττον, ου μονον κατα μισος, ὡς προτερον, αλλ' ηδη και τον εφ' ἑαυτοις κινδυνον φυανοντες. Joseph. de B. J. l. ii. cap. 18. sect. 2. Josephus says, the revolt of the Jews, A. D. 66, gave Nero a great deal of concern, though he endeavoured to conceal it. Antiq. l. xx. c. 1. His appointing Vespasian, the most experienced and successful commander at that time, general in the war, is a proof of it, especially considering the aversion he had for his person. Peregrinatione Achaïcâ inter comites Neronis, cum, cantante eo, aut discederet sæpius, aut præsens obdormisceret, gravissimam contraxit offensam: prohibitusque non contubernio modo, sed etiam publicâ salutatione, secessit in parvam ac deviam civitatem, &c. Sueton. in Vespas. cap. 4. vid. & Tacit. Ann. lib. xvi. cap. 5. [e] See above, p. 73.

[f] Vid. Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii c. 18. sect. 1. 5. & alibi.

much less could they secure the christians, who were above all others the object of their envy. And if the Jews thought themselves able to contend with, and overturn the Roman empire, it cannot be supposed unlikely, that they should attempt to destroy a christian, without asking the Romans leave, when they would not do it for them.

St. Jerom [a] in divers places of his commentaries, describes the sufferings of the apostles, and the causes and occasions of them, in a way very agreeable to the account here given by me.

These discouragements and sufferings then, the first christians met with and underwent, whippings in synagogues, excommunications from the ordinary places of God's worship, beatings in public market places; tumults, some that endangered, others that cost them their lives, Acts xiv. 19. ch. vii. 54—60; during the reign of Herod Agrippa, imprisonment and death; in the rest of this period, from the beginning to the end of it, troublesome prosecutions before heathen governors in Judea, and out of it; the severest reproaches, and dangerous conspiracies, and lyings in wait of the Jews in all parts; among the heathen, the scorn and ridicule of the great and the witty, insults of the common people, and abuses of inferior magistrates; lastly, perils from false brethren, who might find it no hard matter to augment the prejudices, both of Jews and gentiles, against a singular set of men.

It may be, I think, reasonably supposed, that the sufferings of the followers of Jesus, in the period we are now concerned with, were not equal to those, which they were afterwards exposed to, when the Roman emperors treated them as public enemies, authorized their officers every where to punish them, and countenanced the common people in those abuses and outrages they were disposed to of themselves. Much less did they equal the torments which good men have undergone, since men of the most exquisite malice and subtilty, in several ages, have improved persecution into a science, and devoted themselves to this work as their solemn business and profession; till at length they have completed this worst of all inventions, and with a dexterity truly diabolical, have at once increased the fatigue of the sufferer, and abated the horror and compassion of all heedless and inconsiderate spectators. These things perhaps may (but these only could) make us think the difficulties, dangers, and sufferings of the first christians small.

But yet after all, if we duly consider the vast sensibility of human nature to pain and disgrace; I believe it will be allowed, that the subsistence and growth of christianity, under the discouragements it met with in its very infancy, at a time when there had been but few examples of patience and constancy under sufferings, in any case that bears any near resemblance with this, are a strong argument in favour of its divine original; and a proof, that they who then embraced it, and were steady in the profession of it, were, upon the best evidences, fully persuaded of the facts on which it depends; and were animated by the hopes of that great reward, which is one distinguished article of the christian doctrine.

CHAP. IX.

CONCERNING DIVERS OPINIONS AND PRACTICES OF THE JEWS.

I. *The Jews, at the time of their great feasts, came up to Jerusalem in great numbers, from all parts.* II. *The Jews of Jerusalem frequented the temple at other times.* III. *Their hours of prayer.* IV. *Their zeal for the temple.* V. *For the law.* VI. *Of their synagogue worship.* VII. *They practised at this time the vow of the Nazarite, and shaved their heads.* VIII. *Of their inflicting forty stripes save one.* IX. *Of private zeal.* X. *The paying tribute to the Romans, a great grievance to the Jews.* XI. *Nevertheless there were publicans of the Jewish nations.*

THE Jews appear to have been, in the time of our Saviour and his apostles, very zealous for the temple, and devout and exact in the observation of the rituals of the Mosaic law. The new Testament abounds with proofs of this zeal. I shall take notice of some instances.

[a] Quod autem crebro Paulus in carcere fuerit, & de vinculis liberatus sit, ipse in alio loco dicit: in carceribus frequenter, de quibus nonnunquam Domini auxilio, crebro ipsis persecutoribus nihil dignum in eo morte invenientibus, dimittebatur. Nec dum enim super nomine Christiano senatûsconsulta præcesserant: nec dum Christianum sanguinem Neronius gladius dedicârat. Sed pro novitate prædicationis, sive a Judæis invidentibus, sive ab his qui sua videbant idola destrui, ad furorem populis concitatis, missi in carcerem, rursum, impetu & furore deposito, laxabantur, &c. Hieron. Comm. in Ep. ad Philem. p. 453. Conf. eund. in Ep. ad Gal. c. vi. p. 315.

I. They came up to Jerusalem at the feasts, in great numbers, not only from those parts of Judea that lay near the city, but also from Galilee, and likewise from foreign countries, where they resided. John iv. 3. "He [Jesus] left Judea, and departed into Galilee. Ver. 45, Then when he was come into Galilee, the Galileans received him, having seen all the things that he did at Jerusalem at the *feast*, for they also went unto the feast.—Ch. vii. 1—4. After these things Jesus walked in Galilee.—Now the Jews' feast of *tabernacles* was at hand. His brethren therefore said unto him, Depart hence, and go into Judea, that thy disciples also may see the works that thou doest: For there is no man that doeth any thing in secret, and he himself seeketh to be known openly: if thou do these things, shew thyself to the world." This reasoning of theirs is built upon the supposition, that there would be a general resort at Jerusalem, "at the feast of tabernacles, which was then at hand. Ch. xi. 55, 56. And the Jews' *passover* was nigh at hand, and *many* went out of the country, up to Jerusalem, before the passover, to purify themselves. Then sought they for Jesus, and spake among themselves, as they stood in the temple, what think ye, that he will not come unto the feast?——Ch. xii. 12, 13, And on the next day *much* people that were come to the *feast*, when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took branches of palm-trees and went forth to meet him.—Ver. 23, And there were certain Greeks among them that came up to worship at the feast." See Acts. ii. 5.

I shall set down from Josephus evidences of all these particulars.

'At that time [a] the feast was approaching, in which the Jews are wont to eat unleavened 'bread. The feast is called the passover, and is kept in remembrance of their departure out of 'Egypt: they observe it with great joy, and at this feast offer up more sacrifices than at any 'other, and an innumerable multitude of persons come up to worship God, not only out of 'Judea, but also from other parts.'[b]

Again, 'When the feast which is called the passover was nigh,[c] in which it is our custom 'to eat unleavened bread, and a great multitude was gathered together *from all parts*,[d] 'Cumanus fearing some disturbance might happen among them, ordered a cohort of the 'soldiers to take their arms, and post themselves in the porticoes of the temple.'[e]

Again, 'From Antipatris Cestius marched to Lydda, but found no men in it, for all the 'people were gone up to Jerusalem, to the feast [f] of tabernacles. However, meeting with 'fifty men, he slew them all, burnt the city, and went forwards, and pitched his camp at a 'place called Gabao, at the distance of fifty stadia from Jerusalem. The Jews perceiving the 'enemy to approach to their metropolis, neglecting the feast, betook themselves to their 'arms; and placing great confidence in their numbers, marched out to the fight with loud 'shouts, but very little order, not so much as minding the rest of the seventh day. For 'it happened to be the sabbath, which his respected and observed by them above all others.'[g] This sabbath is the day spoken of, John vii. 37, where it is called, "the last day, that great 'day of the feast;" of which Moses says, "It is a solemn assembly, and ye shall do no servile 'work therein," Lev. xxiii. 36.

But the number of people that resorted to Jerusalem upon these occasions, will appear more particularly from a computation, which the priests made at the passover of this very same year.[h]

Cestius, just now mentioned, president of Syria, desired the priests to number the people, if they had any way of doing it. 'The feast of the passover was then at hand, in which they 'kill sacrifices from the ninth to the eleventh hour: and there is concerned in each sacrifice 'a sort of fraternity, of at the least ten in number, and sometimes twenty. The priests then 'endeavoured to gratify him, and they found the number of sacrifices amount to two hundred 'fifty-six thousand five hundred. And reckoning a company of ten to each sacrifice, the 'whole number of persons must have been two millions and seven hundred thousand, [i] and 'these all clean and pure. For all leprous persons,—and all who are under any kind of defile-'ment, are excluded from this sacrifice, as are also the strangers that come up to worship.'[k]

[a] Year before Christ 3, or 4. It was the passover next after Herod's death. [b] Καίεισι δε πληθυς αναριθμητος εκ της χωρας, ηδη δε και εκ της ὑπορίας επι θρησκεια τω Θεω. Jos. Ant. lib. xvii. c. 9. sect. 3. [c] A. D. 48. [d] Πανταχοθεν. [e] Ant. lib. xx. c. 4. sect. 3. [f] A. D. 66. [g] De B. J lib. ii. cap. 19. init. [h] 66. [i] There is some error in one of these numbers in Josephus. For 256,500, which was the number of the sacrifices, multiplied by ten make but 2,565,000. But Dr. Hudson says, that some are for reading the number of the sacrifices 270,000, which multiplied by ten makes the number of persons here mentioned. [k] Γινονται δ' ανδρων, ιν' εκαστω δεκα δαιτυμονας θωμεν, μυριαδες εξδομηκοντα και διακοσιαι, καθαρων σπανιων, και αλιων.—αλλ' ουδε τους αλλοφυλοις ὁσοι καθα θρησκειαν παρησαν. De Bell. lib. vi. cap. 9. sect. 3.

The concluding sentence of this passage is a proof, that some strangers, Greeks as St. John calls them, ch. xii. 20, did come up to the Jewish feasts. These are the persons, who are called devout men, and men that fear God. They are also termed proselytes of the gate. If they had been proselytes of righteousness, that is, circumcised, they would have had a right to eat of the passover. For so was the law: "This is the ordinance of the passover: there shall no stranger eat thereof. But every man's servant that is bought for money, when thou hast *circumcised* him, then shall he eat thereof," Exod. xii. 43, 44.

In another place Josephus says, that when this Cestius Gallus came to Jerusalem, a little before this very same feast of the passover, he was surrounded by the people there, to the number of three millions, who made their complaints to him against their own procurator[a] Gessius Florus: and, as Dr. Hudson has observed, this number does mightily correspond with the above-mentioned computation; for if the number of those who were clean was 2,700,000, it is easy to conclude, that if the unclean be added to this sum, the number of all the people might be three millions.

II. As there was a great resort to Jerusalem, from all parts, at the feasts, so they who resided at Jerusalem, seem to have frequented the temple very much at other times also. This appears very plainly in the Acts of the Apostles, ch. ii. 46, "And they [all that believed] continued *daily* with one accord in the *temple.*—Acts iii. 1, 2—9, Now Peter and John went up together into the temple, at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour; and a certain man lame from his mother's womb was carried, whom they laid *daily* at the gate of the *temple,* which is called beautiful, to ask alms of them that entered into the temple.—And *all the people* saw him walking." See ch. v. 20—25.

Josephus tells this story of Alexandra, mother of Herod's wife Mariamne. Herod lay[b] sick at Samaria, and he was thought to be near his end. 'Alexandra was at that time at 'Jerusalem, and having constant intelligence brought to her of his case, she endeavoured to 'get the two forts, which are in the city, into her own hands; (one is properly a guard upon 'the city, as the other is upon the temple;) for they who have these in their possession, have 'the whole nation in subjection to them; because that without these they cannot come to 'offer sacrifices. But it is impossible for any Jew to omit these. They can sooner cease to 'breathe, than neglect the worship they are wont to pay to God.'[c]

III. We had just now mention made of the ninth hour as one of the Jews' hours of prayer. Another hour of prayer is referred to in another place. When the disciples had been filled with the Holy Ghost, after our Saviour's ascension, and spake with divers tongues, there was a reflection cast upon them, Acts ii. 13, "Others mocking, said, these men are full of new wine." St. Peter confutes them in this manner, ver. 15, "For these are not drunken, as ye suppose, seeing it is but the *third hour of the day.*" The argument depends on the custom of the Jews, who used to attend their morning prayer fasting.

Josephus says: 'Twice every day, in the morning and at the ninth hour, the priests per-'form their duty at the altar, and omit not the sacrifices, though in the greatest distress of a 'siege.'[d] These then were the two hours of performing sacrifices at the temple: and it is likely, that a great number of devout Jews, who lived at Jerusalem, usually went up to the temple at those hours.

IV. The Jews are represented to have had a very high veneration for the temple, as not able to hear any thing said of it that was not honourable; and as solicitous to preserve it from every thing which they thought a pollution of it. Acts vi. 13. "And set up false witnesses, which said, this man [Stephen] ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this *holy place* and the law."—Ch. xxi. 27, 28. "The Jews which were of Asia stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him [Paul,] crying out, Men of Israel, help: This is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people, and the law, and *this place.* And farther, brought Greeks into the temple, and hath polluted this *holy place.*"

I have already given in this work, from Philo and Josephus, many evidences of the veneration the Jews of this time had for the temple. I add here one passage more from Philo, in which the Jewish resolution to preserve the purity of the temple, is represented by him in the

[a] De. Bell. lib. ii. p. 1078 19. [b] Year before Christ 28, vid Basnage, Ann. P. E. [c] Το δε μη ταυτα συντελειν ουδενι Ιουδαιων δυνατον, του ζην ἑτοιμοτερον αν παραχωρησαντων η της θρησκειας, ἡν εις τον Θεον ειωθασι συντελειν. Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 7 sect. 8. [d] Αλλα δις της ἡμερας, προϊ τε και περι εννατην ὡραν, ἱερουργουντων επι του βωμου, και μηδ', ει τι περι τας προσβολας δυσκολον.ειη, τας θυσιας παριεντων. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 4. sect. 3.

strongest terms that can be used. 'One thing, says he, we desire instead of all others, that 'no novelty be introduced into the temple, but that it be preserved such as we have received 'it from our forefathers. If we cannot obtain this, we yield up ourselves to be destroyed, 'that we may not live to see a greater evil than death.'[a]

We must pursue the story of the Jews seizing St. Paul at Jersalem, though it was transcribed above upon another occasion. Acts xxi. 30—32. "And all the city was moved, and the people ran together; and they took Paul, and drew him out of the temple.—And as they went to kill him, tidings came to the chief captain of the band, that all Jerusalem was in an uproar," &c.

A soldier of the Roman guard at the temple had been guilty of a very indecent action there, and vented some rude expressions in the hearing of the Jews. 'At this the whole multitude 'was moved with indignation, and cried out, that Cumanus ought to punish the soldier. But 'some young people and others with them of a warm disposition, immediately made a tumult, 'and began to throw stones at the soldiers. Cumanus fearing lest all the people should make 'an assault apon him, sent for more soldiers. When they had posted themselves in the porticos, 'the Jews were thrown into a prodigious fright, and fled from the temple into the city. So 'great was the crowd in the passages, that ten thousand were pressed or trod to death.'[b]

These two cases have this difference, that in the latter there had been a manifest affront offered to the temple; but in the former they only supposed there had been one. For the rest, there is a great agreement: the temper of the people is much the same, and they were for immediately doing themselves justice: and a strong body of soldiers is brought to keep the peace.

V. The Jews' great respect for the law appears in some texts already transcribed in this chapter, and in many other places of the New Testament, some of which cannot but occur to the reader's thoughts.

Not long after the just mentioned insolence at the temple, 'A soldier having found the 'sacred law in a certain village, tore the book to pieces and threw it into the fire. The Jews 'were hereupon no less astonished than if the whole country had been in flames; and all with 'one accord, out of concern for their religion, as if moved by one common spring, flocked to 'Cumanus[c] at Cæsarea, and entreated him that the man who had offered this affront to God 'and the law might not go unpunished. He perceiving the multitude was not to be appeased 'unless some satisfaction were given them, ordered the soldier to be brought forth, and to be 'led through the crowd of his accusers, and put to death.'

VI. Beside the great resort to Jerusalem at the feasts, and the worship at the temple at other seasons, and the regard expressed for the temple itself and the law, we have in the New Testament frequent mention of the synagogue worship. Luke iv. 17—20. "And he [Jesus] came to Nazareth, and as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood up for to read. And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Esaias." Acts xv. 21. "For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath day."

Nor had they only readings of the law and the prophets, but they had discourses made in their synagogues. "And when he was come into his own country, he *taught* them in their synagogue.—And straightway on the sabbath day he entered into their synagogue and *taught*." Matt. xiii. 54. Mark i. 21.—"And it came to pass in Iconium, that they went both together [Paul and Barnabas] into the synagogue of the Jews, and so *spake*, that a great multitude both of the Jews and also of the Greeks believed," Acts xiv. 1.

A passage or two from Josephus and Philo will confirm both these particulars. Josephus in his second book against Apion, speaking of Moses, says: 'And that men might not have the 'pretence of ignorance for their transgression, (in points he before mentioned,) he gave us the 'law, the most excellent of all institutions. Nor did he appoint that it should be heard once 'only, or twice, or often, but that laying aside all other works we should meet together every 'week to hear it read, and gain a perfect understanding.'[d]

[a] Ἐν ανλι πανλων αιλεμεθα, μηδεν εν τῳ ἱερῳ γενεσθαι νεωλερον, αλλα· φυλαχθηναι τοιουλον, οἱον παρα των παππων και προϳονων παρελαβομεν· ει δε μη πειθομεν, παραδιδομεν ἑαυλες εις απωλειαν, ἱνα μη ζωνλες επιδωμεν θαναλῳ χειρον κακον. De leg. p. 1025. E.

[b] De B. J. lib. ii. cap. 12. sect. 1.

[c] Ιουδαιοι δε, ὡς ὁλης αυλοις της χωρας καλαφλεϊσης, συνεχυθησαν, και καθαπερ ορϛανῳ τινι τῃ δεισιδαιμονια συνελκομενοι, εις ἐν κηρυϒμα πανλες εις Καισαρειαν επι Κυμανον συνεδραμον· κ. λ. Ibid. sect. 2.

[d] Ουδε γαρ την απ' αϊνοιας ὑποτιμησιν ηνεσχελο καλαλιπειν, αλλα και καλλιϛον και αναϊκαιολαλον απεδειξε παιδευμαλων τον νομον· ουκ εισαπαξ ακροασαμενους, ουδε δις η πολλακις, αλλ' ἑκαϛης ἑβδομαδος των αλλων ερϒων αφεμενους, επι την ακροασιν τῳ νομῳ εκελευσε συλλεϊεσθαι και τελον ακριβως εκμανθανειν· p. 1378. in.

Josephus relates a difference which happened between the Greeks and the Jews at Cæsarea in the 12th year of Nero's[a] reign. The Jews presented a petition to Florus their procurator. He made them fair promises, but immediately went from Cæsarea to Sebaste, without taking care about the matter.—'The next day being the seventh day, as the Jews were coming to the 'synagogue, a turbulent fellow of Cæsarea brought an earthen vessel, and having placed it with 'the bottom uppermost, sacrificed birds as the Jews were coming in. This provoked the Jews 'extremely, to see their laws thus insulted and the place defiled.'—It was impossible to compose them; they and the Cæsareans had a battle. Jucundus, a Roman officer who was there, came in to the assistance of the Jews, but he had but a few men with him. 'He being over-'powered by the violence of the Cæsareans, the Jews *taking the laws* withdrew to Narbata, a 'place sixty stadia distant from Cæsarea.'[b]

There should be some evidence of their having discourses made in their synagogues. This I shall give in the words of Philo.—'And from that time [the days of Moses] to this, the Jews 'are wont to inculcate the principles of their religion on the seventh days, setting apart that 'time to the study and contemplation of the things of nature: for the oratories which are in 'every city, what are they but schools of wisdom, of fortitude, sobriety, justice, and piety, and 'of every virtue?'[c]

I believe that very few of our modern Jewish antiquaries are of Philo's and Josephus's opinion, that the synagogue worship is an institution of Moses; but I think none will contest their authority, that the Jews frequented the synagogues on the sabbath day at the time they wrote.

VII. When Paul had been acquitted by Gallio at Corinth, it is said, Acts xviii. 18, "After this he tarried there yet a good while, and then took his leave of the brethren, and sailed thence into Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila: having shorn his head in Cenchrea: for he had a vow. And he came to Ephesus,——and from thence he sailed to Cæsarea, and went up to Jerusalem." We have again mention made of this very same custom, or one very near akin to it, when Paul went up to Jerusalem several years after this; and James and all the elders that were there gave him some advice for the taking off the aspersions, that had been cast upon him by the Jews. Acts xxi. 23, 24. "Do therefore this that we say unto thee: We have four men which have a vow on them; them take, and purify thyself with them, that they may shave their heads." Ver. 26. "Then Paul took the men, and the next day purifying himself with them entered into the temple, to signify the accomplishment of the days of purification, until that an offering should be offered for every one of them."

The reader may do well to consult here the law of the Nazarite, as delivered by Moses, Num. vi. 13—18.

That this custom was in use among the Jews at the time of the evangelical history, is evident from what Josephus has said of Bernice. 'She was then[d] at Jerusalem performing a 'vow to God: for it is customary for those who have been afflicted with some distemper, or 'have laboured under any other difficulties, to make a vow, thirty days before they offer sacri-'fices, to abstain from wine, and shave the hair of their head.'[e]

Cappell[f] indeed does make a doubt, whether the vow of the four men in the Acts, or of Bernice in Josephus, be the vow of the Nazarite. But I see no good reason for this doubt. However he allows theirs and Bernice's vow to have been of one and the same nature.

Josephus says, it was a custom to make a vow of thirty days. There is no particular time prescribed for the vow of the Nazarite in the law of Moses. And it is my opinion, that the

[a] A. D 66. [b] De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 14. sect. 5.

[c] Ἀφ' οὗ καὶ εἰσεῖι νυν φιλοσοφεῖσι ταις ἑβδομαις Ιουδαιοι την πατριον φιλοσοφιαν, τον χρονον αναθενλες επιστημη και θεωρια των περι φυσιν· τα γαρ καλα πολεις προσευκτηρια, τι ἑτερον εστιν, η διδασκαλεια φρονησεως και ανδριας και σωφροσυνης και δικαιοσυνης ευσεβειας τε και ὁσιοτητος, και συμπασης αρετης· Lib. iii. de vit. Mos. p.685. D. [d] A. D. 60. [e] Επεδημει δε εν τοις Ἱεροσολυμοις, ευχην εκτελεσα τω Θεω· τους γαρ η νοσω καταπονησασης, η τισιν αλλαις αναγκαις, εθος ευχεσθαι προ τριακοντα ἡμερων, ἡς αποδωσειν μελλοιεν θυσιας, οινου τε αφεξεσθαι, και κειρασθαι τας κομας. Hierosolymis quippe agebat ut vota Deo solveret: nam iis qui morbo laboraverant, aut in angustias quascunque conjecti fuerant, moris erat precibus vacare xxx. diebus, antequam victimas oblaturi essent, & vino abstinere & radere comam De Bell. lib ii. c. 15. init. Upon a review, I find my translation of this passage is somewhat different from the common interpretation; and therefore I have subjoined Dr. Hudson's version to the original. But I can see no reason why ευχεσθαι should be rendered *orare*, as in Rufinus's version, or *precibus vacare*, as in Dr. Hudson's; since they have translated ευχην εκτελεσα, *ut vota deo solveret*. Besides, prayer, is not mentioned in the law of the Nazarite; nor is it ever reckoned up, that I know of, in the catalogue of the ten precepts and prohibitions, which belonged to the Nazarite. Vid. Reland. Ant. Heb. de personis sacris. p. 274.

[f] Spicileg. in Act. Apost. xxi. 23.

only reason of Josephus's mentioning that particular number here was, because it happened to be the term of Bernice's vow, of which he had occasion to speak.

There may be a difficulty raised with reference to St. Paul's vow at Cenchrea; because the Jewish writers say, that a Nazarite ought not to be out of the land of Israel;[a] and in the law of Moses it is said, Num. vi. 18, "the Nazarite shall shave the head of his separation, at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation." This is some difficulty: but I am very much inclined to think, that notwithstanding all their zeal, they did at this time dispense with the exactness of many things required in the law of Moses. It seems to be the necessary consequence of their living, as there now did great numbers of them, at a vast distance from Jerusalem. Was there any law more express than this? "Three times a year shall all thy males appear before the Lord thy God in the place that he shall choose," Deut. xvi. 16. Exod. xxiii. 17. But this they could not do who lived in Italy or Persia.

Moreover, it seems there is a rule in the Jewish books, 'that they who make the vow of 'the Nazarite out of the land of Israel shall go into it to complete the[b] vow.' This will go a great way toward solving the difficulty, if it will but be allowed, that this was the reason of St. Paul's great concern to "keep the next feast at Jerusalem." Thus St. Luke's account stands Acts xviii. 9—22, after Paul was come to Corinth.—"Then spake the Lord to Paul in the night by a vision; Be not afraid, but speak and hold not thy peace: For I am with thee; and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee.—And when Gallio was the deputy of Achaia, the Jews made insurrection with one accord against Paul; and brought him to the judgment seat." Paul was now in great danger, and was delivered. "And Paul after this tarried there yet a good while, and then took his leave of the brethren, and sailed thence into Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila, having shorn his head in Cenchrea: for he had a vow. And he came to Ephesus, and left them there: but he himself entered into the synagogue, and reasoned with the Jews. When they desired him to stay longer time with them, he consented not: but bade them farewell, saying, I must by all means keep this feast that cometh *in Jerusalem*.—And he sailed from Ephesus. And when he had landed at Cæsarea, and gone up and saluted the church, he went down to Antioch."

There is nothing in this relation that contradicts the supposition, that St. Paul's vow was the occasion of his going to Jerusalem at this time: or in other words, that he went thither to complete his vow and offer the appointed sacrifices; but there is a great deal to countenance it. The Lord had appeared to Paul, and promised to stand by him. Paul had actually been in a great danger, and received a very signal deliverance. It is likely, that at this season, or soon after, he made a vow; and perhaps had made the engagement to take the vow when the Lord appeared to him.

The account of his setting out from Corinth and going to Syria begins with the mention of the vow; and Paul makes all possible expedition to get to Jerusalem. When he comes thither he makes no long stay: and the "saluting the church" could not be the principal end of this journey, for that imports no more than a compliment of civility. St. Luke it is true does not mention expressly any thing which St. Paul did at Jerusalem beside saluting the church: but there was no necessity he should. The occasion of his going thither appears in the beginning of the account. And it is likely, that this was then so well understood that he could not be more particular without an unnecessary repetition. Throw away this design, and St. Luke has been guilty of a very great omission: and though Paul was in great haste to get to Jerusalem, there is no hint at all what was aimed at in the journey. Take in this design, and then we have here a complete story.

It is true St. Paul says: "I must by all means keep *this feast* that cometh in Jerusalem." But the feast time was not the only reason, because Paul did not keep every feast there. There was some particular inducement to this feast, which seems to me to be this: St. Paul was obliged, on account of his vow, to go to Jerusalem about this time; and a feast then approaching, it was certainly most eligible to be there at that season.

I have taken no notice of Grotius's[c] opinion, who thought it was Aquila and not Paul who

[a] Nec. licebat Naziræo esse extra terram Israëliticam. Nazir. iii. 6. Reland. ubi supra, p. 277. [b] Si quis vovisset Nazireatum extra terram, proficisci debuit in terram, & illic votum implere, Eduioth. iv. 11. apud Reland. ubi supra. [c] In Acts xviii. 18.

had this vow at Cenchrea: because, though there may be some ambiguity in the words themselves, yet the whole thread of St. Luke's narration renders it much more probable, if not certain, that St. Paul is the person spoken of. And learned men seem to be generally convinced of it.[a]

The vow at Cenchrea, whether Paul's or Aquila's, and "the four men" at Jerusalem "who had a vow," are an argument that this piece of devotion was not uncommon among the Jews at this time. Josephus has assured us expressly it was not. But there is something very particular in the advice given to Paul, Acts xxi. 24, namely, that he "should take these men and be at charges with them that they may *shave their heads*." [b] This may incline us to suppose, that it was an usual thing now for zealous men who had it in their power, to bear the whole, or at least a part of the charges, which a Nazarite was to be at when his vow was expired. It seems to have been a pretty heavy offering which was required of them. Perhaps this might give rise to this custom: but whatever was the reason of it, it appears to have been a common practice.

The emperor Claudius, in the beginning of his reign, made Herod Agrippa king of all Judea. 'And he, (Josephus says) as it was very likely for one to do, who had had so considerable an advancement, made all the expedition he could into his kingdom; and coming to Jerusalem, he 'offered up sacrifices of thanksgiving, and omitted nothing that was prescribed by the law. For 'which reason, he also ordered a good number of Nazarites to be shaved.' [c]

And here we have a remarkable agreement between the style of St. Luke and Josephus. St. Luke does not say,——"Be at charges with them," that they may perform sacrifices or make their offerings, but that they may "*shave* their heads." We learn from Josephus, that this was the common phrase among the Jews at this time.

We see likewise, how very proper this advice given by the brethren was to answer the purpose for which it was intended. It seems to have been a popular action. It was one of those things by which Agrippa obliged the Jews when he took possession of the kingdom.

VIII. St. Paul says, 2 Cor. xi. 24, "Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one." The number of stripes limited by Moses was forty. Deut. xxv. 3, "Forty stripes he may give him and not exceed." But the Jews at this time understood themselves to be confined to thirty-nine. For so Josephus gives us this law of Moses: 'He that acts contrary hereto, 'let him receive forty stripes wanting one [d] from the public officer.'

IX. We have in the New Testament divers examples of a strange kind of zeal, sometimes called, I think, by learned men, 'private zeal.' The Jews seem not to have made any scruple at all of putting a man to death without any the least form of a legal process, if he had said or done any thing which they judged a diminution of their religion. There were several attempts of this kind made upon the life of our Saviour, Luke iv. 28, 29. John viii. 59. We have many instances of such attempts made upon Paul.—"And when the Jews *laid wait* for him,—he purposed to return through Macedonia," Acts xx. 3 This design was concerted by them in Greece. Afterwards, when he was at Jerusalem, "The Jews which were of Asia stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him.—And as they were about to *kill* him, tidings came unto the chief captain of the band, that all Jerusalem was in an uproar," ch. xxi. 27—31.

The next day after this popular tumult, that the chief captain "might know the certainty wherefore he was accused, he called the chief priests and the whole council together," and had Paul examined before them. But a dissension arising amongst them, he took Paul from them and brought him again into the castle.

The Jews observing this, and finding they were not like to obtain a sentence with the expedition they wished for, and fearing possibly they should never get such an one as they desired; "When it was day certain of them banded together, and bound themselves under a curse, saying, that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul. And they were more than forty which had made this conspiracy. And they came to the chief priests and elders, and said, We have bound ourselves under a great curse, that we will eat nothing till we have slain Paul. Now therefore, ye with the council signify to the chief captain, that he bring him

[a] Whitby in loc. Cleric. Hist. Ecc. An. 54. n. 1. Basnage. Ann P. E. Vol. i. p. 657. n. 6.

[b] Και δαπανησον επ' αυτοις, ινα ξυρησωνται την κεφαλην.

[c] Διο και Ναζιραιων ξυρασθαι διελαξε μαλα συχνους. Jos. Ant. l. xix. c. 6. init.

[d] Ὁ δε παλιν ταυτα ποιησας, πληγας μια λιπουσας τεσσαρακοντα τῳ δημοσιῳ σκυλει λαβων. Ant. l. iv. c. 8. sect. 21.

down to you to-morrow, as though ye would inquire something more perfectly concerning him: and we, or ever he come near, are ready to kill him," Acts xxiii. 10—15.

Here are forty men who enter into a conspiracy to take away Paul's life in a clandestine manner; and they make no scruple to declare it to the council, relying upon their approbation. And it is plainly implied, that they entered readily into the measures they were to take for the accomplishing this vile design.

They were now disappointed by the vigilance of Lysias, who was chief captain at Jerusalem under Felix. But no sooner was Festus come into the province but they renew the same design. And, it is likely, they hoped to have surprised their new governor. It was very fit he should be gracious at his first arrival; and how could he suspect any harm, who was as yet a stranger among them? "Now when Festus was come into the province, after three days he ascended from Cæsarea to Jerusalem. Then the *high priest and the chief of the Jews* informed him against Paul, and besought him, and desired favour against him that he would send for him to Jerusalem, *laying wait in the way to kill him*," Acts xxv. 1—3.

If we had remaining any considerable number of the Jewish writers who flourished about this time, one might justly expect, (if we have here a true representation of these facts,) to find in them some traces of a principle that might produce such a behaviour, and possibly some examples resembling those here related. And though we have but very few of their writers come down to us, yet we have authentic evidences of a principle which obtained amongst them at this time, and which must necessarily have carried them into the conduct here described.

We have this principle laid down in Philo: he is speaking of what may be done toward a Jew that forsakes the worship of the true God. 'And [a] it is highly proper,' says he 'that 'all who have a zeal for virtue, should have a right to punish with their own hands without 'delay those who are guilty of this crime: not carrying them before a court of judicature, or 'the council, or any magistrate whatsoever; but to indulge the abhorrence of evil, the love 'of God their minds are filled with, in the immediate punishment of those impious wretches; 'reckoning that they are for that time all things, senators, judges, prætors, serjeants, accusers, 'witnesses, the laws, the people; that nothing hindering, they may without fear espouse the 'cause of piety.'

Philo here recommends this conduct toward those that forsake the true God; and he after this illustrates his principle from the example of Phinehas, Num. xxv. 7.

Let us next see how Josephus speaks concerning this point. When he has given the abridgment of the laws of Moses he says, that Moses having delivered them, 'called together 'the people with their wives and their children, their slaves being present likewise; and 'adjured them to observe his laws,—and that if any one of their kindred, or if any city should 'attempt to alter or dissolve the form of government they were under, they should both 'jointly and singly [or publickly and privately] take vengeance of them.[b]—And if they were 'not able to take punishment of them, they should however make it appear that such things 'had not been done with their consent. And the multitude swore to do so.'

One would think from what Josephus here says, that they understood this obligation to extend not only to the case of idolatry, but to every branch of their laws. If they did so, it must have occasioned many extravagant attempts at this time; when by means of the Roman power, they were unable in the way of legal processes to gratify their zeal; which, it is certain, ran very high at this time.

What Josephus says is the more to be regarded, in that these books of his Jewish Antiquities were professedly written by him for the information of the Greeks and Romans. And therefore it cannot be supposed, he would give a more offensive view of this transaction than was absolutely necessary to satisfy the Jews of those times, who might happen to see his performance.

Beside the discovery these two writers have made of the principle itself, there is in Josephus a story of a conspiracy against Herod which may not be omitted.

[a] Και επιξηραφθαι δε καλον απασι τοις ζηλον εχουσιν αρετης, εκ χειρος αναπρατειν ανυπερθετως τας τιμωριας, μηδε εις δικαστηριον, μηδ' εις βουλευτηριον, μηδε συνολως επ' αρχην αδικιας, αλλα τω παρασταντι μισοπονηρω παθει και φιλοθεω καλαχρησθαι προς τα [illegible] ασεβων απαραιτητως κολασεις, νομισασας αυτας υπο του καιρου τα παντα γεγενησθαι, βουλευτας, δικαστας, στρατηγους, εκκλησιαστας, καπηλους, μαρτυρας, νομους, δημον, ινα μηδενος ονιος εμποδων, αφοβοι συνοδω τωλλη προαγωνιζωνται οσιοτητος· Philo. de Monarch. lib. i. p. 818. D. E.

[b] Αλλ' αν τε τις των εξ αιματος συγγενων και καταλυειν επιχειρη την καθ' αυτας πολιτειαν, αν τε πολις, αμυνειν αυτας και κοινη και καθ' ιδιαν· eos & publice & privatim ulciserentur. Huds. vers. Antiq. l. iv. c. 8. sect. 45.

'Now Herod deviated more and more from our ancient customs, and by foreign inventions 'corrupted our constitution which is inviolable.—He instituted quinquennial games in honour 'of Cæsar, and built a theatre at Jerusalem.—The magnificence of these works was admired 'by foreigners, but to the Jews these things appeared to be a breach upon those laws which 'they highly respected.—But nothing disgusted them so much as the trophies. Supposing 'there were images under the arms, they were enraged at the sight of them, it being contrary 'to our law to worship any images.

'Herod knew very well how much they were provoked, but did not think it a proper 'opportunity to use violence; wherefore he endeavoured to appease them by fair words; but 'in vain. For with one consent they cried out, that they would suffer any extremity, rather 'than have images of men in their city.—Whereupon, Herod took some of their chief men into 'the theatre; and having ordered the ornaments to be taken off, when nothing appeared under-'neath but a naked piece of wood, the company smiled at the mistake.

'The people seemed upon this to be brought into a better temper.—But yet some there 'were, who still retained the offence they had taken at these practices: and esteeming the 'alteration of their laws to be the beginning of all manner of evils,——thought it their duty 'to run any hazard, rather than seem to connive at Herod, who was forcibly introducing 'things contrary to their customs; and who, whilst he had the name of king, was in fact the 'enemy of the whole nation. Ten men therefore of the city, binding themselves by an oath 'to run all hazards together, armed themselves with short daggers, which they hid under their 'clothes. And there was a blind man, who, being exceedingly moved at the reports he had 'heard, offered himself, and took the same oath with them. Not that he could give them any 'assistance, but he was resolved to suffer with them, if any accident befel them. And the 'zeal of this man added not a little to their resolution.'

Josephus goes on to relate, that they entered into the theatre, expecting Herod's arrival; resolved, if possible, to kill Herod himself, or, if they failed of that, a good number of his attendants. But one of Herod's spies getting intelligence of the design, prevented his going to the theatre. Being seized, they remitted nothing of their firmness; they did not so much as attempt to 'deny their intention; but produced the swords they had under their clothes, 'and professed that the conspiracy they had entered into, was laudable and pious, and that they 'had not entered into it for private profit, or any other particular interest, but for what was much 'more valuable, the ancient customs of their nation; which it was fit that all should see 'observed, or die in the defence of[a] them.'

This conspiracy against Herod himself, with all the circumstances here mentioned, must needs satisfy all men, there is nothing improbable in the facts of this kind related by St. Luke. According to all accounts, this mad and furious zeal was not altogether so much in vogue, or at so great a height, in Herod's time, as it was afterwards.

X. As Judea was a Roman province, during the time of our Saviour's ministry, so there appear, in the history the evangelists have given us, many tokens of the uneasiness which this circumstance gave the Jewish nation.

The asking Jesus that question, "Is it lawful for us to give tribute to Cæsar or not?" is respresented as a very subtle artifice to ensnare him, Matt. xxii. 17. Mark xii. 14. Luke xx. 21, 22. There can be no doubt, but it would have been judged an offence against the government they were subject to, to say it was not lawful; and it must have been unpopular among the Jews to affirm it was: for otherwise there would have been no extraordinary subtlety in this contrivance, which yet it is plainly intimated there was.

Moreover, a publican appears to have been a very odious and ignominious character. They are usually reckoned with harlots and sinners.

When our Lord went into the house of Zaccheus, this being done in the view of a great crowd of spectators, it is said, Luke xix. 7, that "all they who saw it, murmured, saying, that he was gone to be guest with a man that is a sinner." They were surprised, and even offended, that Jesus, whom they seemed then to have considered as a prophet, should make a visit to a man of that character; when they themselves, it is likely, disdained to have any conversation with him.

[a] Διωμολογησαντο δε καλως και συν ευσεβεια την συνωμοσιαν αυτων γενεσθαι, κερδος μεν ουδενος, ου δ' οικειων ενεκα παθων το δεον υπερ των κοινων εθων, α και πασιν η φυλαττειν η θνησκειν προ αυτων αξιον. Ant. l. xv. c. 8. sect. 1—4.

It is certain, the paying taxes to the Romans was at this time a very heavy affliction to the Jewish nation. When Josephus gives the history of the census or enrolment of their estates by Cyrenius, after Archelaus was deposed by Augustus, and had been banished into Gaul, he says, 'that the Jews were at first surprised at the name of a census, but that, by the persuasion 'of Joazar the high priest, they generally acquiesced in it. However, Judas Gaulanites, 'associating to himself Sadduc a pharisee, excited the people to rebellion; told them that 'an assessment would introduce downright slavery, and persuaded them to assert their 'liberty.——The people heard their discourses with incredible pleasure. And it is impossi-'ble to represent the evils the nation has suffered, which were owing to these men.—For 'Judas and Sadduc brought in amongst us this fourth sect; and there being many who em-'braced their notions, they not only caused disturbances in the government at that time, but 'laid the foundation of those evils that followed; which indeed are owing to this principle, 'till then unknown.'[a]

He then delivers the character and principles of the three chief and more ancient sects of the Jews; (as he calls them,) the pharisees, the sadducees, and the[b] essenes And afterwards returns again to the men he had been speaking of before. 'Judas the Galilean was the leader 'of the fourth sect. In all other points they hold the same sentiments with the pharisees. 'But they have an invincible affection for liberty, and acknowledge God alone their Lord and 'Governor. From this time the nation became infected with this distemper: and Gessius 'Florus, by abusing his power when he was president, threw them into despair, and provoked 'them to rebel against the Romans.'[c]

What is here transcribed from Josephus is enough to convince us, that the paying tribute to the Romans must have been very grievous to the Jews, and that they who collected it for them, must have been scorned and abhorred by the people: for he says, that Judas's and Sadduc's speeches were heard by them with incredible pleasure; that their principle had caused many great evils to the nation, and that it was one ground of the war with the Romans. But I must make two or three remarks. Josephus calls this a principle till then unknown to them. But this[d] is not exactly true without some limitation. There was an oath of fidelity to Augustus and Herod tendered to the Jewish nation, at the latter end of Herod's reign. But there were above six thousand pharisees,[e] who refused at that time to take it. Josephus says, that at the persuasion of Joazer the high priest the nation generally acquiesced. Doubtless, the Romans carried their point, but yet a very deep grudge remained in the minds of the Jewish people. And the service which Joazer had done the Romans upon this occasion, rendered him so unpopular, that it cost him the priesthood. These are the very words of Josephus: 'Cyrenius having made a seizure of Archelaus's effects, and finished the census 'in the thirty-seventh year after the victory at Actium, constituted Ananus the Son of Seth 'high priest, having taken away that dignity and honour from the high priest Joazer; who 'was overpowered by the seditions and tumults of the multitude,'[f] or in other words, who had been mobbed by the people.

Lastly, Josephus calls Judas of Galilee the head of a fourth sect. But, though he uses these words here, he oftentimes makes but three sects of the Jews. And I think, that the sect of the pharisees must generally have held the same notion, which he ascribes to Judas. The six thousand, who refused to take the oath above-mentioned, were pharisees. Josephus owns, that Judas's followers differed from the pharisees in nothing else, but this one principle of an excessive fondness for liberty. He expressly calls Sadduc, who joined with Judas, a pharisee. And I would fain know what sect Judas had been of before. If he had been of the sect of the sadducees or essenes, Josephus would have said so. The case seems to me to have been thus: Judas and they that held his principles were generally of the *sect* of the pharisees, but they were not *pharisees*; because this title was more peculiarly appropriated to those, who had some distinction for their learning, riches, posts, employments; or to those who had a great deal of leisure, and little else to do, but to make an uncommon shew of devotion and sanctity. Thus, I suppose, the pharisees in general had this principle, but the common people only avowed it. Josephus had a difficult task: he was concerned to save the honour of the supreme

[a] Ant. lib. xviii. c. 1. sect. 1.
[b] Ibid. sect. 2, 3, 4, 5.
[c] Ibid. sect. 6:
[d] Τῳ ασυνηθει προϊεμενον φιλοσοφιας τοιασδε· p. 792. 37.
[e] Ant. l. xvii. p. 753. 41.
[f] Ιωαζαρον τον αρχιερεα καλαςασιασθενλα ὑπο της πληθυος αφελομενος το αξιωμα της τιμης, Ανανον τον Σεθ' ἱςα αρχιερεα. Ant. l. xviii. cap. 2. in.

parts of the Roman government, and of the chief men of the Jewish nation, and particularly of those properly called pharisees, of whom he was one; and to throw the blame of the war, and all their sufferings, upon the cruelty and avarice of Albinus and Gessius Florus, the two last Roman procurators, and the common people among the Jews and their leaders. This part he has acted very finely. But I think, that if the pharisees had controlled this principle sincerely, they might have suppressed it. For a proof of this, I refer the reader to the chapter of the Jewish sects, where the power of the pharisees appears very evident. I shall here add only one passage more from Josephus. 'And on the account of these, [principles] they [the 'pharisees] are in great authority with the people; and all parts of divine worship, whether 'prayers or sacrifices, are performed according to their interpretations. This testimony have 'the cities given to their virtue, because of their following in all things that which is best, 'both in their words and actions.'[a]

XI. But though the Roman tribute was a heavy grievance, and they who collected it were much hated, yet it is evident that many Jews were employed in this work. The publicans mentioned in the gospels must have been of the Jewish nation. "Then came also the *publicans* to be baptised, and said unto him [John,] master, what shall we do?" Luke iii. 12. See Matt. xxi. 31, 32. It appears likewise, that some of the publicans in Judea were honest persons, and men of substance. Such an one was Levi, or Matthew. "And Levi made him a great feast in his own house: and there was a great company of publicans and of others that sate down with them," Luke v. 29. See Matt. ix. 10. Mark ii. 14. Nor is there any hint of any unjust practices, which Levi had been guilty of in the post he had enjoyed. And from the great openness and impartiality with which the evangelists have written their history, it is reasonable to conclude, there was no exception against Matthew's character, beside his employment; which, undoubtedly, was not reputable. Zaccheus, when he entertained Jesus, was certainly a thorough convert to virtue; and I think, he could not have been a very wicked man before. "And Zaccheus stood and said,——Behold Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken any thing from any man by false accusation, I restore him four-fold," Luke xix. 8. According to his computation, he supposed himself capable of making ample restitution to all he had injured, out of the remaining half of his goods, and it is likely supposed he should have somewhat left for himself. His unjust gains, therefore, were but a small portion of his estate.

That there were Jews who were publicans, and that some of these were honest and wealthy men, will appear from a story in Josephus. 'There lay near the Jewish synagogue at Cæsarea 'a piece of ground in the possession of a Greek of the same place. The Jews had often 'attempted to make a purchase of it, and had offered a great deal more than the intrinsic 'value. But the owner refused all their offers: and, as if he intended to affront them, began 'to build workhouses on the ground, leaving the Jews but a very strait and narrow passage. 'The warmer part of the people attempted to obstruct the builders. But Florus not restrain-'ing these practices by his authority, the chief men of the Jews, among whom was John the 'publican, not knowing well what course to take, wait upon Florus, and give him eight talents 'of silver to stop the building. That he might get the money into his hands, he promised all 'they desired; but having received it, went away from Cæsarea to Sebaste, leaving the riotous 'people to themselves, as if the Jews had only purchased a licence to quarrel.' And so it happened, the Jews and Greeks at Cæsarea had a battle, in which the former were worsted. Upon this John with twelve of the chief of the Jews go to Sebaste, and coming to Florus, 'make complaints to him concerning these proceedings, and entreat his assistance, modestly 'putting him in mind likewise of the[b] eight talents.'

This John must have been one of the most considerable of the Jews at Cæsarea, since he only is mentioned by name. Nor is there any thing here said of him, but what is very honourable; unless any think fit to except against the giving a bribe to a bad man, to do what is in itself just and reasonable.

There is, in the gospels, so frequent mention of publicans who were Jews, that I have been sometime inclined to think that the Roman tribute was collected for the most part by Jews.

[a] Καὶδι' αὐτα τοις τε δημοις πιθανόταλοι τυγχανεσι, και ὁποσα θειᾶ ευχων τε και ἱερων ποιησεως ἐξεῖησει τη εκεινων τυγχανεσι πραττομενα· εις τοσονδε αρετης αὐτοις αἱ πολεις εμαρτυρησαν επιηδευσε τε επι πασιν κρεισσονος, εν τε τη διαιτη βιε και λοσοις. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 1. sect. 3.

[b] De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 14. sect. 4, 5.

The Romans might choose this method. The Jews employed in this work became odious thereby, but the Roman government was relieved.

Josephus[a] has made mention of several Jews who were Roman knights. It is certain, that the Roman knights were the great[b] farmers and collectors of the Roman tribute. It seems to me, therefore, very probable, that those Jews had merited the honour of knighthood by their good services in some part of the revenue.

I do not pretend to be master of the Roman method of collecting taxes, but it appears to me not unlikely, that in most provinces the natives were employed in the towns as the under collectors, and that the receivers general or other superior officers only were Romans. It is plain, that in the province of Sicily, in the time of the republic, when a new assessment was made there, (as it was every fifth year,) Sicilians were appointed to be the under censors.[c] The publicans were far from being beloved in any province;[d] the Romans might therefore judge it prudent to employ some natives in collecting taxes: and it is probable, that in all places some would be found, who were willing to make an advantage of the subjection of their country, and accept places under the Romans their masters.

CHAP. X.

ROMAN CUSTOMS MENTIONED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. *The Romans used the question.* II. *Examined by scourging.* III. *Unlawful to scourge a Roman.* IV. *Especially uncondemned.* V. *Lysias's Power at Jersusalem.* VI. *Of St. Paul's citizenship.* VII. *This privilege bought with a great sum.* VIII. *Accusations not to be heard in the absence of the accused person.* IX. *Of St. Paul's imprisonment.* X. *Prisoners sent to Rome from the provinces.* XI. *Delivered there to the captain of the guard.*

IN the history of St. Paul, there are many Roman customs expressly mentioned or alluded to. I shall here endeavour to take some notice of all those we meet with, from the time of his being apprehended at Jerusalem to his confinement at Rome; excepting only those, which have been already observed in the chapter of the State of the Jews in Judea.

When Lysias, the chief captain, had rescued Paul out of the hands of the Jewish multitude, "he commanded him to be brought into the castle, and bade that he should be examined by scourging, that he might know wherefore they cried so against him. And as they bound him with thongs, Paul said unto the centurion that stood by, Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned?" Acts xxii. 24, 25.

Three or four things are here implied: that it was customary for the Romans to use the question or torture, for the discovery of crimes; that this was sometimes done by beating or whipping; that it was unlawful to scourge a Roman especially uncondemned.

I. It was customary for the Romans to make use of the question for the discovery of crimes. There are many instances of it about this time, in the history of the Roman[e] emperors. Nor had the Jews any particular reason to complain of the Romans putting this in practice in their country, provided it was not done when there were no grounds of suspicion, since Herod the Great had openly practised it there[f] before.

II. This was sometimes done by whipping or beating. There were several ways of examining persons, some were used to citizens or freemen, others were reckoned[g] servile. But that scourging was practised in this case, is evident from an example I give of it from Tacitus in

[a] De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 14. sect. 9. [b] Certe huic homini spes nulla salutis esset, si publicani, hoc est, si equites Romani, judicarent. Cic. in Verr. lib. iii. cap. 62. n. 168.

[c] Cic. in Verr. lib. ii. cap. 53. n. 131. & seq.

[d] Sic porro nostros homines diligunt, ut his soli neque publicanus neque negotiator odio sit. Ibid. cap. 3. n. 7.

[e] Nihil enim exprimi quæstione potuit, Suet. in vit. August. 19. Diversi interrogantur.——Tum exorta suspicio, quia non congruentia responderant: inditaque vincla. Et tormentorum aspectum ac minas non tulere. Tacit. Ann. 15, 56, & passim.

[f] Antiq. lib. xvi. cap. 10. sect. 2—5. [g] Et Q. Gallium prætorem—servilem in modum torsit: ac fatentem nihil, jussit occidi. Sueton. Aug. c. 27. [h] Atque interim Nero recordatus Volusii Proculi indicio Epicharim attineri,

the reign of [h] Nero. Epicaris, a woman, among other tortures was so examined. And it is observable that she was not then a slave. There are other instances in [a] Grotius. It is likely that a stick was[b] made use of in examining a citizen, rods for others.

III. Thirdly, It is intimated, that it was unlawful to scourge a Roman: which thing is also taken notice of in the account of the treatment of Paul and Silas at Philippi, Acts xvi. 22—37. Cicero says, it was a crime to bind or whip a Roman [c] citizen. It is one of his charges against Verres, that he had openly whipped a Roman at Messina who had claimed the privilege of the city, and when they were going to inflict this punishment upon him, cried out to the officers; (much after the same manner that Paul is said to have done;) I am a Roman citizen.[d] Here again it is to be observed, that a citizen of Rome, if he had committed a fault that deserved it, might be beaten with a stick, but might not be whipped with rods.[e]

IV. But it was more especially unlawful to punish a man uncondemned, or before he had been convicted. This the magistrates at Philippi did, but they soon repented of it. It is said to have been one of the laws of [f] the twelve tables, that no man should be put to death before he had been tried. According to [g] Dionysius, this was a law among the Romans long before the twelve tables were composed. Indeed I think, it must be a law with all people who have any sense of justice or equity. Cicero lays it down as an undoubted maxim, that no sentence of condemnation ought to be pronounced before a cause had been heard.[h]

V. From Lysias's order to examine St. Paul, and from other things done by him at Jerusalem, it may be inferred that he had there some sort of jurisdiction. It appears from a passage alleged by me above [i] from Marcianus, that it was usual for presidents of provinces to delegate part of their power and authority to under officers. For this reason Cicero advises his brother, then president of Asia, not only to oberve himself the rules of justice, but to have a strict eye upon all the [k] ministers of his government, and to be very circumspect in the choice of persons to whom he committed any [l] power. And it appears from a passage of Josephus already [m] transcribed, that there were at Cæsarea officers under Felix who had the power of whipping offenders.

I have in answer to Tertullus's accusation given Lysias [n] a great character. But perhaps some may think, that this order for examining St. Paul by scourging is unjustifiable. They may be of opinion, that here were not sufficient grounds of suspicion to put him to the question. To this I say: If I should here abandon Lysias, my apology for him will in some respect be strengthened by it. If Lysias here strained a point in complaisance to the Jewish multitude, and bore too hard upon his prisoner, Tertullus's complaints will appear the more unreasonable. But I am still inclined to think that Lysias acted honestly herein. Paul was a stranger to him, and he could not but pay some regard to the vehement and general clamour of the people of the city in which he resided, and which was the metropolis of the province. Any man in the same case with Lysias would have been apt to conclude, that Paul must have committed some offence or other when "they cried so against him." The method of inquiry he had appointed was not fit to be practised upon a Roman; but Lysias did not then know that Paul was a

ratusque muliebre corpus impar dolori, tormentis dilacerari jubet. At illam non *verbera*, non ignes, non ira eo acrius torquentium ne a femina spernerentur, pervicere quin objecta denegaret—clariore exemplo *libertina* mulier—cum ingenui & viri & equites Romani senatoresque, intacti tormentis, clarissima suorum quisque pignorum proderent. Ann. xv. c. 57.

[a] Ad. Matt. c. xxvii. 19. [b] Nullam existimationis infamiam avunculus tuus pertimescat ictibus fustium subjectus ob crimen quæstione habitâ. L. Nullam. c. ap. Grot. ibid. [c] Facinus est vinciri civem Romanum, scelus verberari. In Verr. l v. n. 170. [d] Cædebatur virgis in medio foro Messanæ civis Romanus, judices; cum interea nullus gemitus, nulla vox alia istius miseri, inter dolorem crepitumque plagarum audiebatur, nisi hæc, *civis Romanus sum.* Hac se commemoratione civitatis omnia verbera depulsurum cruciatumque a corpore dejecturum arbitrabatur. Ibid. n. 162. O nomen dulce libertatis! O jus eximium nostræ civitatis! O lex Porcia, legesque Semproniæ!——Huccine tandem omnia recidlerunt, ut civis Romanus in provinciâ populi Romani,—deligatus in foro virgis cæderetur? n. 163. Oblitosne igitur hos putatis esse, quemadmodum sit iste solitus virgis plebem Romanam concidere? In Verr. lib. i. n. 122. [e] Ex quibus causis liber fustibus cæditur, ex his servus flagellis cædi. Lib. x. in pr. ff. de pœnis. [f] Interfici indemnatum quemcunque hominem, etiam xii. Tabularum decreta vetuerant. Hæc Salvianus episcopus Massiliensis de judicio & providentia. Fragment. xii. Tab. Tit. 27. sect. 1. [g] Τες νομες παρεχομενοι τες εκ εωνλας ακριλον αποκτεινειν εδενα. Antiq. Rom. lib. iii. c. 22. p. 153. v. 7. [h] Nam, causâ cognitâ multi possunt absolvi; incognitâ quidem condemnari nemo potest. In Verr. lib. i. n. 25. [i] P. 42. note [f].

[k] Nequaquam satis esse, ipsum hasce habere virtutes, sed esse circumspiciendum diligenter, ut in hac custodiâ provinciæ non te unum, sed omnes ministros imperii tui, sociis, & civibus & reipublicæ præstare videare. Ad Quint. Fratr. lib. i. cap. 3. [l] Sed si quis est, in quo jam offenderis, de quo aliquid senseris; huic nihil credideris, nullam partem existimationis tuæ commiseris. Ibid. cap. 4.

[m] P. 101. [n] P. 40.

Roman. In other respects it must have been unexceptionable; for I cannot but think, it was a more gentle way of examining than some others then in use.

VI. After St. Paul had been beaten at Philippi, he complained of the injustice done him because he was a Roman. As they were binding him at Jerusalem, he claimed the privilege of a Roman citizen, and it was granted him; for it follows: "When the centurion heard that, he went and told the chief captain, saying, Take heed what thou dost, for this man is a Roman. Then the chief captain came, and said unto him; Tell me, art thou a Roman? He said, Yea. And the chief captain answered, With a great sum obtained I this freedom. And Paul said, But I was free born. Then straightway they departed from him which should have examined him: and the chief captain also was afraid after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had bound him." Acts xxii. 26—29.

St. Paul therefore does expressly affirm that he was a Roman. Nor ought it to be thought strange that a Jew should be a citizen of Rome. There were many such instances about this time. Julius Cæsar bestowed the freedom of the city upon Antipater,[a] the father of Herod the Great, in consideration of services he had done him. Philo says that there was a great number of Jews in Augustus's time at Rome, who had been taken captives and carried thither, and who had obtained their freedom from their masters.[b] Josephus complains loudly, as well as very justly, of Florus the last procurator of Judea, 'That he had been guilty of an unheard of 'cruelty, and what had never been done before, when he whipped before his tribunal, and cru-'cified men of the equestrian rank. For, says he, though their extraction was Jewish their 'quality[c] was Roman.' And our historian Josephus, who was a Jewish priest, received the freedom of the city from Vespasian after the war was finished, as he has assured us himself.[d]

But though there is no improbability but that St. Paul might be a Roman citizen, yet it has been a question how he came by this privilege. Some learned[e] men are of opinion that Tarsus was a Roman colony, and that St. Paul was therefore a citizen of Rome by virtue of his nativity at Tarsus. But it will be worth our while to take a view of St. Luke's account of this matter. Lysias took Paul out of the hands of the Jews. "And as Paul was to be led into the castle, he said unto the chief captain, May I speak unto thee? Who said, Canst thou speak Greek? Art thou not that Egyptian—? But Paul said, I am a man which am a Jew of Tarsus, a city in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city: and I beseech thee, suffer me to speak unto the people." Acts xxi. 37—39. In his speech, St. Paul tells the Jews, "I am verily a man which am a Jew, born in Tarsus, a city in Cilicia," chap. xxii. 3.

When the people had interrupted Paul's speech, "the chief captain commanded him to be brought into the castle, and bade that he should be examined by scourging," ch. xxii. 23, 24. The chief captain therefore did not suspect as yet that Paul was a citizen of Rome, though he had been told by Paul he was of Tarsus. St. Paul had also said the same thing at the beginning of his speech to the Jews: but I do not insist upon that; for though it is likely the chief captain stood by, I suppose he did not understand Paul, his speech being made in the Hebrew tongue.

It cannot be said, that the chief captain bade that he should be examined with scourging, though he knew Paul to be a Roman: because Lysias does not appear to be one of those fierce officers, that have no regard to laws. Quite the contrary: as soon as Paul had claimed his privilege, "then straitway they departed from him which should have examined him: and the chief captain also was afraid after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had bound him."

"Then the chief captain came and said unto him: Tell me, art thou a Roman? He said, Yea." If Tarsus had been a town of Roman citizens, St. Paul having before told the chief captain that he was of Tarsus, the question now put would not have been, Art thou a Roman? but, Art thou really of Tarsus?

The sequel of this discourse affords more proof. "The chief captain answered, With a great sum obtained I this freedom." Lysias having purchased this privilege with a great sum, and observing nothing considerable in Paul's person or mien, and supposing therefore that he had no money to spare, he still makes a doubt of the truth of his claim. This answer of Lysias had been altogether impertinent, if Tarsus had been a town of Roman citizens. "And Paul

[a] Πολίτεια τε αὐτον τῇ Ῥωμαιων εἱμησεν. Joseph. de Bell. lib. i. p. 978. v. 29. [b] De legat. p. 1014. C. E. [c] Ὢν εἰ και το γενος Ιουδαιων, αλλα το γεν αξιωμα Ῥωμαϊκον ην. Jos. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 14. fin. [d] De vitâ. p. 945. 28. [e] Baron. Ann. A. 58. n. 147, 148. Hamm. ad Acts xxii. 27. Tillemont memoir. Ecclesi. Witsius de vitâ Pauli. sect. 1. n. 6.

said, But I was free born:" a plain indication that it wasa privilege derived to him from his parents. And on this account the opposition between the chief captain's purchase and Paul's free birth is strong and beautiful. If Paul's freedom had been owing to his nativity in any place, the place would certainly have been mentioned in this conference between him and Lysias.

And it is observable, that St. Luke has often mentioned Tarsus, but never calls it a colony or municipium, as he would have done in all probability if it had been so. Upon the whole I think it very plain, that St. Luke does not suppose Paul to have been a Roman by virtue of his birth at Tarsus.

Let us now consider the external evidence, and inquire what privileges the Roman or Greek authors ascribe to Tarsus. Strabo says, the people of Tarsus were much given to the study of philosophy, and all other parts of polite literature: 'That Tarsus was very populous, 'and reckoned the metropolis of the country;'[a] but he no where says it was a colony or municipium. It has been thought by some that Augustus conferred upon them the honour of the citizenship of Rome, beside other privileges, as a reward for their attachment to the interest of Julius Cæsar, and as a recompense for the hardships they suffered from [b] Cassius. But there is no proof of this. None of the authors who have mentioned these matters say any thing of the citizenship. Appian says, 'that Mark Antony gave liberty and immunity from taxes to 'Laodicea and Tarsus, and ordered by a special decree, that all citizens of Tarsus, that had 'been taken captive and sold for slaves, 'should be set at liberty.' Lucian says, 'that at the 'request of Athenodorus of Tarsus, the stoic philosopher, and preceptor of Augustus, the city 'of Tarsus obtained freedom from tribute.'[d] Pliny calls [e] Tarsus a free city: which is an incontestable proof it was not a Roman colony, for then he would have called it so. When Ammianus Marcellinus[f] mentions Tarsus, he speaks of it only as a considerable city of Cilicia. Ulpian says there were two colonies in Cilicia; but Tarsus is not one of those which he mentions.[g]

Tillemont[h] refers to Baron Spanheim's Treatise of Medals, as the source of the proofs he brings for the citizenship of Tarsus. But though the Baron did then suppose Tarsus had this privilege, yet, I think, the arguments he uses are no proof of it, as he himself was satisfied [i] afterwards. The only proof he then had of it was a medal of Gordian, in which [k] Tarsus is styled a colony, and a free city. But though it were a colony then, it is no evidence that it was so when St. Paul was born; or that it was made a colony by Augustus. And after all, the medal on which Spanheim relied, does not style Tarsus a colony, but only a free city, as he found afterwards.[l]

Upon the whole, therefore, St. Luke's account is fully confirmed by the best authorities. Tarsus was no "mean city," but it was not a municipium, or town of Roman citizens.

Possibly some may inquire, if St. Paul was not a Roman citizen, or entitled to some other peculiar privileges, by his being born at Tarsus, to what purpose did he make any mention of it? I answer, every one in St. Paul's circumstances is naturally led to mention the place of his nativity or residence, especially when he is asked who he is. But St. Paul's innocence did not depend upon his being a Roman, but a Jew: and therefore this last, together with the place of his birth, is what he here mentions. The outcry, when St. Paul was seized, was, "Men of Israel, help, this is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people;—And farther brought Greeks also into the temple, and hath polluted this holy place.——And all the

[a] Τοσαυτη δε τοις ενθαδε ανθρωποις σπουδη προς τε φιλοσοφιαν, και την αλλην εγκυκλιον απασαν παιδειαν, γεγονεν——και τ' αλλα τ' ευανδρει, και πλειστον δυναται, τον της μητροπολεως επεχουσα λογον. Lib. xiv. p. 991. A. B. [b] Vid. Tillemont Memoires Ecclesiastiques: St. Paul Article premier.

[c] Λαοδικεας δε και Ταρσεας ελευθερους ηφιει και αλειας φορων, και Ταρσεων τους στρατευσαντας απελυε της δουλειας διαλαμβανει. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 1077. ed. Amstel. Oct. 1670.

[d] Αθηνοδωρος, Ταρσευς, στωϊκος, ος και διδασκαλος εγενετο Καισαρος Σεβαστου θεου, υφ' ου ἡ Ταρσεων πολις και φορων εκφισθη, κ. λ. Vol. 2. edit. Amst. p. 473. Macrob.

[e] Cydnus Tarsum, liberam urbem, procul a mari secans. Plin. l. v. c. 27 in. [f] Ciliciam vero Tarsus nobilitat, urbs perspicabilis, L. xiv. c. 8. [g] Est & in Bithyniâ (colonia) Apamena, & in Ponto Sinopensis. Est & in Ciliciâ Seliffus & Trajanopolis. L. i. sect. 10, 11. ff. de censibus.

[h] Ubi supra. [i] See his Orbis Romanus. p. 141. &c. The edition which Mr. Tillemont refers to of Spanheim de Præstantiâ, &c. is the quarto edit. Amst. 1671. His Orbis Romanus was published at London, 1703. [k] Iis vero liberæ Ciliciæ locis adscribenda caput ejusdem provinciæ Tarsus, juxta insignem Gordiani nummum (in Cimel. Reg. Gall.) KOΛ. ΕΛΕΥΘ. ΤΑΡC. qui insuper Romanam coloniam eandem extitisse arguit. Span. de Præst. p. 785. [l] Ipsum vero ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑΣ seu liberæ nomen, quod eidem largitur Plinius (Lib. v. c. 27.) huic Ciliciæ metropoli in antiquo Regiæ Gallorum Gazæ (Specim. Morell. Tab iv.) nummo sub Caracallâ percusso tribuitur; non vero, quod Cl. Patini fide olim credideram, Coloniæ itidem appellatio. Immo, ut dies diem docet, & si Romana colonia sub primis Cæsaribus, quod de eâ nuspiam legitur, evasisset eadem Tarsus; haud ideo oppidum civium Romanorum——extitisset. Spanh. Orb. Rom. p. 141.

city was moved, and the people ran together; and they took Paul, and drew him out of the temple; and forthwith the doors were shut," Acts xxi. 28—30.

The Jews which were of Asia, who began the disturbance, knew well enough that Paul was a Jew; but the cry being, that the "temple had been polluted," and Paul being taken by them, and drawn out of the temple, it is likely, a great part of the multitude thought St. Paul had been a gentile, who had gone beyond the bounds prescribed to such: which when any one but a Jew had done, he was liable to the heaviest punishment. Therefore, when the chief captain asked him who he was, he told him he was a Jew of Tarsus; which was enough to satisfy him, the Jews had no right to use him as they did, for going into the temple. And it is observable, that immediately upon St. Paul's beginning to speak: "Men, brethren, and fathers, hear ye my defence; when they heard that he spake in the Hebrew tongue to them, they kept the more silence." This for the present allayed the heat, because it was a strong presumption, that he was not a gentile.

St. Paul therefore had no reason, at this time, to tell them he was a Roman citizen; but it was of the last importance, to assure both the chief captain and the multitude that he was a Jew.

St. Luke has not informed us, how St. Paul's citizenship was derived to him. He was "free born:" but what was the original of this privilege does not appear. It seems to me, however, not unlikly, that some of St. Paul's ancestors had obtained it for services they had done the Roman commonwealth in [a] the wars. The Jews had formerly served the kings of Syria in their armies, and afterwards the Romans. But they had been long since discharged from that service, upon the account of some religious scruples which they had. There are in Josephus the copies of these discharges given them at Ephesus, Delus, and other places. One of these discharges runs thus: 'Lucius [b] Lentulus the consul declared, "I have dismissed "from the service the Jewish Roman citizens, who observe the rites of the Jewish religion at "Ephesus."' Again the decree of the Delians is thus: 'Bæotus being archon, the order of 'the prætors. Marcus Piso the ambassador, who was also the officer appointed to raise soldiers, 'being in our city, having called together us, and a sufficient number of other citizens, gave 'orders, that if there were any Jewish Roman citizens, no man should disturb any of them on 'the account of military service; for as much as Cornelius Lentulus, the consul, had dismissed 'the Jews from the military service on account of their religion.' [c]

This may give ground to suppose, that a good number of Jews, who served the Romans in auxiliary armies, had obtained the freedom of the city. But whether any of St Paul's ancestors deserved it in this, or some other way, I do not determine, nor is it necessary we should.

VII. We have sufficiently considered St. Paul's citizenship. We must not, however, pass by what the chief captain said to him: "With a great sum obtained I this freedom." It was often given to men and cities as a reward [d] of some special merit or services: but that it was also bought, and that at a great price, appears from a passage of Dio, which I leave with the reader. 'He [Claudius] took away the freedom of the city from many who were unworthy 'of it, and he gave it without any reason to others; sometimes to single persons, at other 'times to great numbers together. For Romans having the preference above strangers, there 'were many who begged the citizenship of the emperor; and others who bought it of Messalina, 'or the freed men. By which means this privilege, which had been bought formerly at a 'great price, became so cheap, that merry people would say, a man might be made a Roman 'citizen for a few pieces of broken glass.' [e]

VIII. We have already had occasion to observe the justice of the Roman laws, in forbiding to punish any man, till he had been tried and convicted. We have something farther observable in the conduct of Felix and Festus, who refused to give Paul's cause a hearing unless both parties, namely St. Paul and his accusers, were present. Lysias sent Paul under a strong guard from Jerusalem to Cæsarea. "Who when they came to Cæsarea, and delivered the epistle to the governor, [Felix] presented Paul also before him. And when the governor had

[a] Vid. Grot. ad Act. xxii. 28. [b] Λευκιος δε Λενλυλος ὑπαλος ειπεν· Πολλας Ῥωμαιων Ιεδαιες, ἱερα Ιεδαϊκα εχονλας και ποιενλας εν Εφεσω, προ τε βημαλος δεισιδαιμονιας ενεκα γραλειας απελυσα. Ant. l. xiv. c. 10. sect. 13.

[c] Ibid. sect. 14. [d] —Eoque Romana civitas olim data, cum id rarum, nec nisi virtuti pretium esset. Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. c. 40. [e] Συχνες δε δη και αλλες αναξιες της πολιτειας απηλατε, και ἑτεροις αυτην και πανυ αναιδην, τοις μεν καθ' ανδρα, τοις δε και αὑροοις, εδιδε· επειδαν γαρ εν πασιν, ὡς ειπειν, οἱ Ῥωμαιοι των ξενων προεκεκριμενοι, πολλοι αυτην παρα τε εκεινε αυτε ηιτενλο, και παρα της Μεσσαλινης των τε Καισαρειων ωνεῖτο· και δια τελο μεγαλων το πρωτον χρημαιων πραβεισα, επειθ' ουτως ὑπο της ευχερειας επευωνηθη, ὡστε και λοιδοριθηναι, ὁτι καν ναλινα τις σκευη συνλεξιμμενα δωτινι, πολιτης εσαι. Dio. l. lx. p. 676. C. D.

read the letter, he asked of what province he was. And when he understood that he was of Cilicia: I will hear thee, said he, when thine accusers also are come." Acts xxiii. 33—35. xxiv. 7, 8. When the Jews at Jerusalem "desired favour of Festus against Paul, Festus answered, that Paul should be kept at Cæsarea, and that he himself would depart shortly thither. Let them therefore, said he, which among you are able, go down with me, and accuse this man, if there be any wickedness in him." ch. xxv. 4, 5. This is somewhat more particularly related, when "Festus declared Paul's cause unto the king, [Agrippa,] saying, There is a certain man left in bonds by Felix. About whom, when I was at Jerusalem, the chief priests and the elders of the Jews informed me, desiring to have judgment against him. To whom I answered, *It is not the custom of the Romans,* to deliver any man to die, before that he which is accused have the accusers *face* to *face,* and *have licence to answer for himself* concerning the crime laid against him," ver. 14—16.

Cicero, in his orations against Verres, the infamous prætor of Sicily, continually represents these as the most illegal and inhuman proceedings, that he received accusations against men when they were absent, and condemned[a] them without a hearing. And Tertullian makes mention of a Roman president, who when a christian was sent to him with a libel, perceiving there had been some unfair dealing, tore the libel to pieces, and said, he should not act contrary to law, and hear a man without[b] his accuser.

IX. We will now proceed to St. Paul's imprisonment. I have deferred it till now, that we might take in at once the whole account of this matter, from his being taken into custody at Jerusalem, to his two years confinement at Rome.

When Lysias heard that all Jerusalem was in an uproar, he "immdiately took soldiers, and ran down to them, and when they saw him, they left beating Paul. Then the chief captain came near, and took him, and commanded him to be bound with two chains," Acts xxi. 32, 33. "On the morrow, because he would know the certainty, wherefore he was accused of the Jews, he loosed him from his bands, and commanded the chief priests, and all their council, to appear: and brought Paul down, and set him before them," ch. xxii. 30. St. Paul was removed from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, and "Felix commanded him to be kept in Herod's judgment-hall." The chief priests and others went down thither, and accused him before Felix. After this hearing, "He [Felix] commanded a centurion to keep Paul, and to let him have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to minister, or come unto him. But after two years, Porcius Festus came into Felix's room: and Felix being willing to shew the Jews a pleasure, left Paul bound," ch. xxiv. 23—27. King Agrippa having said to Paul, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a christian; Paul said, I would to God that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost, and altogether such as I am, except these bonds," ch. xxvi. 29. "And when he had thus spoken, the king rose up,——and they talked between themselves, saying, this man doth nothing worthy of death or of bonds." After this St. Paul was carried to Italy, "and when we came to Rome, the centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard: but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him," ch. xxviii. 16. "After three days Paul called the chief of the Jews together. And he said unto them,—For the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain," ver. 20.—"And when they had appointed him a day, there came many to him into his lodging," ver. 23. "And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no man forbidding him," ver. 30, 31. St. Paul makes mention of his bonds in several of his epistles; but those places I need not transcribe.

We have observed from Cicero, that it was unlawful to bind, as well as to scourge a Roman citizen: and it is said, that "the chief captain was afraid, after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had *bound* him;" and yet St. Paul was several years in bonds. But there is no inconsistence in this. A citizen might not be bound with thongs as a punishment, or in order to be scourged: but a Roman citizen might certainly be kept in custody, upon just suspicions,

[a] Iste non dubitat jubere nomen deferri: & tum primum opinor istum absentis nomen recepisse. Res clara Siciliâ totâ, propter cælati argenti cupiditatem reos fieri rerum capitalium; neque solùm reos fieri, sed etiam absentes. In Verr. lib. iv. c. 40. 41. Deinde crimen sine accusatione, sententia sine consilio, damnatio sine defensione. Lib. v. n. 23. Sed quid ego hospitii jura in hac tam immani belluâ commemoro? qui Sthenium——absentem in reos retulerit, causâ indictâ, capite damnavit. Ibid. n. 109. [b] Pudens etiam missum ad se Christianum, in elogio concussione ejus intellectâ, dimisit, scisso eodem elogio, sine accusatore negans se auditurum hominem, secundum mandatum. Ad Scapulam, c. 4.

or when there were any credible accusations brought against him. And there was nothing at all illegal in the way in which St. Paul was confined. There are many instances in the Roman authors, of knights and senators of Rome, who were chained in the same manner that Paul was.[a]

In this history of St. Paul there is mention sometimes of chains in the plural number, and at other times of chain in the singular. When the chief captain "took him" from the Jews, he "commanded[b] him to be bound with two chains," Acts xxi. 33. Whether St. Paul continued to be bound with two chains so long as he was kept in Judea I cannot say; because, though the word bands be used generally afterwards in the plural number, yet the word[c] is of a general meaning, and may imply no more than confinement with one or more chains. However it is certain he was bound with but one chain whilst he was at Rome: for it is said, that "Paul was suffered to dwell with a soldier that kept him," ch. xxviii. 16. And he tells "the chief of the Jews," whom he had sent for there, "that for the hope of Israel he was[d] bound with this chain." And in another place he says, (though the text is generally thought not to relate to this confinement,) "The Lord give mercy to the house of Onesiphorus, for he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my *chain*," 2 Tim. i. 16.

The way of chaining prisoners was in this manner. There was an iron chain of a convenient length, which was fastened at one end to the hand of the prisoner, and at the other to the arm of the soldier. When a person was committed to the care of one soldier, which was a very common way, and consequently there was but one chain, the chain was fastened to the right arm of the prisoner, and to the left arm of the soldier. This is evident from a passage of [e] Seneca. It is easy to conclude, that when a second soldier and another chain was appointed, the prisoner must wear the other chain on his left hand, and the soldier on his right.

It is likely, that this method of confinement obtained very much all over the Roman empire. St. Peter was bound thus at Jerusalem by Herod Agrippa then king of Judea. "The same night Peter was sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two chains, and the keepers before the door kept the prison," Acts xii. 6.

It is observable, that when Lysias brought Paul before the council, "that he might know wherefore he was accused of the Jews, *he loosed* him from his bands," ch. xxii. 30. But it is somewhat doubtful, whether St. Paul had not this chain on when he appeared before Agrippa; for he says, "I would to God that all that hear me this day were altogether such as I am, except these bonds." Perhaps St. Paul means no more hereby than this state of imprisonment. I think indeed, that it was not a generous treatment of his prisoner, nor very decent upon other accounts, for Festus to set Paul before Agrippa and Bernice with his chains on. However, there was a Roman of considerable quality, who was accused, and made his defence before the senate of Rome, in the reign of Tiberius, with his chains[f] upon him.

St. Paul seems to have been under a military custody. I need not remind the reader of any particulars for a proof of this, it runs through the whole account. There were however several changes of the manner of his confinement. At first he was carried into the Castle of Antonia at Jerusalem, chained undoubtedly to a soldier or soldiers, for that must be supposed all along, ch. xxi. 37. xxii. 24. When he was sent to Cæsarea, "Felix commanded that he should be kept in Herod's judgment-hall," ch. xxiii. 35. But there was some alteration made, after that Felix had heard Paul and the high priest and others that came down from Jerusalem. "And he" [Felix] "commanded a centurion to keep Paul, and to let him have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to minister, or come unto him," Acts xxiv. 23. These are certainly new orders; the former straitness must have been hereupon abated; and perhaps the place of confinement was changed. I am inclined to think, that St. Paul was now removed from

[a] At Claudius, nihil ultra scrutatus, citis cum militibus,—— Crispinum prætorii præfectum misit; a quo repertus [Valerius Asiaticus bis consul] est apud Baias, vinclisque inditis in urbem raptus. Tacit. Ann. lib. xi. c. i. P. Sabinum prætorii præfectum, ob amicitiam Cæcinæ vinciri jubet [Vitellius]. Id. Hist. lib. iii. c. 36. Et Julius Celsus tribunus, in vinclis laxatam catenam, & circumdatam in diversum tendens, suam ipse cervicem perfregit. Id. Ann. lib. vi. c. 14. [b] Δεθηναι αλυσεσι δυσι. [c] Ελυσεν αυτον απο των δεσμων. Act. xxii. 30. Παρεκαθος των δεσμων τεθων. Act. xxvi. 20. [d] Την αλυσιν ταυτην περικειμαι. [e] Aliorum aurea catena est, & laxa——sed quid refert? eâdem custodiâ universos circumdedit. Alligatique sunt etiam qui alligaverunt. Nisi tu forte leviorem in sinistrâ catenam putas. Seneca de Tranquil. cap. 10. Quemadmodum eadem catena & custodiam & militem copulat, sic ista, quæ tam dissimilia sunt, pariter incedunt. Id. Epist. 5. [f] Iisdem consulibus miserarum ac sævitiæ exemplum atrox, reus pater, accusator filius, (nomen utrique Vibius Serenus) in senatum inducti sunt. Ab exilio retractus, & tum *Catena* vinctus, perorante filio,—— At contra reus, nihil infracto animo, obversus in filium, quatere *vincula*, vocare ultores Deos, &c. Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. c. 28.

"Herod's judgment-hall" to the centurion's own habitation, or to that part of the city where the soldiers had their quarters.

But the most gentle easy confinement of all was that which St. Paul had at Rome. There "he was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him,—in his lodging,—in his own hired house," ch. xxviii. 16, 23, 30. This must have been owing very much to the honourable testimonial which Porcius Festus transmitted with him; and in part, it is likely, to the account given in by the centurion, who had conducted Paul and the other prisoners from Cæsarea into Italy; as also in part, and perhaps chiefly, to the goodness[a] of Burrhus, then præfect of the prætorium, or captain of the guard to Nero.

There were several methods of[b] keeping prisoners made use of in the city and in the provinces. Ulpian says, 'That the proconsul is wont to judge, whether the person ought to be 'put into the prison, or delivered to a soldier to keep, or whether he should be committed to 'sureties, or even to himself;' (that is, to the accused person himself;) 'And herein usually 'regard is had to the nature of the crime charged upon any one, and to the preservation of 'his honour, as also to the wealth or substance, seeming[c] innocence, or dignity of the party 'accused.'

It is very easy to perceive what was chiefly regarded by those Roman officers who treated St. Paul so mildly; not his wealth, not his dignity, but his innocence.

There is no one single instance that I know of, that will so much illustrate the whole story of St. Paul's imprisonment, as that of Herod Agrippa; who was imprisoned by Tiberius in the latter end of his reign, and afterwards came to be king of all Judea, as has been shewn already.

Agrippa had said some improper things of Tiberius, in the hearing of one of his own servants; who, having some time after taken a disgust at his master,[d] went and informed Tiberius against him. Agrippa went one day, as others did, to wait on Tiberius. Tiberius crediting what the servant had said, and bearing likewise some grudge against Agrippa, ordered Macro the præfect of the prætorium to bind him. Whereupon 'the officers took him and bound 'him in his purple dress which he was then in.—But Antonia[e] was extremely afflicted at this 'misfortune of Agrippa, and yet she judged it very difficult to say any thing to Tiberius in his 'favour; and that, indeed, it would be to no purpose. She therefore went to Macro, and 'desired that he would take care that the soldiers which kept guard upon him should be 'civil, good natured fellows, and that the centurion who presided over the guard, and the 'soldier[f] to whom Agrippa was bound, might be men of the same character, and that his freed-'men and friends might have access to him; and in a word, that he might want nothing 'necessary for his health. These therefore went to him, his friend Silas, and his freedmen 'Marsyas and Stœchus, who brought him the provisions he chose to have. They brought in 'likewise bed-clothes, and such like things, as if they were for sale, which they accommodated 'him with at night; the soldiers themselves joining with them in these services, in obedience 'to Macro's orders. Thus things went with Agrippa for six months.'[g]

When Tiberius was dead, 'there came two letters to Rome from Caius [Caligula]; one to 'the senate, notifyingthe death of Tiberius, and his own accession to the empire; and another 'to Piso the præfect of the city, containing the same things, and also ordering that Agrippa 'should be removed from the[h] prætorium to the house in which he had lived before he was 'bound. Here indeed he was in custody, but however he had more liberty, and was at ease. In 'a short time Caius came to Rome,—and in a few days after sent for Agrippa to his palace, 'ordered him to be shaved, and changed his garments; and then put a diadem on his head—— 'and made him also a present of a gold chain, of the same weight with the iron one with 'which he had been[i] bound. This chain Agrippa afterwards laid up in the temple of Jerusalem, 'as a monument that God can bring down those things that are great, and raise up those 'things which are[k] fallen.'

I take it, that Agrippa's first confinement was of the same kind with that which was allotted

[a] Tacit. Ann. lib. xiv. c. 15 & 51. Dio. lib lxii. p 706. E.

[b] Vid. Lipsii & Mureti notas ad Tacit. Ann. l. iii. c. 22. & Lipsii Excurs. B.

[c] Proconsul æstimare solet, utrum in carcerem recipienda sit persona, an militi tradenda, vel fidejussoribus committenda, vel etiam sibi: hac autem vel pro criminis, quod objicitur, qualitate, vel propter honorem, aut propter amplissimas facultates, vel pro innocentiâ personæ, vel pro dignitate ejus, qui accusatur, facere solet. L. i. ff. de custod. & exhib. reor.

[d] Joseph. Ant. Lib. xviii. c. 7. sect. 5. p. 810.

[e] Widow of Drusus, Tiberius's brother, a lady of great virtue, and at good terms with Tiberius. Vid. Joseph. p. 812.

[f] Και συνδεϊȣ εσομενȣ.

[g] Ibid. p. 814. 815.

[h] Απο στρατοπεδȣ.

[i] Ibid. p. 818.

[k] Id. lib. xix. c. 6. in.

St. Paul by Felix after the first hearing at Cæsarea; with this difference however, that a good deal of Agrippa's kind usage was given him by stealth, it not being by the orders of Tiberius, by whom he was committed: whereas the centurion who kept St. Paul had express orders from Felix, the chief officer in the province, "to let him have liberty, and to forbid none of his acquaintance to minister or come unto him;" which must have been a considerable advantage. And I reckon that Agrippa's confinement at last, when he was 'removed to the house he had 'lived in before he was bound,' was of the same kind with St. Paul's custody, when he dwelt at "Rome in his own hired house."

X. Our taking in at once the whole story of St. Paul's imprisonment, has obliged us to pass by a particular or two, which the reader will perhaps think it worth while to look back for.

I think it not needful to inquire, what St. Paul's right of appeal was founded in, whether in his citizenship or not, Acts xxv. 10, 11. I shall only observe that he does not insist upon that expressly, but only his innocence. Some learned men have indeed, upon the occasion of this appeal, cited the words of Pliny; in which he tells Trajan, that he had noted down some of those who were infected with Christianity to be sent to Rome, 'because they were[a] citizens.' But I cannot perceive to what purpose these words are alleged here. For if Pliny sent those persons to Rome, not for some special reason, but because his power extended only to the lives of provincials, and not of Roman citizens, then his power was not at that time equal to that of the Roman governors in Judea. It is plain from St. Luke, Acts xxv. 11, 24, 25, that Paul was prosecuted by the Jews for his life, after he was known to be a Roman. And it is as plain from Josephus, that the Roman governors of Judea had power over the lives of Romans. Cumanus[b] put to death a Roman soldier in Judea. And when Josephus[c] complains of Florus's crucifying some Jews who were Roman knights, he would have complained of somewhat else beside the manner of their death, if Florus had had no right to pronounce a capital sentence upon any Roman whatever. And thus I have by the by given the evidence of a very material circumstance in this history, namely, that Felix and Festus had power of trying a Roman for life.

Upon Paul's appeal to Cæsar he was in fact sent to Rome; causes were therefore by appeal removed out of the provinces to Rome. Suetonius says, that Augustus appointed a number of consular persons at Rome to receive the appeals of provincial people, namely, one person to preside over the affairs of each province.[d]

St. Luke says also, Acts xxvii. 1. "And when it was determined that we should sail into Italy, they delivered Paul and certain *other prisoners*, unto one named Julius, a centurion of Augustus' band." It was very common to send persons from Judea to be tried at Rome. Quintilius Varus sent to Rome divers of those that had made disturbances in Judea, in the interval between Herod's death and Archelaus's taking possession[e] of the government. Ummidius Quadratus, president of Syria, sent[g] Ananus the high priest and other Jews to Claudius, to answer for themselves at Rome, as also several of the most considerable of the Samaritans. Josephus says that 'Felix, for some slight offence, bound and sent to Rome several priests of 'his acquaintance, and very good and honest men, to answer for themselves to[h] Cæsar.' Felix also sent to Rome Eleazar, captain of a troop of robbers, and several of his men, whom he had taken[i] prisoners.

XI. There remains but one thing more. "And when we came to Rome, the centurion delivered the prisoners to the *captain of the guard:* but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself, with a soldier that kept him," Acts xxviii. 16. Doubtless Paul was consigned by Felix to the "captain of the guard," as well as the other "prisoners:" but he was suffered to "dwell by himself," the rest were ordered to a more strait confinement. The only thing we have to observe here is, that the captain of the guard often had the custody of prisoners. This appears from the history I have given above of Agrippa. And it seems, that generally the prisoners which were sent from the provinces were transmitted to this officer, and not to the præfect of the city. For so Trajan directs Pliny, when he had written to him for some advice concerning

[a] Fuerunt alii similis amentiæ; quos, quia cives Romani erant, annotavi in urbem remittendos. Lib. x. ep. 97.

[b] De Bell. lib. ii. c. 12. sect. 2. [c] See above, p. 123.

[d] Appellationes quotannis urbanorum quidem litigatorum prætori delegavi; ac provincialium consularibus viris, quos singulos cujusque provinciæ negotiis præposuisset, Vit. August. c. 33. [e] Joseph. de B. J. l. ii. c. 5. sect. 3.

[f] Ibid. c. 12. sect. 6. & Ant. l. xx. c. 5. sect. 2.

[g] Καθ' ὁν χρονον Φηλιξ της Ιεδαιας επιτροπευεν, ἱερεις τινας συνηθεις εμοι, καλες καἰαθες, δια μικραν και την τυχυσαν αιτιαν δησας, εις την Ῥωμην επεμψεν, λοῖον ὑφεξονἰας τῳ Καισαρι· in vit. sect. 3. [h] De Bell. lib. ii. c. 13. sect. 2.

a particular person whom he had with him in the province; 'That he should send him bound 'to the præfects of his[a] prætorium:' or in other words, to the captains of the guard; there being two at that time, whereas there was but one when Paul was sent to Rome. Heliodorus the sophist, being in a[b] certain island, fell under a charge of murder. 'Whereupon,' says[c] Philostratus, 'he was sent to Rome, to answer for himself before the præfects of the prætorium.'

CHAP. XI.

THREE REMARKABLE FACTS.

I. *The temple forty-six years in building.* II. *The dearth in the reign of Claudius.* III. *The Jews banished from Rome by the same emperor.*

I. When our Saviour was at Jerusalem, at one of the Jews' passovers, he "made a scourge of small cords, and drove them that sold oxen and sheep, and the changers of money out of the temple," John ii. 14, 15. This action implied a claim of some particular authority. "Then answered the Jews, and said unto him, what sign shewest thou unto us, seeing that thou dost these things? Jesus answered and said unto them, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. Then said the Jews, *Forty and six years was this temple in building,* and wilt thou rear it up in three days?" Or in other words: 'Forty and six years has this temple been 'building, so far as the work is carried on, and many thousand men have been employed upon 'it all this time. And wilt thou alone rebuild it in three days time, if it were pulled down and 'demolished?' Ver. 18—20.

It ought to be observed here, that Josephus has informed us, that[d] Herod the Great, in the eighteenth year of his reign, made a proposal to the Jews of rebuilding the temple. In eight or nine years time he finished what he intended to do to this sacred place. But the people of the Jews were after this, as it seems, continually adorning and improving the buildings of the temple.

It is highly probable, that the term of forty-six years, mentioned here by the Jews in their reply to our Saviour, commences at the time when Herod made his proposal to the Jews, or else at the time, when in pursuance of that proposal, he actually set about repairing the temple.

There being some chronological difficulties attending the period of Herod's reign, as well as our Saviour's ministry, there is between learned men the difference of two or three years about the exact time when these words were spoken by the Jews. But I have no occasion at present to concern myself with any of those difficulties; because it is easy to shew, that the buildings of the temple were continued below any of the dates affixed to this discourse between our Saviour and the Jews.

The evidences for this fact are these: Josephus relating affairs which happened in the reign of Nero, after the arrival of Gessius Florus, procurator of Judea in the year of the christian ærea 65,[e] says: 'At that time was the temple finished. The people, therefore,[f] seeing the 'workmen to the number of eighteen thousand lie idle, and apprehending that they would 'stand in need of the wages which they were wont to receive for working at the temple; and 'being afraid that the money, if laid up, should fall into the hands of the Romans; and 'moreover, having a regard to the workmen, and being willing that the treasures should be 'laid out upon them, (for if any man worked but one hour of the day, he presently received his 'pay); they petitioned the[g] king to rebuild the east portico.—It was the work of king Solomon,

[a] Si—vinctus mitti ad præfectos prætorii mei debet. Plin. lib. x. ep. 65. [b] About A. D. 223.

[c] Λαβων δη εν τη νησῳ φονικην αιτιαν, ανεπεμφθη ες την Ῥωμην, ὡς απολογησομενος τοις των στρατοπεδων ἡγεμοσι. Vit. Sophist. l. 2. num. 32. [d] De Bell. l. i. c. 21. Ant. l. xv. c. 11. [e] Usser. Ann. [f] Ηδη δε τοτε και το ἱερον ετετελεστο· βλεπων ουν ὁ δημος αργησαντας τους τεχνιτας, ὑπερ μυριους και οκτακισχιλιους οντας, και μισθοφοριας ενδεεις εσομενους δια το την τροφην εκ της κατα το ἱερον εργασιας πορισζεσθαι, και χρηματα μεν αποθετα δια των εκ Ῥωμαιων φοβον εχειν ουθελων, προνοουμενος δε των τεχνιτων, και εις τουτους αναλουν τους θησαυρους βουλομενος· και γαρ ει μιαν τις ὡραν της ἡμερας εργασαιτο, τον μισθον ὑπερ ταυτης εὐθεως ελαμβανεν· επειθον τον βασιλεα την ανατολικην στοαν ανεγειραι· κ. λ. Ant. l. xx. c. 8. sect. 7. [g] Agrippa the younger.

'who first built the whole temple. But the king (the charge and oversight of the temple had 'been committed to him by Claudius Cæsar), considering, that this would be a work of much 'time and vast expence, did not grant their request. However, he was not against paving the 'city with white marble.'

It appears from hence, that the Jews had continually employed men upon the temple; for Josephus says, it was now finished.

If it be inquired, how they were supplied with money to maintain so many men constantly at work; I answer, that Josephus, in the passage just now transcribed, intimates what the fund was, namely, their sacred treasury. He has more particularly informed us in another place, where he says, that on the temple were expended 'all the sacred treasures, which were 'supplied by tributes sent to God from all parts of the world.'[a] Beside the ordinary tribute sent to the temple, the zeal of the people for this work produced liberal contributions.[b]

If it be objected, that Josephus, in the account of the building of the temple by Herod, says, that the ιερον, that is, the cloisters and other buildings of the temple were raised in eight years, and the ναος, or temple itself, in a year and a half,[c] that is, in nine years and a half; I answer, that Josephus can mean no more than that the temple was then fitted for use, or that all was then finished that Herod proposed to do at his cost, and not the completing the temple and all the buildings belonging to it. This is evident, from the passage just described at length, in which he says, 'At that time the temple was finished.' And even these words are to be understood with a limitation. The temple was not then completed: there was something still wanting, which the people would have had done. But they then put an end to repairing and building, and there was no more work done at the temple.

It is possible, that there might be some interruptions in the works at the temple; but it is likely they were very short, (if there were any), and such as were not worth taking notice of in a long period.

II. The next event I would here confirm from some foreign testimony, is the famine said to have happened in the reign of Claudius. "And in these days came prophets from Jerusalem unto Antioch. And there stood up one of them named Agabus, and signified by the Spirit, that there should be great dearth throughout all the world, which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar. Then the disciples, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judea. Which also they did, and sent it to the elders, by the hands of Barnabas and Saul," Acts xi. 27—30.

I do not take notice of this famine, as the fulfilment of a prophecy, because I do not enter into that argument, but only as a remarkable event, which St. Luke assures us, happened in the reign of Claudius.

St. Luke says, "In those days came prophets from Jerusalem unto Antioch." It may be questioned, what was the exact time of the arrival of these prophets to Antioch, and of the delivery of the prophecy; but I think, it is easy to perceive from St. Luke, when the famine happened. It is observable, that St. Luke having, in the words just now transcribed from him in the conclusion of the xith of the Acts, given an account of the resolution of the church at Antioch, and of the commission given by them to Barnabas and Saul, to carry their contributions to Jerusalem, proceeds in the xiith chapter to relate the transactions concerning the church at Jerusalem, during the reign of Herod Agrippa, and also Herod's death. And then says, "But the word of God grew and multiplied. And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem, when they had fulfilled their ministry," Acts xii. 24, 25.

There can be no reason assigned for that interruption in the course of the narration, and for the delay to mention the fulfilment of the commission of the church at Antioch, but this, that the commission was not executed till the death of Herod Agrippa. Moreover, as the christians at Antioch had a previous knowledge of this famine, according to St. Luke's account, before it happened, it is reasonable to suppose, that the famine was but then coming on, when Barnabas and Saul fulfilled their ministry. Herod died in the fourth year of Claudius's reign, A. D. 44. It is very evident therefore to me, that[d] the comencement of this famine

[a] Εις ὁ μακροι μεν εξανηλωθησαν αιωνες αυτοις, και οἱ ἱεροι δε θησαυροι πανλες, ους ανεπιμπλασαν οἱ παρα της οικεμενης δασμοι πεμπομενοι τω Θεω· de Bell. lib. v. c. 5. sect. 4.

[b] Η τε χαρ δαψιλεια των χρηματων, και η τε λαε φιλοτιμια, λοιδ μειζονας εποιειτο τας επιδολας. id Ibid. vid. & Ant. l. xiv. c. 7. sect. 2.

[c] Ant. lib. xv. c. 11. sect. 5, 6.

[d] Vid. Usser. Ann. P. J. 4755.

ought not to be placed before the latter end of the year 44, or perhaps, not till the beginning of the year following.

But before I proceed to the proofs of this fact, I must let the reader know how I understand it. I think the dearth prophesied of by Agabus, and related by St. Luke, was in Judea only. I desire the words themselves may be considered. There "came prophets from Jerusalem, and one of them signified by the Spirit, that there should be great dearth throughout the whole world; that is, throughout the whole land, the country before-mentioned, from whence those prophets came, namely, the land of Judea: that there would be a great dearth and scarcity, not at Jerusalem only, which might have been occasioned by some circumstances peculiar to the city, a siege or some other accident; but that there would be scarcity throughout all the land of Judea, by means of a general failure of the usual produce of the earth.

The original word [οικουμενη] does sometimes signify not the whole world, but a particular country only.[a]

It is evident that the prophecy was understood by the disciples at Antioch, in whose hearing it was delivered, to relate to Judea only. There is not the least hint of any thought of sending relief to any other place, nor yet of any hesitation in taking the resolution here mentioned, for fear their own circumstances might be necessitous.

And when it is added, that in pursuance of their determination, they did actually send relief by the hands of Barnabas and Saul, there is not one word bestowed to enhance the eminence of their charity, in assisting others when they were in straits themselves, or in immediate danger of them. And yet it is unlikely, this should have been altogether omitted, if it had been the case. It is certain, St. Paul has placed this circumstance in the most beautiful manner, in the testimony he gives to the churches of Macedonia: "How that in a great trial of affliction, the abundance of their joy, and their deep poverty, had abounded unto the riches of their liberality," 2 Cor. viii. 2.

I am very sensible, that the Jews who lived out of their own country, and all the worshippers of God, in all parts of the world, had a special regard to the people of Jerusalem and Judea; and were very ready to contribute to them, when under difficulties. But a famine is a very sore evil; and if the disciples of Antioch had sent a supply to the brethren in Judea, when they were apprehensive of a great dearth [b] among themselves, such an action would not have been simply related, but also commended; at least, this circumstance would have been taken notice of. It seems to have been a very general contribution: but so far is there from being any hint of any straits they were in, that it is intimated they were in good circumstances:

[a] Η γη signifies the earth: yet the coherence of the words in many places determines the meaning to some particular country. Jos. ii. 3, "They be come to search out all the country" [την γην]. Luke iv. 25, "But I tell you of a truth many widows were in Israel, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months, when great famine was throughout all the land, επι πασαν την γην." Not all the earth, but all the land of Israel; that being the country before mentioned.

In like manner, οικουμενη signifies, according to the original notation of the word, the habitable, or rather the inhabited earth: but the connexion of the discourse often restrains the meaning to some particular country. Isa. xiii. 5, "They came from a far country—to destroy the whole land." In the Septuagint version it is πασαν την οικουμενην· what goes before and follows shews, that a particular country is intended. Ver. 1, "The burthen of Babylon, which Isaiah the son of Amos did see." Ver. 19——22, "And *Babylon* the glory of kingdoms, *the beauty of the Chaldees excellency*, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. But wild beasts of the desart shall be there.——And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces." I know very well that some understand the destruction of the whole land, in the 5th verse, of the whole Babylonian empire; but it is without reason. The whole empire it is true, would be hereupon dissolved. But any one may perceive, that the judgment threatened or foretold, is confined properly to the city and province of Babylon, the seat of the empire, and of the oppressions now to be avenged. Can any one bear the supposition, that the dreadful destruction described in this chapter extended, or was intended to extend to all the parts of the Babylonish empire? A note of St. Jerom upon Is. xiii. 4, 5, deserves to be inserted here as not a little to our purpose:—'ut disperdant omnem 'terram:' non quod totum orbem vastaverint, sed omnem terram Babylonis & Chaldæorum. Idioma est enim sanctæ scripturæ, ut omnem terram illius significet provinciæ, de qua sermo est: quod quidam non intelligentes ad omnium terrarum subversionem trahunt. Hieron. T. 3. p. 109. in.

St. Luke has himself used this word in this sense in another place. I think it cannot be disputed: Luke xxi. 26, "Men's hearts failing them for fear and for looking after those those things which are coming on the earth; or the land, των επερχομενων τη οικουμενη.—The whole discourse relates to the calamities that were coming, not upon the whole world, or the whole Roman empire, but the land of Judea, ver. 21, "Then let them that are in Judea flee to the mountains." Out of Judea therefore there would be safety, ver. 23, "But woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days, for there shall be great distress in the land, and wrath upon *this people*. And they who should then be in the circumstances just mentioned, would then be particularly unhappy, because they would be unfit for flight.

[b] Λιμον μεγαν.

"Every man according [a] to his ability determined," &c.—The phrase imports an easy and plentiful condition. If the dearth had reached to Antioch, St. Luke would not have said, "every man, according as he abounded;" but would have been obliged to say, not regarding his own want or necessity, or the general calamity, or somewhat like it.

I hope no one will do me so much wrong, as to suspect, that I have attempted to put this meaning on the words, because I have no proof the famine was universal. For I declare, that if I thought the expressions here used, represented an universal dearth; and at the same time, perceived the ancient historians described only a particular one, I would have acknowledged the difficulty. But I think, the sense I have here represented, is the natural genuine sense of the words; and I persuade myself, the reader is now of the same opinion.[b]

[a] Καθως τις ευπορειτο, ωρισαν εκαστος αυτων.

[b] I am not singular in this interpretation. Mr. Lenfant understands this text in the same manner: and I have had assistance from his notes in composing this article. Since that, I have perceived that Dr. Hammond was of the same mind. Vid. Annot. in Luc. ii. 1.

Two things seem to me to have carried the generality of learned men off from the true meaning of St. Luke, and to have induced them to suppose, that the famine here spoken of was universal; either all over the world, or at least the Roman empire. One is the word οικουμενη· but this difficulty, I imagine, I have removed already. The other is, that several ancient historians have spoken of famines in the reign of Claudius, at Greece and Rome. These must be the only reasons for this supposition; for the connexion of the words in St. Luke would never lead any man to think the famine was out of Judea.

But though there is mention made of famines in Greece, and at Rome, or in Italy, this will not prove that there was a general famine. It is evident from Josephus, that during the famine in Judea, there was plenty in other parts; in Cyprus, Egypt, and the territories of king Izates. From the two former countries queen Helene procured provisions, and Izates sent money to Jerusalem; which he could not have done, if his own people had been in want.

The proofs of the famine in Judea I transcribe, or refer to in the text part. Of the other famines in this reign there are these accounts. Of the famine in Greece, Eusebius makes mention in his Chronicon. p. 204. λιμου καθ' την Ἑλλαδα γενομενος μεγαλου, ὁ τε σιτου μοδιος ἐξ δραχμων επραθη. This famine happened, according to him, in the 9th of Claudius, A. D. 49. At Rome there were several famines in this reign, one or more of which are mentioned by Dio, Suetonius, Tacitus, or Orosius. The first happened in the beginning of the reign of this emperor. But it seems, from the provisions made by him for preventing the like for the future, that it was not owing to a general scarcity at that time, but to the want of a good harbour at the mouth of the Tiber, by which means the city was ill supplied. Dio's words are thus: 'There 'being a great famine, [λιμου τε ισχυρου γενομενου, or scarcity,] 'he [Claudius] not only took care for a present supply, but 'provided also for the time to come. Rome is supplied almost 'solely with corn imported from abroad; but there being 'then no good harbour at the mouth of the Tiber, nor any 'secure stations for ships, the empire of the sea was almost 'useless to the Romans. For, except the corn that was 'brought in in the summer time, and laid up in granaries, 'none was brought thither in the winter: or if any attempted 'it, it was with the utmost hazard.' Dio. lib. lx. p. 671, 672. He then proceeds to describe the great expense which Claudius was at, in making a good port at the mouth of the Tiber, and a convenient passage from thence up to the city; of which Suetonius likewise speaks. Claud. cap. 20. Dio places this famine in the second year of Claudius, A. D. 42. But it must have begun the year before: for there are extant medals struck in each of these years in honour of the emperor, having on their reverse a corn measure with ears of corn hanging over the side. Vid. Pagi Critic. in Baron. A. D. 42. n. 7. But I very much question, whether there was any famine then arising from the failure of crops. Λιμος is often used for a famine or scarcity in a city during a siege or blockade. And Dio proceeding, immediately after the mention of the famine, to observe the difficulty of coming to Rome in the winter, makes me suspect, this scarcity was only a hardship the people were in, during the winter, for want of sufficient stores and a free passage.

There was another famine at Rome in the latter end of this reign, of which Tacitus speaks. It is placed by him in the 11th of Claudius, A. D. 51. Claudio V. Serv. Cornelio Orsito Coss. frugum quoque egestas, & orta ex eâ fames, in prodigium accipiebatur. Nec occulti tantum questus; sed jura reddentem Claudium circumvasere clamoribus turbidis, pulsumque in extremam fori partem vi urgebant, donec militum globo infestos perrupit. Quindecim dierum alimenta urbi non amplius superfuisse constitit. Magnâque Deûm benignitate & modestiâ hiemis, rebus extremis subventum. At hercule olim ex Italiæ regionibus longinquas in provincias commeatus portabant. Nec nunc infecunditate laboratur: sed Africam potius & Ægyptum exercemus; navibusque & casibus vita populi Romani permissa est. Ann. 12. cap. 43. Suetonius also has taken notice of a famine in this reign. He does not say what year it happened in; but the agreement of circumstances shews it to be the same that Tacitus speaks of. Arctiore autem annonâ ob assiduas sterilitates detentus quondam medio foro a turbâ, conviciisque ac simul fragminibus panis ita infestatus, ut ægre nec nisi postico evadere in Palatium valuerit: nihil non excogitavit ad invehendos etiam in tempore hiberno commeatus—& naves mercaturæ causâ fabricantibus magna commoda constituit. Claud. cap. 18. Orosius speaks of the same thing; Veruntamen sequenti anno tanta fames Romæ fuit, ut medio foro, imperator correptus a Populo convitiis & fragminibus panis infestatus, ægrè per pseudothyrum in Palatium refugiens furorem excitatæ plebis evaserit, lib. vii. cap. 6.

I have set down these passages at length. I reckon I have hereby saved myself the trouble of making many remarks. The *frugum egestas* of Tacitus, the *assiduæ sterilitates* of Suetonius, were in Italy only; and these, possibly, not so much owing to bad seasons as wrong management, as is intimated by Tacitus. This was certainly one reason why famines were so common at Rome. There is no notice taken by these authors of scarcities in other places at the same time. The famine as described by Tacitus, was only in the winter. And when the granaries at Rome were almost empty, by the goodness of the gods, and the mildness of the winter [*modestiâ hiemis*] ships arrived safe with sufficient provisions.

I am not at all solicitous to prove, that there was no general famine throughout the Roman empire in the reign of Claudius. However, I thought it not amiss to let the reader see how the case seems to me to stand at present. And though some person should hereafter shew, that there was an universal famine some time in this reign; yet that alone would not alter my opinion concerning the meaning of the words of St. Luke, who, I think, speaks of nothing beside a dearth in Judea.

Supposing therefore, St. Luke to have informed us, that there was in the reign of Claudius, a great dearth throughout all the land of Judea, I proceed now to give some foreign evidence of this event.

Josephus speaking of Helene, the Queen of the Adiabenes, has these words: 'Her arrival 'at Jerusalem was a great blessing to the people; for the city labouring at that time under 'a 'heavy famine, so that a great many perished for want, the queen sent abroad several of her 'officers; some to Alexandria for the purchase of corn, others to Cyprus to buy up dried figs. 'These having used the utmost expedition, as soon as they returned, she distributed food to 'those that were necessitous. By this liberality, she laid a lasting obligation upon our whole 'nation. Moreover, her son Izates, having heard of the famine, sent a large sum of money to 'the chief men of Jerusalem.'[a]

Josephus does afterwards inform us when this famine happened. For having mentioned Cuspius Fadus, (who was sent procurator into Judea, after the death of Herod, in the fourth of Claudius, in the latter end of the year 44,) and his successor Tiberius Alexander, he says, 'In 'their time[b] a great dearth happened in Judea: when queen Helene, having purchased corn in 'Egypt with large sums of money, gave it away amongst the poor, as I have related above.'

So that this famine oppressed the land of Judea several years. It might begin in the fourth of Claudius; but I think, it must have been chiefly in the fifth and sixth years of his reign.

I apprehend, I have shewn from Josephus, that what St. Luke has here related is punctually true. Josephus may be justly supposed to be well acquainted with what happened at Jerusalem and in Judea, in the reign of Claudius: and the whole story of Izates and his mother Helene, is an affair he is much pleased with.

Eusebius likewise mentions this famine in his Chronicles,[c] and in his Ecclesiastical History.[d] He places it in the fourth of Claudius, and seems to have supposed it universal,[e] all over the world.

Orosius also speaks of this fame, and says it happened in the fourth of Claudius, and that it oppressed Syria. I place his words in the margin,[f] though he has committed one great mistake in supposing that Helene, the queen of the Adiabenes, was a christian.

Though I should take no particular notice of it here, yet I hope the reader would not omit to oberve the agreement of customs in the sacred writers and Josephus. The disciples at Antioch no sooner heard that there was like to be a dearth in the land of Judea, but they, "every man according to his ability," some Jews by birth, others proselytes of righteousness, others, possibly proselytes of the gate, "determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt there." Helene, the queen of the Adiabenes, and Izates her son, both proselytes to Judaism, did the same thing.

We may proceed somewhat farther to observe upon this occasion, that the Jews of Judea seem to have expected it as due to them, that some particular regard should be shewed them by the rest of their countrymen, and by all who came over to the worship of the true God, and were admitted to share in any of the privileges of the Jewish people. Thus St. Paul assures us, Gal. ii. 10, "Only they would that we should remember the poor, the same which I also was forward to do." The very[g] last time that St. Paul was at Jerusalem: "After many years," says he, "I came to bring alms to my nation and offerings." Acts xxiv. 17. Nor was St. Paul's argument a new thought, though expressed by him with a divine temper: "But now I go unto Jerusalem to minister unto the saints: for it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia, to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem. It has pleased them verily, and *their debtors* they are. For if the Gentiles have been made

[a] Γινεται δε αυτης ἡ αφιξις πασιν συμφερουσα τοις Ἱεροσολυμιταις· λιμου γαρ αυτων την πολιν μεγα τον καιρον εκεινον πιεζοντος, και πολλων ὑπ' ενδειας αναλισκομενων φθειρομενων, ἡ Βασιλισσα Ἑλενη πεμπει τινας των ἑαυτης, τους μεν εις την Αλεξανδρειαν, πολλων σιτον ωνησομενους χρηματων, τους δε εις Κυπρον ισχαδων φορτον οισονταις· ὡς δε παλιν ηλθον ταχεως κομιζοντες, τοις απορουμενοις διενειμε τροφην, και μεγιστην αυτης μνημην της ευποιιας ταυτης εις το παν ημων εθνος καταλελοιπε· πυθομενος δε και ὁ παις αυτης Ιζατης τα περι τον λιμον, επεμψε πολλα χρηματα τοις πρωτοις των Ἱεροσολυμιτων. Ant. lib. xx. c. 2. sect. 6.

[b] Επι τουτοις δη και τον μεγαν λιμον κατα την Ιουδαιαν συνεβη γενεσθαι· καθ' ὁν και ἡ βασιλισσα Ἑλενη, πολλων χρηματων ωνησαμενη σιτον απο της Αιγυπτου, διενειμε τοις απορουμενοις, ὡς προειπον· Ibid. c. 5. sect. 2. [c] Page 79. 204. [d] Lib. ii. c. 12.

[e] Ἡ εν ταις πραξεσιν Αγαβου προφητεια πεπερασται, λιμου μεγαλου καταισχοντος την οικουμενην επι Κλαυδιου. Chronic. Can. p. 204. [f] Eodem anno (quarto) fames gravissima per Syriam facta est, quam etiam prophetæ prænuntiaverant. Sed Christianorum necessitatibus apud Hierosolymam, convectis ab Ægypto frumentis, Helena Adiabenorum regina, conversa ad fidem Christi, largissime ministravit, lib. vii. c. 6.

[g] Unless we suppose (which is the opinion of some very learned and judicious men) that he went thither again, after he had been sent to Rome. See in Miscellanea sacra, the Abstract, p. 48.

partakers of their spiritual things, their duty is also to minister to them in carnal things." Rom. xv. 25—27.

No wonder therefore, that the bigots among the Jews were startled at the thought of any relaxation of the ancient rigour, with which they had treated proselytes; and that they laboured, as they did, to maintain their jurisdiction over them. This contention was not at all for the sake of God and the law, but partly for themselves. Doubtless, the outcry of the Jews against St. Paul, though very unjust and groundless, was, every word of it, expressive and popular, especially at Jerusalem: "This is the man, that teacheth *all men every where*, against the people, and the law, and this place." Acts xxi. 28.

III. I conclude with the banishment of the Jews from Rome. "After these things, Paul departed from Athens, and came to Corinth. And found a certain Jew, named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla, *because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome.*" Acts xviii. 1, 2.

Dio says, that Claudius did not banish the Jews from Rome, but only prohibited their [a] assemblies. But Suetonius, who lived nearer the time, says, 'He expelled the Jews from 'Rome, who were continually raising disturbances, Chrestus being their leader.[b]

It is disputed by learned men, [c] whether by Chrestus, Suetonius means Jesus Christ. I need not concern myself with that point here. This passage proves what I bring it for.

Josephus has no where particularly mentioned this event. This edict of Claudius seems not to have been long in force. That may be one reason of this omission in Josephus: another reason might be, that it was no agreeable task to him, to mention any disgraces cast upon his people. If some disputes between the Jews and followers of Jesus Christ were really the cause of this order, that might be another reason; Josephus having been very reserved, if not altogether silent, about the affairs of the Christians.

[a] Τες τε Ιεδαιες, πλεονασανλας αυθις, ὡστε χαλεπως αν ανευ ταραχης ὑπο τε οχλε σφων της πολεως ειρχθηναι, εκ εξηλασε μεν, των δε δη παλριω νομε βιω χρωμενες εκελευσε μη συναθροιζεσθαι· Dio lib. lx. p. 669. B. [b] Judæos, impulsore *chresto* assidue tumultuantes, Româ expulit. Sueton. Claud. c. 25. [c] Vid. Usser. Ann. P. J. 4767. Witsii Meletemata Leyd. de vit. Paul. sect. vii. n. 2. 3.

BOOK II. CHAP. I.

THREE OBJECTIONS AGAINST LUKE, CHAP. II. VER. 1, 2.

I. *The first objection, That there is no mention made by any ancient author of a decree in the reign of Augustus for taxing all the world, stated and answered.* II. *The second objection, That there could be no taxing made in Judea, during the reign of Herod, by a decree of Augustus, stated and answered.* III. *The third objection, That Cyrenius was not governor of Syria, till several years after the birth of Jesus, stated, together with a general answer.* IV. *Divers particular solutions of this objection.* V. *The last solution confirmed and improved.* VI. *Divers particular difficulties attending the supposition, that this taxing was made by Cyrenius, considered.*

THE history of the New Testament is attended with many difficulties. Jewish and Heathen authors concur with the sacred historians in many things. But it is pretended, that there are other particulars in which they are contradicted by authors of very good note.

Among these, the difficulties which may be very properly considered in the first place, are those which relate to the account St. Luke has given of the taxing in Judea, which brought Joseph and the Virgin to Bethlehem, a little before the birth of Jesus. Luke ii. 1—5. "And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. (And this taxing was first made, when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.) And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judea, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, (because he was of the house and lineage of David;) to be taxed with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child."

Against this account several objections have been raised.[a] They may be all reduced to these three.

I. It is objected, That there is no mention made in any ancient Roman or Greek historian, of any general taxing of people all over the world, or the whole Roman empire, in the time of Augustus, nor of any decree of the emperor for that purpose: whereas, if there had been then any such thing, it is highly improbable, that it should have been omitted by them.

II. St. Matthew says, ch. ii. 1, "That Jesus was born in the days of Herod the king." Judea, therefore, was not at that time a Roman province, and there could not be any taxing made there by a decree of Augustus.

III. Cyrenius was not governor of Syria till nine or ten, perhaps twelve years after the birth of Jesus. St. Luke therefore was mistaken, in saying, that this taxing was made in his time. This objection will be stated more fully hereafter.

I. By way of answer to the first objection,

1. I allow, that there is not any mention made by ancient writers of any general taxing all over the world, or of all the subjects of the Roman empire, in the reign of Augustus.

Many learned men having been of a different opinion, I am obliged to consider their proofs.

Tillemont[b] puts the question, (for he does not assert it,) whether Pliny has not referred to such a thing? But it is plain from Pliny's words, that he speaks of a partition of Italy only into several districts.[c]

There is a passage also of Dio, which has been referred to upon this occasion: but it has evidently no relation to the matter before us. The Romans had a tax called the twentieth: this tax was grievous to many people; Augustus therefore desired the senate to consider of some other. 'But the senate not finding any proper expedient, he intimated, that he would 'raise money upon lands and houses, without telling them what, or in what manner it should 'be; and hereupon sent officers abroad, some one way, and some another, to make a survey of

[a] Vid. Spanhem. Dubia Evangelica. Part. ii. Dub. iv, v, &c. Huet. Demonst. Evangel. Prop. ix. cap. x. & Commentatores.

[b] Tillemont, Memoires Eccles. Tom. i. Not. ii. Sur Jesus Christ.

[c] Nunc ambitum ejus, urbesque enumerabimus. Quâ in re præfari necessarium est, auctorem nos Divum Augustum secuturos, descriptionemque ab eo factam Italiæ totius in regiones xi. Plin. lib. iii. cap. 5.

'the estates, both of particular persons and cities. But upon this the senate complied imme-'diately, and the old tax of the twentieth was confirmed, lest a worse thing should come in 'its room. This was all Augustus aimed at, and the survey was laid aside.'[a] Besides, this affair happened, A. U. 766, A. D. 13, long after the taxing which St. Luke speaks of.

The passage which Baronius[b] has quoted from Æthicus, he does himself allow to relate only to a geometrical description of the empire, begun by order of Julius Cæsar, and finished in thirty-two years, and therefore over long before the taxing mentioned by St. Luke.

I am afraid to mention his argument from Pliny, lest it should be thought, that I intend to divert the reader, when we ought to be serious. Pliny says, 'And as for Augustus himself, 'whom all mankind rank in this class, [of fortunate persons,] if the whole course of his life 'be carefully considered, there will be observed in it many instances of the fickleness and 'inconstancy of human affairs.'[c] But Baronius supposes, that Pliny says, that 'in every 'census mention is made of Augustus, and that there was so particularly in that made by 'Vespasian and Titus, because he first made[d] a survey of the whole Roman empire:' thus making Pliny to refer, in the passage he quotes from him, not to what went before, but to a passage which follows four chapters lower.

Some have alleged, as a proof of this general taxing, some words of Suidas, who in his Lexicon[e] says, 'That Augustus sent out twenty men of great probity into all parts of his 'empire, by whom he made an assessment of persons and estates, ordering a certain quota to 'be paid into the treasury. This was the first census; they who were before him having at 'pleasure exacted tribute of those who had any thing; so that it was a public crime to be rich.'

But it is difficult to take this upon Suidas's authority alone, since he says not in what part of Augustus's reign it was done, quotes no author for it, and it is not to be found in any ancient writer now extant; though possibly, he refers to the story just now told from Dio; who assures us, that project he mentions was never executed. Besides, Suidas says, this was the first census; which is a very great mistake. There had been before Augustus many assessments of Roman citizens, and likewise of divers provinces of the Roman empire.

In another place Suidas says, 'Augustus had a desire to know the number of all the in-'habitants of the Roman empire.'[f] And he mentions the number, which, he says, was found upon the inquiry. But Suidas must have been mistaken. Archbishop Usher's remark upon this passage is worth placing here. 'In their consulship [Caius Marcius Censorinus, and C. 'Asinius Gallus] there was a second muster made at Rome, in which were numbered 4,233,000 'Roman citizens, as is gathered out of the fragments of the Ancyran marble. In Suidas, in 'Αυγουστος the number is far less of those that were mustered, 4,101,017, which yet he very 'ridiculously obtrudeth upon us, not for the muster of the city only, but of the world.'[g]

The late learned editor[h] of Suidas does also highly approve of this censure passed upon his author, by our most learned and excellent archbishop. It is observable, that they both use here the word city [urbis censu]. I hope, however, they mean not the city of Rome only, and the country round about it, but the Roman citizens all over the Roman empire, or at least all Italy: for otherwise, with submission, I should think them, in this particular, almost as unreasonable as Suidas. It is incredible, that there should have been at Rome and in the country round about

[a] Και παραχρημα μηδεν ειπων, μηθ' οσον, μηθ' οπως αυτο δωσουσιν, επεμψεν αλλους αλλη, τα τε των ιδιωτων και τα των πολεων κτηματα αποτιμησομενους· ινα ως και μειζονως ζημιωθησομενοι δεισωσι, και την εικοστην τελειν αν θελωνται· ὁ και εγενετο· Dio l. 56. p. 588. E. [b] Apparat. N. 79.

[c] In Divo quoque Augusto, quem universa mortalitas in *hac censura* nuncupat, si diligenter æstimentur cuncta, magna sortis humanæ reperiantur volumina. Lib. vii. cap. 45.

[d] Idemque dum hæc alibi ait; [lib. vii. cap. 45.] In Divo quoque Augusto, quem universa mortalitas in hac censurâ nuncupat, nempe eâ quam Vespasianus & Titus recens egerunt, de quâ idem inferius [ibid. cap. 49] meminit, significare videtur, in quolibet repetito in orbe Romano lustris singulis censu, mentionem Augusti fieri; quod primus omnium universum orbem Romanum subjectum imperio censuisset. At de censibus satis. Baron. ubi supra. [e] In voc. Αποτιμησις· Αποτιμησις ἡ απαριθμησις. Ὁ δε Καισαρ Αυγουστος, ὁ μοναρχησας, εικοσιν ανδρας τους αριστους τον βιον και τον τροπον επιλεξαμενος, επι πασαν την γην των ὑπηκοων εξεπεμψε· οἱ ων αποτιμησεις εποιησαντο των τε ανθρωπων, και των ουσιων, αυταρχη τινα προσταξας τω δημοσιω μοιραν εκ τουτων εισφερεσθαι. Αυτη ἡ αποτιμησις πρωτη εγενετο, των προ αυτου τους κεκτημενους τι μη αφαιρουμενων, ως ειναι τοις ευποροις δημοσιον εγκλημα τον πλουτον.

[f] V. Αυγουστος· Αυγουστος Καισαρ δοξαν αυτω πασης οικουμενης Ρωμαιων καθα προσωπον αριθμει, βουλομενος γνωναι ποσον εστι πληθος· και ευρισκονται οι την Ρωμαιων οικουντες υι μυριαδες και χιλιοι ις' ανδρες. [g] Annals: year of the world, 3996. p. 786. Engl. Edit. Lond. 1658. In the Latin the last words are: Qui tamen non pro urbis tantum, sed pro orbis etiam Romani, censu ridicule nobis ibi obtruditur.

[h] De hoc loco vide omnino Casaubonum contra Baron. Exerc. 1. Num. 93. Et Usser.—qui recte observârunt; Suidam hic censum urbis pro censu orbis Romani lectori obtrudere; cum ridiculum sit credere, non plures fuisse totius imperii Romani incolas, quam quot Suidas hic exprimit. Kuster in loc

it, besides strangers and slaves, which were very numerous, so many Roman citizens, as are mentioned on the Ancyran marble; even though all who were entered in a census, be set down there; which, however, is denied by some. I suppose then, that by the muster of the city, these learned men mean the muster or census of Roman citizens in any part of the Roman empire, as opposed to all the people in general, living in the same empire. And in this sense only [a] I adopt their censure of Suidas; and cannot but think it very just. The number of the inhabitants of the Roman empire must needs have exceeded the numbers mentioned by Suidas, or on the marble; though it should be supposed, that none are included in these numbers, but those who were arrived at military age. This might be sufficient to shew, that the number of the Ancyran marble is not the number of all the people of the Roman empire: but other reasons will appear presently.

I must in the next place, take the liberty of considering what Prideaux has said upon this subject, who with Huet [b] and others thinks, that this description or survey in Judea, belonged to one of the surveys made by Augustus; and that in particular, it was a part of his second census, 'The first was in the year when he himself was the sixth time, and M. Agrippa 'the second time consuls, that is, in the year before the christian æra 28. The second time in 'the consulship of C. Marcius Censorinus, and C. Asinius Gallus, that is, in the year before 'the christian æra 8. And the last time in the consulship of Sextus Pompeius Nepos, that is, 'in the year of the christian æra 14. In the first and last time he executed this with the 'assistance of a colleague; but the second time he did it by himself alone, and this is 'the description which St. Luke refers to. The decree concerning it was issued out the year 'I have mentioned, that is, in the 8th year of the christian æra, which was three years before 'that in which Christ was born.—That we allow three years for the execution of this decree, 'can give no just reason for exception.——The account taken by the decree of Augustus at 'the time of our Saviour's birth, extended to all manner of persons, and also to their posses-'sions, estates, qualities, and other circumstances. And when a description and survey like 'this was ordered by William the conqueror, to be taken for England only, I mean that of the 'Doomsday book, it was six years in making: and the Roman province of Syria was much 'more than twice as big as all England.' [c]

To all this I shall only say, 1. That the surveys made by Augustus were of *Roman citizens* only. So he says himself, in the inscription on the Ancyran marble.[d] And the Roman historians say the same thing.[e] But the census or description made in Judea, according to St. Luke's account, was of all the inhabitants of that country, which certainly were not, all of them, Roman citizens.

2. The years which Prideaux mentions, were not the years in which the decrees were issued out, but in which the surveys were finished. This appears to me the most natural meaning of the words of the inscription.

Perhaps it will be objected, that the consulships here set down, do not denote the years in which a census was finished, but in which it was resolved upon and entered in the Fasti, or public acts; and that the sense of the inscription may be thus: In such and such consulship I made a census, by which census, when finished, the number of citizens was found to be so and so. It may be likewise said, that the phrase Lustrum feci, does not necessarily import the making the Lustrum, which was done when the census was over, but that Lustrum is here synonymous with census. And it may be urged, that when Lustrum denotes the solemn sacrifice at the conclusion of the census, the verb condo is used, and not facio, which we have here.

To this I answer, that by the account here given of the third census, we are obliged to suppose, that the consulships here named, denote the times when each census was finished. Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Apuleius, in whose consulship the last census is placed, were consuls A. U. 767, A. D. 14. And Augustus died the 19th of August that very same year.

[a] I think this evidently Kuster's sense. His *Orbis Romani* is explained afterwards by *totius imperii Romani* incolas. Therefore his *urbis census* imports Roman citizens living any where. [b] Demon. Evang. ubi supra, sect. iii.

[c] Prideaux Conn. Part. ii. p. 650, 652, 8vo. Edit. 1718.

[d] Et in Consulatu. Sexto. Censum. *populi.* Collega. M. Agrippa. Egi.—Quo. Lustro *civium Romanorum.* Censita. sunt. Capita. Quadragiens. Centum. Millia. Et. Sexaginta. Tria. ——Cum——Nuper. Lustrum. Solus. Feci. Legi. Censorum. 1. *sinio.* Cos. Quo. Lustro. Censa. sunt. *civium Romanorum.* Quadragiens. Centum. Millia. Et. Ducenta. Triginta. Tria—In consulatu. Fi.—Cum. nuperrime — Lustrum. Cum. Lega. Tiberio. Sext. Pompeio. Et. Sext. Apuleio. Cos. Quo. Lustro. *Rom. Capitum.* Quadragiens. Centum. Mil.—*Iginta.* Et. Septem. Mil. Legi.

[e] Recepit & morum legumque regimen æque perpetuum: quo jure, quamquam sine censuræ honore, censum tamen *populi* ter egit. Suet. in. Aug. c. 27.

If the census had been only begun, and not finished, he could not have set down on the table, as he has done, the number of citizens which was found in that census. Moreover, it is plain from [a] Suetonius, that Tiberius was nominated for colleague of Augustus in this census, the year before, if not sooner. It is likely, the census might be then entered in the public acts: but however that be, it is plain, that the date on the Ancyran marble signifies the completing of the census. And I think, that the passage I have just quoted from Suetonius may remove the scruple relating to the phrase; since he has used the verb condo; by which we are fully assured, that the census was finished, and the solemn sacrifice performed at the conclusion of it, in the year set down on the Ancyran marble.

Farther, Augustus in the Ancyran marble, places his first census in his own sixth consulship, Agrippa being his colleague. And Dio says expressly, that Augustus made, or finished [b] the census in that year. This being the case as to the first and third census of Augustus, we may conclude the same thing also with reference to the second, and that it was finished the eighth year before the christian æra: consequently, it is impossible that St. Luke's description should have been a part of it.

After Augustus's death, there were three books found among his papers: and one of these is alleged as a proof, that there had been made some general survey of the Roman empire, and that about this time. Prideaux's words are these, 'Of the book, which Augustus made 'out of the surveys and descriptions, which were at this time returned to him out of every 'province and depending kingdom of the Roman empire, Tacitus,[c] Suetonius,[d] and Dio 'Cassius,[e] make mention, and represent it to be very near of the same kind with our Dooms-'day book above-mentioned.'

But I do now see how Augustus's having had by him a little book, (libellum, Breviarium imperii), written with his own hand, containing a small abridgment of the public taxes, imposts, and revenues, can be any proof, that this state of the empire was formed upon a survey made at this time, or indeed, upon any general survey made at any other time, by virtue of any one single decree (that is St. Luke's phrase,) for the whole empire. This statement, which Augustus had by him, of the public strength and riches, might have been formed upon surveys made at different times. Nay he might have in this book the state of dependent kingdoms, in some of which a census had never been made. And it is likely, it may appear in the progress of this argument, that there were several countries, branches of the Roman empire, which had never been obliged to a census.

Beside that there is not found in any ancient Roman historian any account of a general census of all the countries and people of the Roman empire; there are considerations taken from the nature of the thing, which render it very improbable, that a general census should ever have been appointed at one time. The Roman assessments were always disagreeable things in the provinces, and often caused disturbances. An universal census at the same time seems to have been impracticable. And there does not appear in any Roman historian so much as a hint, that such a thing was ever thought of by any of their emperors.

What is just now said of the difficulty of making a general survey at one and the same time, affects chiefly Prideaux's sentiment, who seems to think that the taxing St. Luke speaks of was a proper Roman census. They who suppose that it was only a numbering of the people, are not particularly concerned with it.

2. I am of opinion, that St. Luke speaks only of a taxing in Judea; and that the first verse of his second chapter ought to be rendered after this manner: "And it came to pass in those days, that there went forth a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the *land* should be taxed."

[a] A Germaniâ in urbem post biennium regressus, triumphum, quem distulerat, egit.——Dedicavit & Concordiæ ædem.—Ac non multo post lege per coss. latâ, ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, simulque censum ageret, condito lustro in Illyricum profectus est. Vit. Tiber. c. 20, 21.

[b] Και τας ὑποσφαφας εξελεσε. Lib. liii. p. 496. c.

[c] Cum proferri libellum recitarique jussit. Opes publicæ continebantur. Quantum civium, sociorumque in armis: quas classes, regna, provinciæ, tributa aut vectigalia, & necessitates & largitiones, quæ cuncta suâ manu perscripserat Augustus. Tacit. Ann. lib. i. c. 11.

[d] De tribus voluminibus, uno mandata de funere suo complexus est: altero, indicem rerum a se gestarum, quem vellet incidi in æneis tabulis, quæ ante Mausoleum statuerentur: tertio, breviarium totius imperii, quantum militum ubique sub signis esset, quantum pecuniæ in ærario & fiscis, & vectigalium residuis. Suet. in Aug. c. 101.

[e] Το τριτον τα τε των ϛραλιωτων και τα των ϖροσοδων, των τε αναλωμαλων των δημοσιων, το τε ϖληθος των εν τοις θησαυροις χρημαλων. Dio. l. lvi. p. 591. B.

So Lenfant has translated it.[a] Bynæus likewise is of the same sentiment, and has supported it, in my judgment, very well.[b]

I have shewn in another[c] place, that the word we have here does sometimes denote a particular country only, and that St. Luke has used it for the land of Judea. And he must be so understood in this place. The decree relates to the land of Judea only, because[d] the account that follows is of that country only. And must not every one perceive some deficiency, if οικουμενη be here rendered the whole world, or the Roman empire? Let us see what St. Luke says, omitting at present the parenthesis. "And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed. And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee out of the city of Nazareth." If the account of the decree had been worded by St. Luke so generally, as to comprehend the whole world, would he not have taken some notice of the land of Judea, before he came to relate particularly what was done in it?

If it be enquired, if the land of Judea only be meant, what does the term "all" signify? I answer, it was very necessary to be added. At the time when St. Luke wrote, and indeed from the death of Herod, which happened soon after the nativity of Jesus, the land of Judea, or of Israel, had suffered a dismembering. Archelaus had to his share Judea properly so called, together with Samaria and Idumea; and the province of Judea, which was afterwards governed by Roman procurators, was pretty much of the same extent. But Galilee, Iturea, and other parts of the land of Israel, had been given to other descendants of Herod the Great.

St. Luke's words, therefore, are extremely proper and expressive, that "*all the land* should be taxed;" to shew, that this decree of Augustus comprehended Galilee, the country in which Joseph lived. That this was the intention in adding this term of universality, is evident from St. Luke's specifying immediately afterwards the name of the city, from which Joseph came to Bethlehem; which city was not in the country that originally belonged to the tribe of Judah, nor situated in the bounds of the province of Judea at the time in which St. Luke is supposed to write, but was of the kingdom of Judea, in the reign of Herod.

It seems needless to observe, that it was very common to add the term all or whole, to Judea, or land, when persons intended the land of the Israelites. There are divers instances in the Old and New Testament. And Josephus, speaking of Agrippa the elder, who had been possessed of all the territories subject to his grandfather Herod the Great, says: 'He had now 'reigned three years over the *whole* land of Judea.'[e]

Though I am very well satisfied from the context, that St. Luke comprehends nothing in Augustus's decree beside the land of Judea; yet it is no small confirmation of this interpretation, that the most early christian writers seem to have understood St. Luke in the same manner. For when they speak of this circumstance of our Saviour's nativity, they never say any thing of a general census all over the world, or the Roman empire.

Justin Martyr in his first Apology informs the emperor and the senate of the time and place of Christ's nativity. 'Bethlehem,' says he, 'in which Jesus Christ was born, is a village 'in the country of the Jews, at the distance of five and thirty stadia from Jerusalem. You 'may assure yourselves of this from the census made in the time of Cyrenius, your first pro-'curator in Judea.'[f] He mentions this census also in several other places, and always in the same manner.[g] I do not recollect above one passage of Irenæus, in which there is any notice taken of this census,[h] and that is not very material.

[a] En ce temps là, il fut publié un édit de la part de César Auguste, pour faire un dénombrement de tout le païs. Nouveau Test. voyez les notes. [b] Antonius Bynæus de natali J. Christi. lib. i. c. 3. sect. v, vi. [c] See B. i. p. 132. n. [a]. Sometime after this whole chapter was in a manner quite finished, I met with Keuchenii Annotata in N. T. He has upon this text alleged some other examples of this use of οικουμενη. I rely upon those I have produced in the place referred to, and shall not trouble the reader with more. [d] What is above was written several months before I had seen Keuchenius. But my sentiments are so much confirmed by what he has said upon the same subject, that I am persuaded the reader will allow me to take the advantage of subjoining here from him what follows: Præterea, an veri speciem habet, Augustum uno eodemque tempore descriptionem per totum orbem Romanum instituere voluisse? accedit quod omnes v. 3. ad civitatem patriam profecti legantur, ut describerentur: nimirum illud παντες respicit ad πασαν την οικουμενην, cujus descriptio injuncta fuisse vers. 1. legitur, & istius mandati auctoritate omnes impulsi, & ad propriam civitatem profecti esse memorantur.

[e] Τριτον δε ετος αυτω βασιλευοντι της ολης Ιουδαιας πεπληρωτο. Joseph. p. 871. v. 34. [f] Κωμη δε τις εστιν εν τη χωρα Ιουδαιων, απεχουσα σταδιους τριακοντα πεντε Ιεροσολυμων, εν η εγεννηθη Ιησους Χριστος, ως και μαθειν δυνασθε εκ των απογραφων των γενομενων επι Κυρηνιε του υμετερου εν Ιουδαια πρωτου γενομενου επιτροπευ. Just. Mart. Ap. i. p. 75. E. [g] Ηρο ετων εκατον πεντηκοντα γεγεννησθαι τον Χριστον λεγειν ημας επι Κυρηνιε. Ibid. p. 83. B. Απογραφης ουσης εν τη Ιουδαια τοτε πρωτης επι Κυρηνιου κ. τ. λ. Dial. ii. p. 303. D. [h] Sed proximæ ætatis dicebant,

St. Clement of Alexandria says: 'Our Lord was born in the eight and twentieth year, 'when they first ordered a census to be made in the time of Augustus.'[a]

Origen confounds this census with that afterwards made in Judea, by [b] Cyrenius, but says nothing of its being universal. And indeed the passage amounts almost to a positive proof, that he thought the census related to Judea only.

Tertullian has often made mention of the time of the rise of Christianity, in his Apology addressed to the Roman magistrates,[c] in his books inscribed to the gentiles:[d] of this and the census in his treaties written against the Jews[e] and against heretics:[f] but yet there is no notice taken of any census beside that in Judea.

If any think that we are to expect no mention of a general census from the christian writers, because the census in Judea was all that was to their purpose: I say, that a general census of all the people and countries of the Roman empire was very much to their purpose, the more to illustrate the epoch of our Saviour's nativity. A general census must have been better known than one that was particular. Would Justin Martyr, Origen, and Tertullian, have omitted this circumstance, if St. Luke had mentioned it? or if they themselves were aware of it? And yet in their time certainly an universal census, made in the reign of Augustus, could not have been forgotten.

Nay, though the universality of the census had been a circumstance of no importance at all in their argument, yet it is almost impossible, but it must have dropped from them in some one of those many occasions in which they have mentioned our Saviour's nativity, and the census which accompanied it,

I shall proceed but one step farther to observe, that Eusebius has made no mention of any more than the census performed in Judea, neither in his history,[g] nor in his Chronicle.[h]

I cannot say that this interpretation is supported by any ancient version. But Bynæus[i] observes, that in an ancient gloss, there is this explanation of it: "[That all the world should be taxed]" or surveyed; not the orb of all the earth, but the orb of Judea, and Syria.

If then the census or description, ordered by the decree of Augustus at the time of our Saviour's nativity, was of the land of Judea only, the silence of ancient historians is no objection at all against St. Luke's account. There must have been many surveys of provinces of the Roman empire in the reign of Augustus, of which there is no notice taken by any of the Roman or Greek authors now in our hands.

The only writer in whom we could expect any mention of it is Josephus. Whether he has spoke of it or not will be considered hereafter. But supposing at present, that there is no notice at all taken of it by him, this is no objection against St. Luke. It is not to be expected we should find in one single historian, all the affairs that were transacted in his country. We have undoubted evidence of this enrolment in the early testimonies of the Christian writers. I have already exhibited more than enough of them. Justin Martyr speaks of it in his Apology to the emperor and the senate before the middle of the second century. Tertullian mentions it in several of his pieces. There is scarce any one occasional fact or circumstance relating to the history of Jesus, which was more frequently and more publicly mentioned by the christian writers: and yet it was never contested, that I know of, in all antiquity, not even by the adversaries of the christian religion. Julian speaks of it as a thing universally known. I subjoin his words. 'The Jesus, says he, whom you extol, was one of Cæsar's subjects. If

[Judæi Joh. viii. 56, 57.] sive vere scientes ex conscriptione censûs, sive conjicientes secundum ætatem, quam videbant habere eum super quadraginta. Iren. lib. ii. cap. xxii. sect. 6.

[a] Ἐγεννήθη δὲ ὁ Κυριος ἡμων τῳ ογδοῳ και εικοστῳ ετει, ὁτε πρωτον ἐκελευσαν ἀπογραφας γενεσθαι. Clem. Strom. lib. i. p. 339. D.

[b] Και μετ' ἐκεινον [Θευδαν] ἐν ταις της ἀπογραφης ἡμεραις, ὁτ' εοικε γεγεννησθαι ὁ Ιησες, Ιωδας τις Γαλιλαιος πολλες ἑαυτῳ συναπεστησεν ἀπο τε λαε των Ιωδαιων. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. i. p 44.

[c] Apol. cap. 5, 7, 21.

[d] Ad Nat. lib. i. cap. 7.

[e] Fuit enim de patriâ Bethlehem, & de domo David, sicut apud Romanos in censu descripta est Maria, ex quâ nascitur Christus. Adv. Judæos. cap. 9.

[f] Auferhinc, inquit, molestos semper Cæsaris census. De carne Christi. cap. 2. Sed & census constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Judæâ per Sentium Saturninum, apud quos genus ejus inquirere potuissent. Adv. Marc. lib. iv. cap. 19. Tam distincta fuit a primordio Judæa gens per tribus & populos, & familias & domos, ut nemo facile ignorare de genere potuisset, vel de recentibus Augustanis censibus, adhunc tunc fortasse pendentibus. Ibid. cap. 36.

[g] Vid. Hist. Ecc. lib. i. cap.

[h] Εν τῳ λγ Ἡρωδε Κυρηνιος, ὑπο της συγκλήτε βελης ἀπεσταλμενος εις την Ιωδαιαν, ἀπογραφας ἐποιησατο των ἐσιων και των οικητορων. p. 76. vid. & p. 200.

[i] Hoc a nemine interpretum, quod quidem ego sciam, animadversum esse, nisi in specimine Glossæ Ordinariæ, quod Robertus Stephanus edidit, legimus. Octavius xlii. imperii suo anno, publico decreto edixit, ut universus orbis Judæorum & Syriæ describeretur; & paulo post, [ut censeretur totus orbis] sive describeretur: non quidem orbis terrarum, sed orbis Judæorum & Syriæ. Bynæus. De natali Jesu Christi. p. 306.

'you make a doubt of it, I will prove it by and by: though it may be as well done now. For 'you say yourselves, that he was enrolled with his father and mother in the time of Cyrenius.'[a]

I presume I have answered this objection: but it is upon the supposition, that St. Luke speaks of a census or enrolment in Judea only. I have not taken up this interpretation to avoid a difficulty, but because I really think it to be St. Luke's meaning. However, if St. Luke be supposed to speak of a general census of the Roman empire, I own, that the silence of antiquity would be a very great objection. Nor is the difficulty much lessened by supposing this enrolment was of persons only, and not of lands or goods. The numbering the people was far from being the principal design of a census of Roman citizens. But yet, oftentimes, when an historian mentions a census, he gives very little account of any thing relating to it, beside the number of citizens that was found. If ever the number of all the people of the Roman empire had been taken in the reign of Augustus, it would have been a very great curiosity; and historians would have been very fond of gratifying their readers with it. Though we have but few writers of those times, yet it is with me unquestionable, that in some of those we have, there would have been a particular account of so remarkable an event, or at least many references to it: whereas there are none at all.

II. St. Matthew says, that Jesus was born in the days of Herod. Judea therefore was not at that time a Roman province: and there could be no taxing made there by virtue of a decree of Augustus.

This objection has been answered already. For it is evident from what has been alleged from the christian writers, in the reply to the former objection, that there was some census, description, or survey, made in Judea at the time of our Saviour's nativity, by a decree of Augustus. However, that no scruples may remain in the minds of any from a false notion of the state of Judea under Herod, I shall particularly consider the matter of this second objection.

But I would first observe in general, that though we have the word "taxing" in our version, "that all the world should be taxed; this taxing was first made;" yet the words used by St. Luke do not import a tax, or laying a tax or duty upon a people. In the margin of our Bibles we have the word "enrolled;" and in most translations[b] a word of like signification is used.

I must also premise, that some have thought that this enrolment was to be only of names and persons; and that all Augustus aimed at by this decree, was to know the number of people inhabiting the Roman empire, with their employments and conditions of life. Whitby paraphrases these words thus: 'That all the world should be taxed:' that is, 'should have 'their names and conditions of life set down in court rolls, according to their families.'

Others have thought, that this decree obliged to a registry not only of the names of persons and their conditions of life, but also of their goods and possessions; and that in short, it was a Roman census, which was now made, in order to the people's paying taxes for the future, according to the value of their estates. I own I am inclined to this latter opinion; and that St. Luke speaks only of a census in Judea, as I have already declared.

Having premised these things, that we may find out what kind of enrolment or registring was now ordered by Augustus; whether a decree of Augustus could be obligatory at this time upon the people of Judea; and whether it is likely there was a Roman census made there at this time; I shall consider these following particulars.

1. I shall explain the nature of a Roman census.
2. I shall consider the force of St. Luke's words.
3. I shall describe in general the state of Judea under Herod.
4. I shall inquire what grounds there are to believe, that a Roman census was made in Judea at this time.

1. I shall explain the nature of a Roman census. A census (as I take it,) consisted of these two parts: first, the account which the people gave in of themselves and their estates; and secondly the value set upon their estates by their censors, who took the account from them. The

[a] Ὁ παρ' ὑμιν κηρυττομενος Ιησους εις την των Καισαρος ὑπηκουεν· ει δε απιστειτε, μικρον ὑστερον αποδειξω· μαλλον δη ηδη λεγεσθω· φαιε μεν τοι αυτον απογραψασθαι μετα τε πατρος και της μητρος επι Κυρηνιε. Apud. Cyril. l. vi. p. 213. ed. Spanh.

[b] Ut describeretur universus orbis. Hæc descriptio prima facta est: Vers. vulg. pour faire un dénombrement—ce dénombrement se fit. Mons vers. M. Le Clerc. Lenfant, &c.

censors did undoubtedly represent in some measure the value of the things they entered; but the censors seem to have had the power of determining and settling the value.

There was indeed another thing which belonged to the office of the censors at Rome, the censure or correction of manners: but, as I suppose, that belonged only to a census of Roman citizens, and that it was no part of a census of all the inhabitants of a province, or of a country subject to a dependent prince, I take no notice of it here.

The Roman census was an institution of Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome. Dionysius of Hallicarnassus gives us this account of it; that 'he ordered all the citizens of Rome to 'register their estates according to their value in money, taking an oath, in a form he 'prescribed, to deliver a faithful account according to the best of their knowledge, specifying 'withal the name of their parents, their own age, and the names of their wives and children, 'adding also what quarter of the city, or what town in the country they lived in.'[a]

And after much the same manner do we find a Roman census described in the [b] Fragments of the twelve tables, and in the Roman [c] orators, [d] historians, and [e] lawyers. From all whom it appears, the people were required to give in an account of their names, their quality, employments, wives, children, servants and estates.

Beside what the people did, there seems to have been something done by the censors more than the bare taking the account the people gave in: that is, they were to determine the value of each particular of their estates, and the amount [f] of the whole; and from this seems to have been taken the name or title of this office, both in the [g] Latin and in the [h] Greek language. For not only was the compass of ground which any one possessed to be considered, but the nature of it, and the profits it might yield: nor the number only of slaves or servants which any one had, but also the work [i] they were employed in, according to which their service was to be valued. And therefore every one reckoned himself worth so [k] much as the censors valued his estate at.

This power, which the censors had of rating or valuing the estates of all persons, gave them an opportunity of committing injustice, in favouring some and oppressing others. For though there were [l] rules, by which they ought to regulate their estimation of every particular; and the supreme censors [m] were wont to issue out precepts to their under officers, enjoining justice and equity in their posts; yet if the supreme censors were men of ill principles, very great enormities often went unpunished.[n]

That the reader may have a complete idea of the design of these enrolments among the Romans, at least so far as is necessary to our purpose, I shall add here the account which Dionysius has given of the census made by Laertius the dictator, A. U. 258. before Christ, 496. Being chosen dictator, 'He immediately ordered that all, according to the excellent institu-'tion of Servius Tullius, should in their several tribes give in an account of their estates, 'setting down the names of their wives and children, and their own age, and that of their 'children. All having in a short time offered themselves to be assessed, (for the penalty of 'neglect was no less than forfeiture of estate and citizenship;) there were found to be one 'hundred and fifty thousand and seven hundred Romans at man's estate. After this, he

[a] Εκελευσεν ἁπανλας Ρωμαιους αποϝραφεσθαι τε και τιμασθαι τας ϝσιας προς αϙυριον διωσανλας τον νομιμον ὁρκον, η μην τ' αληθη και απο πανλος τε βελλιϛα τετιμησθαι, παλερων τε ὡν εισι γραφονλας, και ἡλικιαν ἡν εχϝσι δηλενλας, γυναικας τε και παιδας ονομαζονλας, και εν τινι καλοικϝσιν ἑκαϛοι της πολεως τὁπῳ, η παλῳ της χωρας, προϛιθενλας. Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rom. l. iv. c. 15. p. 212. init. Huds. Edit. [b] Censores populi civitates, soboles, familias, pecuniasque censento. Cic. de Leg. lib. iii. cap. 3. [c] Jam (ut censoriæ tabulæ loquuntur) fabrûm & procûm audeo dicere, non fabrorum & procorum. Cic. Orator. n. 156. [d] Ab hoc (Servio Tullio) populus Romanus relatus in censum.—Summâque regis solertiâ ita est ordinata respublica, ut omnia patrimonii, dignitatis, ætatis, artium, officiorumque discrimina in tabulas referrentur, ac si maxima civitas minimæ domûs diligentiâ contineretur. Florus, lib. i. cap. 6. vid. Liv. lib. i. cap. 42. & seq. [e] Vid. Digestâ Tit. de censibus. [f] In censu habendo potestas omnis æstimationis habendæ, summæque faciundæ, censori permittitur. Cic. in Ver. lib. ii. n. 131.

[g] Censio æstimatio, unde Censores. Festus de verb. Sign. Censores ab re appellati sunt. Liv. lib. iv. cap. 8. fin.

[h] Τιμητης. [i] In servis deferendis observandum est, ut & nationes eorum, & officia, & artificia specialiter deferantur. l. iv. sect. 5. ff. de censibus. [k] Censores dicti, quod rem suam quisque tanti æstimare solitus sit, quantum illi censuerint. Festus. V. Censores.

[l] Formâ censuali cavetur, ut agri sic in censum referantur, ——arvum quod in decem annos proximos satum erit, quot jugerum sit,——illam æquitatem debet admittere censitor, ut officio ejus congruat, relevari eum, qui in publicis tabulis delato modo frui certis ex causis non possit. Lib. iv. pr. eod.

[m] Edicis enim, te in decumanum, si plura sustulerit, quam debitum sit, in octuplum judicium daturum esse. Cic. in Verr. l. iii. n. 26. [n] Sic census habitus est, te prætore, ut eo censu nullius civitatis respublica posset administrari. Nam locupletissimi cujusque census extenuârant, tenuissimi auxerant. Ibid. lib. ii. n. 138.

'separated those who were of military age from the elder; and disposing those into centuries, 'he formed four bodies of horse and[a] foot.' From this passage it appears, that the knowledge of the military strength of the state was intended in this institution, as well as the regulating the public revenue. It was necessary to observe this here, that the reader may the better judge of some arguments that follow.

2. We shall now consider the force and import of the words St. Luke makes use of in his account of the matter before us.

Now it must be allowed, that the verb made use of by St. Luke in the first verse, "that all should be taxed," or enrolled,[b] is used by Greek authors for the making any kind of entry or enrolment. Thus Servius Tullius observing many Roman citizens to be in debt, ordered all of them, who had not wherewithal to satisfy their creditors, to enter[c] their names, and the sum they owed in public rolls; that it might be known what the whole amounted to, and provision might be made for payment.

This word is likewise used concerning the enrolments which were made when the Roman citizen's gave in their names, and enlisted themselves in the service of a general.[d]

So that perhaps there may be some reason to question, whether St. Luke intended not, a bare entry or enrolment made by the people of Judea of their names and conditions of life, as many learned men have supposed.

But yet on the other hand it is certain, that the whole of a census is oftentimes expressed, by the Greek authors, by the words which St. Luke has used. Thus Dio Cassius, speaking of Augustus's first census, says, 'in the same year he finished[e] the enrolments:' hereby meaning the whole of a census, including also the censure of manners, which belonged to a census of Roman citizens. And in another place, when he particularly describes the office of a censor, he says: 'As censors, they [the emperors] inquire[f] into our lives and manners, and make enrolments.' He intends therefore in this place the whole of a census, except the correction of manners, by the noun, which St. Luke makes use of in the second verse; only it is in the plural number.

Farther, St. Luke's narration contains in it so many circumstances of a Roman census, that I cannot but think there was at this time a proper census. The substance of the decree was, that all the land should be enrolled. Again, "All went to be taxed," or enrolled. And he intimates very plainly, that Mary also was enrolled with Joseph. All these are particulars extremely agreeable to the nature of a Roman census.

Though therefore the words in St. Luke, and especially the verb in the first verse, are used for the making of any kind of entry, yet the whole relation obliges us to understand it concerning this particular kind of enrolment.

And St. Luke's words appear to be extremely proper. The edicts for a census seem to have generally run in this form, expressing the duty of the people. There is in Cicero the title of such an edict, published by Verres prætor of Sicily, when a census was to be made in that province. It is called an *edict* concerning the *enrolment*.[g]

In a census of the citizens of Rome, the number of the people was always taken and observed, but there was a census made of goods and lands as well as of persons. This appears from passages already quoted from Dionysius of Halicarnassus and others. And Livy says expressly, that the very design of the institution was, that people might contribute to the expences of the state, not by the head, but in proportion to their estates.[h]

[a] Το κεφαλιζον των ὑπο Σερβιε Τυλλιε τε δημοτικωτατε βασιλεως κατασταθεντων νομιμων, πωσπερ επεταξε Ρωμαιοις απασι ποιησαι, τιμησεις κατα φυλας των βιων ενεκεν, προσταφονιας γυναικων και παιδων ονοματα, και ηλικιας εαυτων τι και τεκναν· εν ολιγῳ δε χρονῳ πανταν τιμησαμενων, δια το μεγεθος της τιμωριας· την τε γας ουσιαν απολεσαι τες απειθησαντας εδει, και την πολιτειαν· επτακοσιοις πλειες ευρεθησαν οι εν ηδη Ρωμαιων πενταικαιδεκα μυριαδων· μετα τετο διακρινας τες εχοντας την στρατευσιμον ηλικιαν απο των πρεσβυτερων· κ. τ. λ. Lib. v. c. 75. p. 324. [b] Απογραφεσθαι πασαν την οικουμενην (Αυτη ἡ απογραφη· κ. τ. λ.) [c] Απογραφεσθαι κελευσας τες ὑποχρεως, ὁσοι την πιστιν αδυναμοι ησαν φυλαττειν τοις οφειλουσι, και απτον εκαστος· Dionys. Hal. L. iv. c. 10. p. 207.

[d] Συνεβαινεν αποτραφομενοι τε προς τες ἡγεμονας τα ονοματα, και τον στρατιωτικον ομνυντες ὁρκον. Dion. Hal. Lib x. cap 16, init. [e] Εν ὁ αν τῳ τοτε παροντι ταις αλλα ὡσπερ ειθιστο επραξε, και τας αποτραφας εξετελεσε. Dio. L. liii. p. 496. C. ad A. U. C. 726.—vid. etiam p. 512. B. και αυτων (sc. Gallorum) και αποτραφας εποιησατο, &c. [f] Εκ δε τε τιμητευειν, τες τε βιες και τες τροπες ἡμων εξετασουσι, και αποτραφας ποιησαι· Id. L. liii. p. 508. B. C. [g] *Edictum de professione.* Cic. in Verr. lib. iii. n. 26. [h] Ut, quemadmodum Numa divini auctor juris fuisset, ita Servium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis, ordinumque, quibus inter gradus dignitatis *Fortunæque* aliquid interlucet, posteri famâ ferrent. Censum enim instituit, rem salubertimam tanto futuro imperio; ex quo belli pacisque munia *non viritim, sed pro habitu pecuniarum, fierent.* Liv. lib. i. cap. 42.

And for aught that appears, the same views were pursued in the assessments made in the provinces. Tacitus indeed says, that the Batavi paid no tribute to the Romans, and furnished the state with arms and[a] men only upon occasion. And some may be disposed to infer from hence, that there might be enrolments made in such a province, of the names of the people and their conditions of life, in order to know what number of troops it might furnish the state with.

This is very possible, and I think not unlikely: though I have not yet seen any particular instance of it referred to by learned men upon this occasion. Some however do suppose, that the survey of Judea at this time was made by Augustus with this very view.[b] But I believe Judea was the last place in which the Romans would look for soldiers. The Jews had formerly served the kings of Syria and Egypt in their wars; they had likewise been in the Roman armies. But now they had scruples about serving heathens in this way: and all of them who were in the service of the Romans had been discharged in form.[c] Their own kings kept foreign troops in Judea. After the conquest of Egypt, Augustus made Herod a present of four hundred Gauls, that had been the life guard of Cleopatra queen of Egypt.[d] And in the description of Herod's funeral solemnity, Josephus reckons up three distinct corps of foreign soldiers, Thracians, Germans, and Gauls.[e] Indeed the Jews were at this time so self-willed and tumultuous, that, as it seems, no prince was very forward to put weapons into their hands.

I recollect but one instance, that looks like a design of any of the Roman emperors to take Jews into their service. This was in the reign of Tiberius, who, as Suetonius says, sent the Jewish youth (who were at Rome) under a sort of military oath into the more unhealthful provinces.[f] But this seems to me to have been more like sending them to the mines, than taking them into military service. We are certain the Jews did afterward pay tribute to the Romans: and perhaps I may hereafter make it appear they were now, and had been before this tributary to the Romans. It is therefore much more likely, that surveys should be made in Judea with a view to tribute than to military service.

Nor do I perceive what learned men gain by this. They think it dishonourable to Herod to have the goods of his subjects enrolled and rated by a Roman officer for the paying of tribute. But where lies the difference between this, and the numbering and entering his people, in order to demand for soldiers as many men as his country could afford? If indeed this enrolment of his people had been made by Herod, by his own authority, and at his own discretion, in order to furnish the emperor with a certain quota of men upon occasion, Herod's honour had been saved. But this is not St. Luke's account. "There went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the land should be taxed." And by virtue of this decree of Augustus, all Herod's subjects, men and women, in every part of his dominions, were enrolled with great exactness, and as it seems with great expedition. And the order of enrolment must have been very pressing. I do not suppose indeed, that the virgin was obliged at all by the decree to go to Bethlehem; but I think, that Joseph would not have gone thither, when she was so near the time of her delivery, if the enrolment would have admitted of a delay, or could have been done at another time.

And that this enrolment was performed by some Roman officer, as well as ordered by an imperial decree, may be very fairly concluded from the parenthesis, ver. 2. since the main intention of it is to distinguish it from another, which was certainly made by a Roman officer.

Mr. Whiston indeed says, 'It is very probable that the enrolment of the Jews was made 'by Herod, at the request of[g] Augustus.' It would have been to Mr. Whiston's purpose to give a few specimens of the style of Augustus, or of the republic toward some of their dependent nominal kings. But it would not have signified much in this case, because St. Luke does not say, "there went out" a request "from Cæsar Augustus," but a "decree;" and therefore we should have been still obliged to call it a "decree:" and I believe we may do so very safely.

[a] Nec opibus Romanis, societate validiorum attriti, viros tantum armaque imperio ministrant. Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 12. Nam nec tributis contemnuntur, nec publicanus atterit, exempti oneribus & collationibus; & tantum in usum prœliorum sepositi, velut tela atque arma, bellis reservantur. Id. de Morib. Germ. cap 29. [b] Breviario igitur quod meditabatur Augustus, quantum militum Judæa suppeditare posset, includi debuit. Basnage. Ann. Polit. Ecc. ante D, 5: n. 11. [c] Joseph. Ant. l. xiv. c. 10. sect, 12. [d] Id de B. J. lib. i. p. 1006, 15. [e] Ibid. cap. ult. sub. fin. [f] Judæorum juventutem, per speciem sacramenti, in provincias gravioris cœli distribuit. vit. Tiber. c. 36. vid & Tacit. Ann. ii. c. 85. [g] Short view of the Harm. of the four Evan. p. 149.

We shall find by and by, from the history of Herod, that it is very unlikely that Augustus should have sent Herod any requests about this time.

Again: Mr. Whiston supposes 'that Herod the king of the Jews was requested or required 'to get him [Augustus] a like exact account of the Jewish nation, as he had already attained 'of the rest of the Roman empire.' But if this had been all that Augustus did, namely, requiring or requesting this of Herod, then Herod must have issued a command or order to all his people to enrol themselves. But how came St. Luke to mention Augustus's requirement or request to Herod, and call it a decree too, and yet say nothing of Herod's order? I think, St. Luke does plainly represent the people of Judea in motion for enrolling themselves in their several cities in obedience to Augustus's decree; and he says nothing of Herod.

Some have thought that this enrolment was the effect of Augustus's curiosity. And some expressions of Claudius,[a] in his speech to the senate about giving the freedom of the city to the Gauls, have been alleged by learned men as a proof, that assessments were sometimes made in the provinces purely out of curiosity. For he says, that he had found a census to be a very difficult work, even when nothing more was intended by it, than to know what his estate (or riches) was. But even from these words it appears, that an account was taken of the estates of the people, as well as their names and conditions of life. And the censors must have made an estimation: otherwise, the value could never have been known with any certainty. Besides I think, that all the emperor intends here is, that he could easily conceive with what difficulty a census was at first introduced into a province, when even now a fresh census was seldom made without some disturbance. And as a proof of this, he instances in the rebellion which the first census of Gaul produced in that country.[b] And though he calls this renewing a census, only an enquiry, that his estate or revenue might be publicly known, yet certainly the tribute to be paid according to the census is not to be excluded. Princes do not, nor is it reasonable they should, reckon their people only all their riches. The revenue arising from the tribute or taxes which they pay, is certainly a part of the prince's riches. The emperor's meaning therefore is, that the making of a census now is not the imposing any new hardship: the great use of them is to preserve exactness and order in the state of the revenues; and yet they give people uneasiness: how much more must they have done so formerly?

Moreover, the taxing afterwards made in Judea was certainly a census of goods as well as persons. And yet when St. Luke makes mention of it in Gamaliel's[c] speech, he uses the same word he does here.

All the first christians thought this was a census of goods. It is apparent that Justin Martyr thought so, in that he tells the emperor and the senate, it was made by their first procurator in Judea. Tertullian makes no scruple to call it very plainly a census. And Eusebius in his chronicle says expressly, that enrolments were then made of goods as well as of persons. All these considerations, if I mistake not, render it highly probable, that according to St. Luke, there was now a proper census made in Judea throughout the territories of Herod.

But though it be supposed that here was now a census made, yet a census is not a tax. Assessments were certainly made, that tribute might be paid according to them? and where a census was made, a tribute might be required; but yet it might be forbore or remitted. And whether any tribute was raised upon this census or not, I leave at present undetermined.

Supposing the affair St. Luke gives us an account of to have been a Roman census, it is possible two or three enquiries may be here made. (1.) What occasion was there for Joseph to enrol himself, since he was a poor man; as may be concluded from the lesser offering which the virgin made at the temple for her purification?

I answer, that it was the custom in a Roman census, for persons of all employments and characters to enter themselves, as appears from the descriptions given of it in the authors which I have before quoted. And though Joseph was not a rich man, it does not follow he had nothing. However, whatever his condition was, the edict obliged him to give in an account of himself to the officers; unless there was a particular exception made, and only such persons were re-

[a] Et quidem cum ad census novo tum opere et inadsueto Galliis ad bellum avocatus esset. Quod opus quam arduum sit nobis nunc cum maxime, quamvis nihil ultra, quam ut publice notæ sint facultates nostræ, exquiratur, nimis magno experimento cognoscimus. Vid. Lips. excurs. ad. Tacit. Ann. xi. A.

[b] Livy speaks likewise of this disturbance. Tumultus, qui ob censum exortus erat, compositus. Epitome libri 137. Liviani.

[c] Μετα τουτον ανεστη Ιουδας ὁ Γαλιλαιος εν ταις ἡμεραις της απογραφης. Act. v. 37.

quired to appear who were possessed of estates to such a value. Augustus seems once to have made such a census of the Roman Citizens.[a] But that this was not the usual method is evident, because this particular circumstance of that census is mentioned as somewhat extraordinary.

(2.) Since Joseph lived in Galilee, how came he to go up from thence to be registered at Bethlehem?

To this I answer, that possibly he might be obliged to it by virtue of some clause in the edict. Ulpian says,[b] that persons ought to enrol themselves in the place where their estate lies. Though Joseph was not rich, yet he might have some small inheritance in or near Bethlehem, and might be obliged to go thither upon that account. But this I do not insist upon here.

St. Luke gives us this reason of his going to Bethlehem: "because he was of the house and lineage of David," v. 4. It is probable, that this journey was owing to the custom of the Jews, who, whenever they were numbered, entered themselves according to their tribes and families, If against this it be objected, That the Jews had lost the registers of their families before this time; I answer, that this does not appear. They were reckoned by them to be of great importance: and it is not unlikely that many, if not most of them, had the registers of their families till the final ruin of their state and constitution, and perhaps for some time after it. Anna is said to be the "daughter of Phanuel, of the *Tribe of Asser*," Luke ii. 36. "Barnabas was a *Levite*," Acts iv. 36. Paul affirms, that he was of the *Tribe of Benjamin*," Rom. xi. 1. Phil. iii. 5. And these two were born in foreign countries, the one in Cyprus, the other at Tarsus.

Josephus, the Jewish historian, having mentioned the time of his birth, and the names of several of his ancestors, says; 'Thus have I given an account of my family, as I found it in 'the public records.'[c] It is true, Josephus was of the race of the priests, and their registers might be kept with greater care and exactness than others: but it is evident, from what he says of the marriages of the priests, that the registers of other families were in being likewise. 'Every priest,' says he, 'among us is obliged to marry a woman of his own nation, and not 'so much to regard money or any other advantages, but to make an exact enquiry inter her 'descent, and to accept of no account but what is well attested. This is done not in Judea 'only, but in all places; wherever there is any part of our nation, this law relating to the 'marriages of the priests is most carefully observed; I mean in Egypt and Babylon, and every 'other part of the world in which any of our priests live.'[d]

(3.) What necessity was there, for the Virgin Mary to go to Bethlehem? Surely every master of a family was not obliged by a Roman census, to appear before the officer, with his wife, children and servants, if he had any.

I answer, that I know not of any obligation she was under by virtue of Augustus's edict, to go to Bethlehem at this time: but yet Joseph and Mary might choose it; and they might have very good reasons for it that we are unacquainted with. St. Luke says, ch. ii. 41, 42. "Now his parents went to Jerusalem every year, at the feast of the passover. And when he was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem, after the custom of the feast." And yet by the law of Moses, the males only were obliged to appear before God at the great feasts. And many learned men are of opinion, that our Saviour did not go up to Jerusalem till this passover, (which St. Luke here speaks of,) when he was twelve years of age: though his parents, Mary, as it seems, as well as Joseph, had gone up to Jerusalem every year; that is, from their last settlement in Galilee, after their return from Egypt.

3. I shall now give a general description of the state and condition of Judea under Herod, that we may be able to judge, whether a Roman census could be made in it by virtue of a decree of Augustus.

The Roman empire extended at this time to all the most considerable countries of the known

[a] Αυτος δε απογραφας των εν τη Ιταλια κατοικουντων, και μη ελαττω πεντε μυριαδων ουσιαν κεκτημενων, εποιησατο. Τους γαρ ασθενεστερους, τους τε εξω της Ιταλιας οικουντας, ουκ ηναγκασεν απογραψασθαι, δεισας μη νεωτερισωσι τι ταραχθεντες. Dio. l. lv. p. 557. B. [b] Is vero, qui agrum in aliâ civitate habet, in eâ civitate profiteri debet, in quâ ager est. Agri enim tributum in eam civitatem debet levare, in cujus territorio possidetur, l. iv. sect. 2. ff. de censibus. [c] Την μεν ουν του γενους ἡμων διαδοχην, ὡς εν ταις δημοσιαις δελτοις ανεγεγραμμενην εὑρον, ὁυτως παρατιθεμαι. Joseph. in vit. init.

[d] Δει γαρ τον μετεχοντα της ἱεροσυνης εξ ὁμοεθνους γυναικος παιδοποιεισθαι, και μη προς χρηματα μηδε τας αλλας αποβλεπειν τιμας, αλλα το γενος εξεταζειν, εκ των αρχαιων λαμβανοντα την διαδοχην, και πολλους παρασχομενον μαρτυρας· και ταυτα πραττομεν ου μονον επ' αυτης Ιουδαιας, αλλ' ὁπου ποτε συστημα του γενους εστιν ἡμων, κἀκει το ακριβες αποσωζεται τοις ἱερευσι περι τους γαμους· κ. τ. λ. Cont. Apion. l. i. sect. 7.

world, whether situated in Europe, Asia, or Africa. Beside those countries which were properly called provinces, and were governed by officers sent from Rome, with the title of presidents, prætors, or proconsuls, there were other countries governed by kings, tetrarchs or dynasts, dependent upon the Roman state.

In the state and condition of these dependent princes, there was a considerable difference. Some few received their crown from the emperor, and acknowledged a dependence, but paid no tribute;[a] among the rest, who were in a more proper subjection, some were called friends of the emperor, or the Roman state. This was undoubtedly a very great honour, especially when conferred in form.[b] These friends of the Romans furnished them with part of their troops, or with sums of money upon particular occasions; or made presents to the emperor and his ministers when needful; that is, they paid tribute in the genteelest way. Others were more properly tributary, and were obliged to the payment of certain sums of money; but it is generally supposed, that they raised it themselves among their people by their own officers. But I suspect, that many of those princes, called friends, were properly tributary, and that the emperor had an officer in the territories of most of them, who took care of his revenue. Beside these, there were (if I mistake not) some countries under the government of dependent kings, in which a tribute was raised in the way of a Roman census.

That Herod was a dependent prince, I think was never denied. He obtained the kingdom of Judea at first by virtue of a decree of the Roman [c] senate; and was assisted in taking possession of it by Roman troops, commanded by their own [d] officers. Augustus gave him leave to nominate for his successor, which of his sons he pleased. But yet in his last will there was a clause, by which the final determination of all was submitted to the will and pleasure of the emperor. And after his death, his sons were obliged to go to Rome,[e] to obtain the grant and confirmation of Augustus, before they dared to take possession of the territories assigned them by their father.

That Herod was tributary to Augustus, immediately before his death, seems evident from the sentence pronounced by the emperor, after he had considered Herod's will. 'To Archelaus 'were given,' says Josephus, 'Idumea, and Judea, and the country of the Samaritans. These 'were eased of a fourth part of their tribute, Cæsar decreeing them this relief, because they 'had not joined with the other people in their late disturbances.'[f] I think it most reasonable to understand this of a tribute paid, or to be paid, not to Herod or Archelaus, but to the emperor. If the Samaritans were tributary to Cæsar, the Jews were so likewise. It is plain, these were not more favoured than the former; and they were both equally subject to Herod and Archelaus.

That Herod had been always tributary to the Roman empire, may be inferred from what Agrippa the younger says to the Jews, in his speech to dissuade them from the war. 'At this 'time,' says he, 'the desire of liberty is unseasonable. It had been much better to have 'maintained it with vigour formerly.——Then all ought to have been done that was possible, 'to have kept out the Romans, when Pompey first entered into this land. But our ancestors, 'and their kings, superior to you in wealth, in strength, and conduct, yielded to a small part 'of the Roman power. And you now, the hereditary subjects of the Romans, attempt to resist 'their whole empire.'[g] And Josephus, in his speech to the Jews besieged in Jerusalem, to persuade them to surrender to Titus, plainly dates the beginning of the Jewish servitude to the Romans, from Pompey's conquest of Judea.[h] It may be concluded from hence, that from

[a] Ἡς [Ἀρμενιας] Ῥωμαιοι εκ αρχεσι μεν ες φορε κομιδην, αυλοι δε αυλοις αποδεικνυεσι τες βασιλεας. Appian. in Præf. init. [b] Cognitis dehinc Ptolemæi per id bellum studiis, repetitus ex vetusto mos, missusque e senatoribus qui scipionem eburnum, togam pictam, antiqua munera patrum, daret, regemque & socium, atque amicum appellaret. Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 26. vid. & aliud exemplum apud Dionys. Hal. lib. v. cap. 35. p. 291. [c] Joseph. de Bell. lib. i. cap. 14. fin. [d] Ibid. cap. 18. [e] De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 2. [f] Τα δε Αρχελαῳ συνελαυνια Ιδουμαια τε και Ιουδαια, το τε Σαμαρειτικον· τελαρτε μερες ουλοι των φορων παρελελυντο, Καισαρος αυτοις κεφισιν ψηφισαμενε, δια το μη συναποστηναι τη λοιπη πληθυι. Joseph. Ant. l. xvii. c. 13. sect. 4. vid & de Bell. lib. ii. c. 6. [g] Αλλα μεν τοτε νυν ελευθεριας επιθυμειν ωρον, δεον υπερ τε μηδε αποβαλειν αυτην αγωνιζεσθαι προτερον·—τοτε γαρ αν εχρην παντα υπερ τε μη δεξασθαι Ῥωμαιες ποιειν, ὁτε την αρχην επεβαινε της χωρας ὁ Πομπηϊος· αλλ' οι μεν ημετεροι προγονοι, και οι βασιλεις αυτων, και χρημασι και σωμασι και ψυχαις αμεινον υμων πολλῳ διακειμενοι, προς μοιραν ολιγην της Ῥωμαιων δυναμεως εκ ανεσχον. υμεις δε, οι το μεν υπακουειν εκ διαδοχης παρειληφοτες —προς ὁλην ανθιστασθε την Ῥωμαιων ηγεμονιαν. Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 16. p. 1085, 1086. [h] Ποθεν δ' ηρξαμενα δουλειας, αρ' ουχι εκ στασεως των προτονων, ὁτε ἡ Αριστοβουλε, και Ὑρκανε μανια, και ἡ προς αλληλες εριε, Πομπηϊον επηγαγε τη πολει, και Ῥωμαιοις υπεταξεν ὁ Θεος τες εκ αξιες ελευθεριας· id. ib. l. v. c. ix. p. 1242. fin.

that time the Jews were tributary to the Romans. Subjection and servitude must needs imply the paying of tribute.

Appian mentions Herod king of the Idumeans and Samaritans among the other kings, who, according to Mark Antony's direction, were to bring in a certain prescribed tribute.[a] Antony and Herod were always very good friends, and it cannot be supposed that Herod was better used by Augustus, than he had been by Antony.

In the story of the difference between Herod and Syllæus the Arabian, which difference seems to have arose about three years before Herod's death, and to have continued a year or two at least, if not as long as Herod lived, there is a passage that deserves to be observed in this place. 'Syllæus, moreover, bribed Fabatus, Cæsar's procurator, and employed him against 'Herod. But Herod, by a larger sum of money, drew off Fabatus from Syllæus, and by him 'required the performance of those things which Cæsar had ordered [to be done by Syllæus]. 'However, Syllæus went on in his old way, performed none of those things; and moreover 'accused Fabatus to Cæsar, saying, that he was a procurator more in Herod's interests than 'the emperor's.'[b] By procurator can be meant no other than an officer that took care of the emperor's revenue; and the nature of the charge seems to imply, that Fabatus had a trust under the emperor in Herod's dominions. This indeed may be questioned, because that afterwards, Syllæus having killed Fabatus, Aretas, the king of Arabia, prosecuted Syllæus at Rome for the murder of Fabatus, as well as for other crimes committed by him.[c] And from hence it may be inferred by some that Fabatus was rather an officer in Arabia. Let it be so. However, here is a proof, that the emperor had a procurator to take care of his tribute or revenue in the country of a dependent prince: for such was the king of Arabia. And it is not impossible, that Fabatus might be concerned in both those kingdoms, of Judea and Arabia.

Upon the whole then, Herod was always a dependent tributary prince. Whether he was at last obliged to submit to a census, will be the subject of enquiry under the next head.

All that I would shew farther here is, that a census was not inconsistent with the rights allowed to these dependent princes, according to the Roman constitution. This is generally denied, therefore some proof must be given of it: but it cannot be expected, that I should produce many examples of a census in dependent kingdoms: partly, because the Roman historians never take any notice of these things, unless they are attended with some accidents that render them remarkable: and partly, because the Romans had several ways of raising tribute; and a census, which was the most disagreeable way of all, was not used in all those countries that were properly provinces.

After the battle of Philippi, in which Brutus and Cassius were defeated, Mark Antony went over into Asia, and coming to Ephesus, summoned the states of the nations thereabout to give him a meeting. In a speech he made to these states, among other things, he tells them: 'Your king Attalus bequeathed his kingdom to us by testament. Our government has been 'milder than his was; for we remitted the taxes you had been wont to pay to him, till men of 'turbulent spirits arose amongst us, and laid us under a necessity of demanding tribute of you. 'And even then we did not impose it upon you in the way of a census, that we might collect 'it with less hazard and trouble to ourselves; and we required only the annual payment of a 'sum of money out of the produce of your country.'[d] In the conclusion they agreed to pay a whole nine years tribute in two years time. The battle of Philippi was fought[e] A. U. 712, Attalus died[f] A. U. 621: so that Asia (propria) had been a province 90 years, and yet they had not any census among them. It is not likely, therefore, that we should meet with many instances of a census made in dependent kingdoms.

Tacitus, however, has given us one instance: 'About this time,' says he, 'the Cicilians, 'subject to Archelaus the Cappadocian,[g] being required to enrol themselves in our way, and to

[a] Ιϛη δε ποι και βασιλεας ȣς δοκιμασειεν, επι φοροις αρα τεταγμενοις·—— Ιδȣμαιων δε και Σαμαρεων, Ἡρωδην· Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 1135.

[b] Πεισας δε [Συλλαιος] πολλοις χρημασι Φαβατον τον Καισαρος διοικητην, εχρητο βοηθῳ και καθ' Ἡρωδȣ· πλειονα δε δȣς Ἡρωδης, αφιϛησι τε απο Συλλαιȣ Φαβατον, και δι' αυτȣ τα κελευσθεντα ὑπο Καισαρος εισεπραττεν· ὁ δε, μηδεν αποδȣς, ετι και κατηγορει Φαβατȣ προς Καισαρα, διοικητην ειναι λεγων, ȣ των εκεινȣ, των δε Ηρωδȣ συμφεροντων· Joseph. de Bell. lib. i. c. 29. p. 1030. v. 21.——

[c] Vid. Joseph. Ant. lib. xvii. cap. 3.

[d] Επει δε εδεησεν, ȣ προς τα τιμηματα ὑμιν επεθηκαμεν, ὡς αν ἡμεις ακινδυνον φορον εκλεγοιμεν, αλλα μερη φερειν των ἑκαϛοτε καρπων επεταξαμεν· Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v. p. 1074.

[e] Vid. Petavii Rationarium Temporum, Part. i. lib. iv. cap. 20.

[f] Vid. ibid. cap. 14.

[g] Or, that had been subject to Archelaus the Cappadocian.

'pay tribute accordingly, withdrew themselves into the fastnesses of mount Taurus; and by 'the advantage of the situation, maintained themselves against the weak forces of the king; 'till Marcus Trebellius came in to his assistance, from Vitellius president of Syria, with four 'thousand Roman soldiers, and a body of auxiliaries.'[a]

By Cilicia I here understand, not Cilicia the plain, [Cilicia Campestris,] which had been a Roman province long before this; but Cilicia the Rugged [Aspera,] which had been annexed by Augustus to the kingdom of Cappadocia.[b] It is true, that upon the death of old Archelaus, A. U. 770 A. D. 17,[c] the kingdom of Cappadocia was reduced to the state of a[d] province; and this disturbance, which Tacitus here speaks of, is placed by him in A. U. 789, A. D. 36.[e] But Tacitus has no where said, that this Cilicia was made a province. If it had, he must have known it, and could not have spoke of it as he does here. He says, that the people maintained themselves in their fastnesses against the king's weak forces, till a general arrived from Vitellius with a reinforcement of Roman soldiers. If it had been a province, he would have said, that the people had been too hard for the troops which the præfect had with him. And this account is in the main confirmed by several other historians, who say, that this Cilicia was governed by kings till the time of Vespasian.[f]

Nor is it very hard to trace the fortune of this people, from the beginning of the reign of Caligula to Vespasian. For Dio says, that Caligula gave the maritime Cilicia, (which was another name of this country,) to Antiochus, as an accession to his kingdom of Comagene.[g] Before Caligula died, he took it away from him; by Claudius it was again restored to the same Antiochus.[h] And from an account, which Tacitus has given of another tumult of this people, A. U. 805, A. D. 52. [Fausto Sulla and Salvio Othone Coss.] they appear to have been then subject to Antiochus.[i] And it is likely they continued under him, till it was made a province by Vespasian; because Comagene also was at that time reduced to a province, as appears from Suetonius and Eutropius already quoted; and from Josephus, who says, that this Antiochus was dispossessed of all his dominions in the fourth year of Vespasian.[k]

The only difficulty is, who they were subject to, when this census was ordered to be made among them in the latter end of Tiberius's reign; for by the manner in which the first words of this passage of Tacitus are quoted by Cardinal Noris,[l] and by Pagi[m] from him, they must have understood by Archelao subjecta, the people that had been subject to Archelaus, that is, to Archelaus the king of Cappadocia. However, Lipsius and Muretus[n] understand Tacitus to say, that they were then subject to Archelaus, a son of the former Achelaus, who died at Rome, A. U. 770.

I am under no obligation to determine this matter, because it is the same thing to my purpose, whether they were now subject to the king of Comagene, or some other dependent prince, or whether they were subject to a son of the old Archelaus, king of Cappadocia; the imbelles regis copiæ [the king's weak forces], proving they were under a king. But it seems to me most natural, to interpret Tacitus as Lipsius does: the imbelles regis copiæ imply, that a king had been mentioned before; and therefore Archelao subjecta, cannot be very fairly understood to mean no more than a description of these Cilicians, to distinguish them from others of that name.

Tiberius had been indeed very angry with old Archelaus; but nevertheless he might be willing, when he had made his kingdom of Cappadocia a province, to give one of his sons this small appendage of it. This Cilicia was far from being any strong temptation; the country was mountainous, and the people were apt to turn to robbery or piracy, and for these reasons

[a] Per idem tempus Clitarum natio Cappadocia Archelao subjecta, quia nostrum in modum deferre census, pati tributa adigebatur, in juga Tauri montis abscessit; locorumque ingenio sese contra regis imbelles copias tutabatur; donec M. Trebellius legatus, a Vitellio præside Syriæ cum quatuor millibus legionariorum, & dilectis auxiliis missus, duos colles, quos barbari insederant, operibus circumdedit: & erumpere ausos, ferro; cæteros, siti ad deditionem coegit. Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. cap 41. [b] Vid. Strabonem lib. xiv. p. 987. D.

[c] C Cœlio L. Pomponio Coss. [d] Regnum in provinciam redactum est. Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 42.

[e] Q. Plautio & Sext. Papinio Coss. [f] Item Thraciam, Ciliciam, & Comagenen, ditionis regiæ usque ad id tempus, in provinciæ formam redegit. Sueton. in Vespas. cap. 8. Item Thraciam, Ciliciam Tracheam, & Comagenam, quæ sub regibus amicis fuerant, in provinciarum formam redegit [Vespasianus]. Eutrop. l. vii c. 19. [g] Ὁ γαρ Αντιοχω τȣ Αντιοχȣ την Κομμαγηνην, ἡν ὁ παῖηρ αυτȣ εσχε, και προσετι και τα παραθαλασσια της Κιλικιας δȣς· Dio. l. lix. p. 645. D.

[h] Και μετα τȣτο τῳ τε Αντιοχω την Κομμαγηνην απεδωκεν ὁ γαρ Γαϊος, και περ αυτος οἱ δȣς αυτην, αφῃρητο·) id. lib. lx. p. 670. A. [i] Nec multo post agrestium Cilicum nationes, quibus Clitarum cognomentum, sæpe & alias commotæ, tunc Trosobore duce, montes asperos castris cepere.——Dein rex ejus oræ Antiochus, blandimentis adversus plebem, fraude in ducem, cum barbarorum copias dissociâsset, Trosobore paucisque primoribus interfectis, cæteros clementiâ composuit. Tacit. Ann. lib. xii. cap. 55. [k] Vid. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap 7. [l] Noris Cenotaph. Pis. Dis. ii. p. 308.

[m] Appar. ad Annal. num. 127. [n] Nos

they had been given before by Augustus to the above mentioned Archelaus.[a] Cappadocia had been a very rich booty to Tiberius: upon its being made a province, by the ready money and effects of Archelaus and the revenues of the country, such sums came into the public treasury of the Romans, that their tax, called the hundredth, fell immediately to a two hundredth.[b] We may therefore suppose, that by Archelaus here is meant a son of the former king of Cappadocia, though he be an obscure person; and the weakness of the king's forces is an argument, that he was no considerable prince, and that these people were his only subjects.

Though here be but one example, it is sufficient for my design. I believe it was disgraceful to a prince, to have a census made in his dominions: however, Tacitus does not insinuate, that there was any injustice in it, or that it was absolutely inconsistent with the rights indulged to dependent princes: and the king, to whom this people were subject, supported this census as far as he was able.

4. I am now to enquire, whether we have any reasons to believe, that there was a census made in Judea at this time.

We can hope for no light in this matter from any author but Josephus, except the notice which the christian writers have taken of it. If we will rely upon them, I think the point is decided already: but at present we will lay aside their testimonies, and confine our inquiries to Josephus.

That Herod was always tributary, has been proved. I apprehend, that toward the latter end of his reign there was some alteration made in his circumstances for the worse. In order to judge of the evidence there is for it, we must trace the history of Herod's affairs about this time.

Obodas was now king of Arabia, and Syllæus his chief officer under him, who indeed administered all affairs of that country with almost kingly authority. Herod had lent Obodas a considerable sum of money: when the time of payment came, Herod demanded the money, but in vain. Moreover a band of robbers had infested Herod's dominions, and carried off several of his subjects, and were afterwards sheltered by Obodas and Syllæus in Arabia. These differences between the two courts of Judea and Arabia were brought before Saturninus and Volumnius, the emperor's chief officers in Syria, the neighbouring province. Here it was stipulated, that Herod should surrender to Obodas all the Arabians he had in his custody, and that Obodas should release all Jewish prisoners, and pay the money he owed in thirty days time.[c] But when that time was expired, none of these conditions were performed on the part of the Arabians; and Syllæus, full of resentment against Herod, sails for Rome. The terms agreed upon not having been performed by Obodas, Herod, with the consent of Saturninus and Volumnius, marches into Arabia, and routs the forces that opposed him. Advice of this is immediately sent to Syllæus, then in Italy: he procures an audience of Augustus; tells him, that Herod had made an incursion into Arabia, laid waste the country, and killed five and twenty hundred Arabians with their general. Augustus having heard this, inquires of Herod's friends at Rome, and of persons who arrived from Syria, whether this was matter of fact. Being assured it was, without ever asking the occasion, 'He writes a letter to Herod 'in very angry terms.[d] The substance of this letter was, that whereas he had hitherto treated 'him as a *friend*, he should for the future treat him as a *subject*.'

Herod then sent ambassadors to Rome; but they were forced to return, without so much as obtaining an audience. A second embassy likewise went to Rome without any effect.[e]

In the mean time Obodas dies, and Aretas takes upon him the crown of Arabia, and then sends away ambassadors to Rome, with large presents; withal accusing Syllæus, his predecessor's chief minister, of many great crimes. But Syllæus was still in great favour at Rome, and Augustus was offended, that Aretas had taken upon him the government of Arabia without first obtaining his leave; and sent back the ambassadors without receiving the presents, or admitting them to an audience. 'The affairs of these two kingdoms of Judea and Arabia were 'then in a very bad posture. In one there was a king not confirmed in his government; and 'Herod having lost the emperor's favour, was forced to submit to many disgraces and affronts.'

[a] Vid. Strab. l. xiv. p. 987. D. [b] Regnum ejus in provinciam redactum est: fructibusque ejus levari posse centesimæ vectigal professus Cæsar, ducentesimam in posterum statuit. Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 42. [c] Joseph. Ant. lib. xvi. cap. 9. p. 734. [d] Ορίη τε μειζων εἱνεἱλο τῳ Καισαρι, και γραφει ῳος τον Ἡρωδην, τατε αλλα χαλεπως, και τελο της επιστολης το κεφαλαιον, ὁἱι παλαι χρωμενος αυἱῳ φιλῳ, νυν ὑπηκοῳ χρησεἱαι. Id. ibid. p. 735. [e] p. 736. init.

'Seeing no end of these evils, he resolved to send once more an embassy to Rome, and to try 'whether he could gain friends there, and by them recover the emperor's good-will. The 'person sent upon this occasion was Nicolas of Damascus.'[a]

This Nicolas, who was ever firm to Herod's interest, was a man of great abilities, and of admirable address. When he came to Rome, Syllæus's power was declining: new informations against him had been brought from Arabia, and Nicolas artfully joining in with the Arabians, procures an audience of Augustus; and having first supported the charges brought by them against Syllæus, he proceeded to the defence of Herod. 'Here the emperor stopped 'him short, and bid him answer, whether Herod had not marched his forces into Ara-'bia, and slain five and twenty hundred men?' To which Nicolas replied, that the things the emperor had heard concerning Herod, were in part true and in part false, and that the occasion of all had been concealed from him. He informed the emperor of the differences between Obodas and Herod; that certain stipulations had been entered into, in the presence of Saturninus and Volumnius: that Syllæus had sworn by the emperor's fortune, that the terms agreed upon should be punctually executed, but that nothing had been done: that Herod had not moved his forces, till he had first obtained the consent of the emperor's chief officers in Syria, and that the numbers of the slain had been very much magnified. Augustus, perceiving that his displeasure against Herod had been built upon misrepresentations, was appeased; and at length pronounced a sentence, that Syllæus should return home, give Herod satisfaction, and then be punished for his crimes.[b]

Some time after this we have an account of some disturbances in Herod's family. A very strict friendship had commenced between Antipater Herod's eldest son, Pheroras, Herod's brother, and Pheroras's wife, who was particularly disagreeable to Herod. Salome Herod's sister, who knew almost every thing, suspected that these three were carrying on designs against her brother. She came and told him what she knew; and Herod had had some intelligence before, and was full of suspicions, but what he had heard was not fully confirmed. There follows immediately upon this, a passage of so extraordinary a nature, that it must be transcribed without any abridgement. 'There was moreover,' says[c] Josephus, 'a certain 'sect of Jews, who valued themselves highly for their exact knowledge of the law; and talk-'ing much of their interest with God, were greatly in favour with the women. They are 'called pharisees, men who had it in their power to controul kings; extremely subtle, and 'ready to attempt any thing against those whom they did not like. When therefore the whole 'Jewish nation took an oath to be faithful to Cæsar, and the interests of the king, these men, 'to the number of above six thousand, refused to swear. The king having laid a fine upon 'them, Pheroras's wife paid the money for them. They, in requital for this her kindness, (for 'they were supposed, by their great intimacy with God, to have attained to the gift of fore-'knowledge;) foretold, that God having decreed to put an end to the government of Herod 'and his race, the kingdom would be transferred to her and Pheroras and their children. 'Salome, who was ignorant of none of these things, came and told the king of them, and 'assured him likewise, that many of the court were corrupted by them. Then the king put to 'death the most guilty of the pharisees, and Bagoas the eunuch, and one Carus, the most 'beautiful young man about the court, and the great instrument in the king's unlawful 'pleasures. He likewise slew every one in his own family, who adhered to those things which 'were said by the pharisees. But Bagoas had been elevated by them, in that he should be

[a] Τα δε περι την Ιδδαιαν και Αραβιαν, αει και μαλλον επεδιδε,——των γαρ βασιλεων, ὁ μεν επω την αρχην βεβαια εχων·—Ηρωδης δε, εφ' οις ημυνετο ταχιον, ορμισθενδος αυτω Καισαρος. ὁπασας τας εις αυτον παρανομιας φερειν ηναγκαζετο· περας δ' εδεν ὁρων των περιεστωτων κακων, ειτω παλιν εις Ρωμην αποστελλειν, ει τι δυναιτο μειρικιωτερον ευρειν δια τε των φιλων, και προς αυτον Καισαρα την ενδυχιαν ποιησομενος κ. τ. λ. p. 736. [b] Id. ibid. cap. 10 pag. 740, 741.

[c] Και ην γαρ μειζον τι Ιδδαικων ανθρωπων επ' ακριβωσει μετα φρονεν τε πατριω νομω, οις χαιρειν το θειον προσποιημενων γυναικωνιτις· Φαρισαιοι καλουνται, βασιλευσι συναμενοι μαλιστα αντιπρασσειν, προμηθεις, και τα πρεπτα εις το πολεμειν τε και βλαπτειν επηρμενοι· πανυ γαν τα Ιδδαικα βεβαιωσανυτος δι' ὁπλων ἡ μην ευνοησαι Καισαρι, και τοις βασιλεως παιδασι, οι δε οι ανδρες εκ ωμοσαν, ουτες υπερ εξακισχιλιοι· και αυτες βασιλεως ζημιωσανυτος χρημασιν, ἡ Φερωρα γυνη την ζημιαν υπερ αυτων εισφερει· οι δε αμειβομενοι την ευνοιαν αυτης, προεγνωσιν δε επεπιστευντο επιφοιτησει τα Θεα, προλεγων ως Ηρωδη μεν καταπαυσεως αρχης υπο Θεα ενψηφισμενης αυτω τε και γενει τω απ' αυτα, της τε βασιλειας εις τε εκεινην περιηξασης και Φερωραν, παιδας τε οι εσεν αυτοις. Και ταδε, α γαρ ει ανθανε την Σαλωμην, εξαγγελλα βασιλει ην, και ὁτι των περι την αυλην διαφθειροιεν τινας· και ὁ βασιλευς των τε Φαρισαιων τας αιτιωτατους αναιρει, και Βαγωαν τον ευνουχον, Καρον τε τινα των τοτε προσηκοντα αρετη τε ευπρεπες, και παιδικα οντα αυτω· κτεινει δε και παν ὁ, τι τα οικεια συνεισηκει οις ὁ Φαρισαιος ελεγεν· Ηρτο δε ὁ Βαγωας υπ' αυτων, ως παλαι τε και ευπρεπης ονομασθησομενος, τε επικαλασαθησομενε προεδρευσει βασιλεως, και χειρα γαρ εκεινω πανυ εινα, παρεξοντος αυτω γαμετε ισχυν, και παιδωσεως τεκνων γνησιων. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 2. sect. 6.

'called father and benefactor, the king, who was to be appointed according to their predic-
'tion, (for all things would be in his power), being to give him a capacity of marriage, and of
'having children of his own.'

In the margin [a] I justify my version of this passage, as to one particular, in which it is singular. But beside that, possibly some may have a scruple about this sentence, 'He likewise 'slew every one of his own family, who adhered to those things which were said by the 'pharisees.' The original word is in the singular number, 'which were said by the pharisee,' or 'which the pharisee said.' If any should be apt to think from hence, that this has reference to something said by some particular pharisee, I must desire them to consider the context. It is evident, from what goes before and follows that period, that the pharisees in general were concerned in this affair, though some only were punished; the most guilty, as Josephus calls them. The same phrase is in another place used by Josephus, where the pharisees in general are intended. Thus he says, 'The sadducees, when in office, usually go into the 'measures [b] of the pharisees:' in the original it is, 'of the pharisee.'

I take this oath, which Josephus here speaks of, to be the same thing with St. Luke's taxing, for these reasons:

(1.) As far as I can perceive, this oath must have been taken much about the same time with the taxing or census mentioned by St. Luke, according to all those who place the nativity of Jesus some time between twelve, or fifteen months, and two years, before the death of Herod.

(2.) There is a great variety of circumstances attending this oath of Josephus, that accord with the history the evangelists have given us of the birth of Jesus. I imagine I am very much prevented by the reader, but I shall specify some of them.

St Luke says, "There went out a decree from *Cæsar Augustus*, that all the land should be taxed." The substance of the oath in Josephus was, to 'be faithful to *Cæsar*,' as well as to Herod. An oath is a formal acknowledgement of subjection, as well as an engagement to fidelity: no greater acknowledgment of subjection could be made than an enrolment in a Roman census St. Luke says the decree was, that all the land should be taxed, and that all went to be taxed. Josephus agrees with him surprisingly, when he says, that 'All the Jewish nation' took the oath, except six thousand pharisees.

St. Luke's taxing, and Josephus's oath, are followed with parallel events. When the wise men came, saying, "Where is he that is born king of the Jews? Herod was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him." Josephus's account is a perfect comment upon St. Matthew. St. Matthew says, ch. ii. 4, 5, "When he [Herod] had gathered the *chief priests and Scribes* of the people together, he demanded of them, where *Christ* should be born. And they said unto him, in Bethlehem of Judea: for thus it is written by the *prophet*; And thou Bethlehem—art not the least among the princes of Judea: for out of thee shall come a *governor that shall rule my people Israel.* So that all the disturbance at Jerusalem, which St. Matthew speaks of, was on account of the birth of a king of the Jews It is the same thing in Josephus. And the chief priests and scribes in St. Matthew were undoubtedly of the pharisees, which are the persons so much spoken of by Josephus. The king in Josephus has a character of the Christ or Messias: for all things would be in his power. Whether the jest upon Bagoas, and through him upon

[a] This passage of Josephus has been already quoted very often by learned men, who have treated of this census, or of the true time of our Saviour's nativity But all, whom I have seen, have followed Gelenius's version of these last words, which is thus: Nam Bagoas in eam spem sublatus erat, quasi parens & benefactor appellandus regis, quem destinarent vaticinia; prospere enim cessura novo regi omnia, constabiliendo successionem prolis legitimæ I suppose they did not look upon the original; if they had, they would have easily perceived his mistake. Nor does the argument, that this affair has a relation to our census, stand thus in its full force, as will appear by and by. Hudson has very much corrected Gelenius's version, and translates the concluding words thus: Fuit autem per eos elatus Bagoas, quod dicerent eum patrem beneficumque appellatum iri ejus, qui ex eorum prædictione crandus rex esset; habiturum enim eum regem omnium rerum potestatem, & Bagoæ vires conciliaturum cum muliere congrediendi, propriosque liberos gignendi. But, methinks, the sense of this is not very extraordinary. Bagoas is to receive a great benefit from the king, and bestows none upon him, that I see; and yet he is to be called his father and benefactor. I think that Josephus says, that the pharisees gave out, that Bagoas was to become, or to be called, a father: and hereby, that is, by his having children, would also be a benefactor to his country. I have made no alteration in the original words of Josephus. I have only inserted a comma after ονομασθησομενος, and changed the colon after βασιλεως to a comma. This interpretation is not my own; I had it from my learned and ingenious friend, Mr. Ward, to whom I am very much indebted for this, and divers other critical observations, which I highly value.

[b] Ὁπόσε γαρ επ' αρχας παρελθοιεν,——προσχωρεσι δ' αυτοις ὁ Φαρισαιος λεγει. Ant. lib. xviii. c. 1. sect. 4.

the pharisees, be of Josephus's own invention; or whether it was an old piece of wit in use among profane people, to banter those who expected great things from the Messias; or whether it be matter of fact, that some of the pharisees did at that time give any such assurances to some person of influence in Judea, the better to carry on selfish designs, I do not determine. But it is an evidence that the king, who was then the subject of discourse, was supposed to be an extraordinary person.

In Josephus the pharisees give out a prediction, that 'God had decreed to put an end to 'Herod's government,' &c. This I take to be the same thing with "the chief priests and scribes:[a] Thus it is written by the prophet," in St. Matthew: that is, what Josephus calls a prediction or prophecy of the pharisees, is no more than an interpretation or application of an ancient prophecy. Thus Josephus took upon himself the air and character of a prophet, when he applied the ancient Jewish prophecies of the Messias to Vespasian. He was taken prisoner by Vespasian, then general in Judea under Nero. Josephus, hearing that Vespasian had a design to send him to the emperor, desired that he might speak with the general in private. Being brought before Vespasian, and all the company being dismissed, except Titus and two friends, Josephus begins: 'You think, Vespasian, that you have in Josephus a mere prisoner: 'but I am come to you as a messenger of great things. Had I not been sent to you by God, 'I knew what the law of the Jews is, and how it becomes a general to die. Do you send me 'to Nero? What! are they who are to succeed Nero before you to continue? You, Vespasian, 'will be Cæsar: you, and this your son will be emperor. Bind me therefore still faster, and 'reserve me for yourself; for you shall be lord not of me only, but of the earth, and the sea, 'and of all mankind: and for punishment I deserve a closer confinement, if I now speak false-'hood to you in the name of God.'[b]

However, beside the answer given by the scribes to Herod's inquiry, we are to remember the speech made by old Simeon, an eminent pharisee, at the presentation of Jesus at the temple; and that Anna a *prophetess* gave thanks unto the Lord, and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in Israel. And there might be many other such like things said there by others; to all which Josephus, a priest, and well informed of what was said and done, at the temple, may be justly supposed to have a reference.

St. Matthew says, that "when Herod saw that he was *mocked* of the wise men, he was *exceeding wroth*, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof." Josephus has given us the tokens of an uncommon rage in Herod: and though St. Matthew has related, upon this occasion, no other instance of Herod's cruelty, beside the orders for destroying the children in and near Bethlehem; yet nothing is more likely, than that Herod, the most jealous of mortals, should, upon the retreat of the wise men, be filled with suspicions that the scribes and pharisees, whom he had lately consulted about the birthplace of the king of the Jews, had been accessary to the disappointment he had met with from the said wise men: and that being heated by the insinuations of his sister Salome, (provided Josephus has not brought her in here for the sake of a jest;) and by the barbarous counsels of his son Antipater, now in Judea, and in high favour, he should then make also that cruel ravage in his court and at Jerusalem, of which our Jewish historian has given us a summary account.

3. As I think that Josephus was a very firm Jew, so his indecent way of speaking of this affair is a strong proof, it relates to the transactions at Jerusalem after the birth of Jesus. Is it not strange, that Josephus should banter the pharisees for pretending to the gift of foreknowledge, when he himself, a pharisee, has been most notoriously guilty of it? I intend not only his speech to Vespasian just now transcribed: there are other, rather more flagrant instances, and that in the history of the[c] Jewish war, written long before his Antiquities, in which is the passage we are upon. His ridicule of the pharisees appears to me very unseasonable in an account of such a scene of cruelty, and when they were under very heavy sufferings: and for

[a] Unde putas factum, ut eo ipso tempore, proximè post descriptionem Judaïcam Pharisæi vaticinia ista tractarent, & pro lubitu suo interpretarentur? Numquid res ipsa testimonium perhibet Matthæi narrationi? Nonne audis magos ab oriente quærentes, ubi natus sit Rex Judæorum? Nonne Herodem sciscitantem a Pharisæis, ubi Christus nasceretur? His enim occasionibus, his Herodis mandatis, Pharisæi ad Prophetarum libros remissi, vaticinia de quibus quærebatur prolata, ad placitum uxoris Pheroræ, secretis colloquiis detorserunt. Kepler. de Anno Natal. Christ. cap. 12.

[b] Εἴωσδε επι τιμωριαν δεομαι φρουρας μειζονος, ει τι κατασχεδιαζω και Θεου. Joseph. de Bell. l. iii. c. vii. sect. 9.

[c] Vid. de Bell. lib. iii. cap. 7. sect. 3. vid. etiam quæ sequuntur Josephi ad Vespasianum alloquium. Ibid. sect. 9.

what? For refusing the oath of fidelity? No. They had escaped with a fine for not swearing to Cæsar, if there had not followed some offences more particularly against Herod, as is pretended. And what are these? Why predictions and expectations, that the kingdom was by the decree and appointment of God to be transferred to some person not of Herod's race: another instance of agreement with the time that succeeded the birth of Jesus, which, according to the evangelists, was a time of great expectation of a king predicted and prophesied of. But here is not one riotous or seditious action mentioned or hinted; the utmost is seditious words: and yet Josephus justifies, triumphs in these terrible executions. In a word, he, who uses to condemn Herod as a man of an inhuman disposition, here treats the pharisees of this time with Herodian cruelty.

All this is absolutely unaccountable to me, but upon the supposition that this affair relates to the birth of Jesus: nor do I think that I wrong Josephus in the least. It is to me more than probable, that every Jew who did not believe Jesus to be the Christ, (as Josephus did not,) had a great deal of ill-will against him and all his followers. That any Jew of those times should have been long in a state of indifference upon this point, was impossible.

If it be said, that the predictions mentioned by Josephus relate not to Jesus, but to Pheroras's wife, and her children; I do not deny, but that she might pay a regard to what the pharisees said at this time, as well as others did: but that she, or Pheroras, or any one issuing from them was the person then discoursed of, and the chief subject of the pharisees predictions, I do not believe, because it is inconsistent with the rest of Josephus's story. If Pherora's wife had been the person chiefly concerned in this affair, as Josephus pretends here; would she have escaped with her life in so wide a scene of cruelty, in which even the former favourites of Herod were involved? If the dispositions of people ran now all toward Pheroras and his wife, would Antipater have been still great with them? Would Antipater, so desirous of the crown, have gone away to Rome, as he did soon after this execution, and leave things in this posture? Would he, when he went away, leave securely in the hands of Pheroras and his wife the work of poisoning his father, and securing the succession for himself? Would not Antipater, who had lately with exquisite artifice and cruelty accomplished the death of his two brothers, sons of Herod by Mariamne, have been able to effect the ruin of Pheroras's wife?

It is true, after this execution was over, she was called to account by Herod.

That it may not be insinuated that I conceal any difficulty, I will here give the reader Josephus's words, which follow next after the long passage we are concerned with. 'Herod 'having punished the pharisees, who had been convicted of concerning themselves in this 'affair, calls a council of his friends, and there accuses Pheroras's wife: ascribing to her the 'affront that had been offered to the virgins,[a] and therein to him: adding, that she did all she 'could to create a difference between him and his brother; that the fine imposed upon the 'pharisees had been evaded by her means, and that in the present affair nothing had been done 'without her:—and that if Pheroras had any regard for him, he would of his own accord put 'away his wife. You will then, says he to Pheroras, be my brother indeed, and we shall live[b] 'together in friendship.'

If the meaning of the last words of the charge against this woman be not, that in the 'present affair nothing had been done without her,' as I have rendered them, but that 'now-a-'days nothing was done without her,' as Dr. Hudson translates them;[c] then her conduct in the late affair is not so much as made any particular crime, but is only comprehended in a general charge of an over busy intriguing temper.

But let it be granted that Josephus says, her conduct in this affair was an express charge in Herod's accusation; yet the punishment proposed confutes the supposition, that she was the main agent in this concern. Herod assures Pheroras, they two should be very good friends if this woman were but 'put away.' Would this disgrace have satisfied Herod, if, beside many

[a] The virgins.] The meaning is, Pheroras's wife had been his servant. Herod had offered Pheroras one of his daughters, and after that another. But Pheroras refused them both, out of his affection for this woman. [b] Ἡρωδης δε, κολασας των Φαρισαιων τȣς επι τοισδε εληλεγμενȣς, συνεδριον τε ποιειται των φιλων, και κατηγοριαν της Φερωρȣ γυναικος, την τε ὕβριν των παρθενων τῃ τολμῃ της γυναικος αναλιθεις, και εγκλημα ταυτην ατιμιαν αυτῳ ποιȣμενος, ωστε αγωνοθετειν στασιν αυτῳ προς τον αδελφον και πολεμον εκ φυσεως αυτοις και λογῳ και δι' εργων ὁσα δυναιτο, την τε διαλυσιν της ζημιας της ὑπ' αυτȣ επιβληθεισης τελεσι διαφευχθηναι τοις εκεινης, των τε νυν πεπραγμενων ȣδεν ὁ, τι ȣ' μετ' αυτης· ανθ' ὡν Φερωρᾳ καλως εχειν, ȣ δεησει ȣδε γνωμων εισηγησεως των ἡμων, αυτοκελευστον αποπεμπεσθαι γυναικα ταυτην, ὡς πολεμȣ τȣ προς με σοι αιτιαν εσομενην· και νυν, ειπερ αντιποιῃ συγγενειας της εμης, απειπασθαι τηνδε την γαμετην· μενεις γαρ οὑτως εμος αδελφος τε και στεργειν ȣκ απηλλαγμενος. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 3. sect. 1. [c] Suisque impendiis evitata esset solutio mulctæ ab ipso impositæ, nihilque jam sine illâ ageretur.

other provocations, she had now been the principal in a crime for which many accessaries, and those in all others respects very acceptable persons, had been punished with death? I hope we may be allowed, not to credit Josephus in a circumstance so inconsistent with the rest of his account; and I think, it is not hard to guess why Josephus gave some false turns in this story.

I have one thing more to desire of the reader, that is, that he will be pleased to consider, whether Josephus does not contradict himself in the main passage in which he is so merry. He tells us at first, that the pharisees in requital for the kindness shewed to them, foretold that God had decreed to transfer the kingdom to 'Pheroras's wife, and Pheroras, and their 'children;' but at the end, it is 'the king who was to be appointed according to their prediction.' How comes 'Pheroras's wife, and Pheroras, and their children' to be all a king? Or how came the king to be all them? If the reader can reconcile these things together, it will be very well; but if he cannot, perhaps he will allow, that here are some things said of Pheroras's wife and the pharisees without foundation. I ever take it, that inconsistences are a certain sign, that an historian has not confined himself barely to matter of fact, but has indulged his fancy or his passions, and gone into fiction.

For these reasons then I think, that the oath in Josephus, taken by all the Jewish nation, is the same thing with the taxing or enrolment mentioned by St. Luke: and I think, that this oath refers to a census made in Judea, for the following reasons. In a census the people gave in account of themselves and their estates upon oath. It seems to me very probable that a census was made, or at least ordered by Augustus, during the time that Herod lay under his displeasure. Under the former particular I shew, that Herod had been before this a tributary prince. His great subjection appears likewise in the difference between him and Obodas; he was obliged to refer the matter in dispute to the emperor's officers in Syria: after Obodas had broke the stipulations, Herod did not dare to move his forces without the consent of the forementioned officers; and Augustus, supposing that he had done so, was very angry, and threatens, that whereas he had 'hitherto used him as a friend, he should for the future treat him as a subject.' These words are undoubtedly proper and expressive words: if Herod, when a friend of Augustus, was in such subjection, what can a subject mean, but the reducing him to the lowest state of dependant princes? Which seems to be that of obliging them to submit to a census, and then raising tribute in their dominions according to it.

Josephus says, that after the receipt of this letter from Augustus, Herod sent in vain two embassies to Rome, that the state of Judea grew worse and worse, that Herod was obliged to submit to many disgraces. The emperor's displeasure against Herod was manifest therefore, not at Rome only, but in all the countries about Judea.

(1.) But it may be objected, that Josephus has no where said, that there was any enrolment of the Jews, much less that there was a proper census made in Judea.

To this I answer, that it is apparent there was an enrolment and numbering of the people. How else should all the people have taken an oath, except six thousand pharisees? Did they not enter the people that took the oath? If they did not, how should it have been known who swore and who did not?

Nor can it be inferred there was no enrolment or census, because Josephus has not expressly said there was. Josephus's account of this matter is very slight and defective: if it had not been for some things which followed after the oath, and had some connection with it, it seems that he would have taken no notice of it at all. An oath had been taken by all the Jewish nation to Cæsar and Herod, and great exactness had been observed in relation to it; the numbers and characters of those which had refused were known. This was an affair of importance, and deserved a much more particular account than he has given us: and we are allowed to suppose some things not expressed, which must necessarily have been concomitants of it.

I do not pretend to assign positively the reasons of his slight mention of this affair, but I apprehend I can give some probable account of it. Herod's subjects were all enrolled in a census, but there was no tribute demanded upon it: Herod had great dexterity, or very good fortune in surmounting the difficulties he met with in the several parts of his life; he was himself a man of a great genius, and some of his servants were men of great abilities. Nicolas of Damascus in particular was eminent for learning and address; and Herod knew very well how to bestow a present or a bribe.

I am moreover inclined to think, that no tax was raised upon this census, because it appears

that after these troubles, of which Josephus has given us an account, Augustus was in a great measure reconciled to Herod. Perceiving that his resentment against Herod had been very much founded upon aspersions, he might be disposed to forbear exacting the tribute upon the census, and to let things go on in the old way. Then Herod had taken care that the decree should be obeyed and executed in his dominions without disturbance: all had sworn or enrolled themselves except six thousand pharisees, and they were fined.

Moreover, Herod was now an old man and had many sons; it was therefore very likely, there would be some partition made of his dominions at his death, and Augustus might be very willing there should be so. Three or four little princes are better governed than one that is powerful. Tribute could not be paid according to this census, any longer than the several parts of the kingdom continued united in one person; when it came to be divided or parcelled out, a new census would be necessary.

If then no tribute was paid upon this census, an historian could the more easily pass it by without a particular description, especially since it had been finished without any popular tumults.

It may be inferred from the manner in which St. Luke mentions this survey, that it was not very much taken notice of: if it had been universally known, there had been hardly any occasion, upon the mention of a decree of Augustus in the reign of Herod to enrol all the land, to subjoin a parenthesis, the chief intent of which seems to be, to distinguish this from another that happened not till after the removal of Herod's successor.

If this census was not universally known when Josephus wrote, he might be well pleased to touch upon it slightly. The Jewish writers were very forward to enumerate the honours done to their people by the Roman senate, or the chief men of the commonwealth, or the emperors afterwards; the better to gain some regard among other nations, by whom they were generally despised and hated: but as for any disgraces they received from the Romans, the case was very different.

Thus Josephus has mentioned many favours conferred on the Jews by Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Livia, Marcus Agrippa, Claudius, and other Romans; but yet he says nothing of the journey which Caius, Augustus's eldest adopted son, made through Judea, in the beginning of the reign of Archelaus. This we have from [a] Suetonius only, an author very little concerned in Jewish affairs. The reason seems to be, that Caius offered no sacrifice at Jerusalem, nor made any present to the temple, which was deemed a piece of contempt shewn to their religion.

Possibly, Josephus found but a slender account of this transaction in the history of Nicolas of Damascus, from which he took his materials for this reign. Though Nicolas was no Jew, yet he was a great friend and flatterer of Herod; and it could not but be an ungrateful task to him, after he had in the former part of his work drawn his master as a great genius, a founder of cities, and friend of Augustus, to describe at last so disagreeable a scene, as that of one of the emperor's officers enrolling all the subjects of his dominions.

Nicolas [b] had great intimacies with Herod: Josephus has affirmed more than once, that he was a great flatterer of [c] him. And in one place says particularly, 'that living in his kingdom, 'and together with him, he composed his history with a view to please the king and advance 'his interest, touching upon those things only which made for [d] his honour.' This enrolment, even though it was not a proper assessment, but only an entry of the names of all the people, their age and condition, accompanied with an oath of strict fidelity to the emperor, must have been the greatest mortification of Herod's whole life: and from the character of Nicolas, just set down, it may be concluded almost with certainty, that he did not give a particular account of this affair: nor had Josephus any inducements to supply his defects in this place.

(2.) But it will be said, that the silence of Josephus is not the only difficulty: there is in him well nigh positive proof, that there had been no census or enrolment made in Judea before the removal of Archelaus; for upon the occasion of this he says, 'Morever Cyrenius came into 'Judea, it being annexed to the province of Syria, to make an assessment of their goods, and

[a] Sed & Caium Nepotem, quod Judæam prætervehens apud Hierosolymam non supplicâsset, collaudavit [Augustus]. Suet. in Aug. c. 93. [b] Και Νικολαος ὁ Δαμασκηνος, φιλος τε ων τȣ βασιλεως, και τα παντα συνδιαιτωμενος εκεινῳ, κ. λ. Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 5. sect. 3. [c] Ibid. l. xiv. c. 1. sect. 3. [d] Ζωντι γαρ εν τῃ βασιλεια και συν αυτῳ, κεχαρισμενως εκεινῳ και καθ' ὑπηρεσιαν ανεγραφεν, μονον ἁπτομενος των προς ευκλειαν αυτῳ φεροντων. Ant. l. xvi. c. 7. sect. 1.

'seize Archelaus's estate. The Jews were at first very much moved at the[a] mention of the 'enrolments, but by degrees they were brought to acquiesce at the persuasion of Joazar the 'high priest.' He observes also, 'that at this time Judas the Gaulanite excited them to a 'rebellion, telling them that a census would introduce downright[b] slavery.' It will be said: It may be hence inferred, that there had been no enrolments made before; if there had, they could not have been so frightful now.

I answer, that there must have been an enrolment made, when the oath mentioned by Josephus was taken: and that oath was likewise an express and solemn acknowledgment of subjection to the Romans.

Besides, though this oath had been quite omitted by Josephus, it would not have followed, that there had been no enrolment made before this time in Judea. People are not always of the same temper. Judas of Galilee now broached or revived the principle that they ought to obey none but God; and for some reasons it was received with great applause, spread and gained ground. But the Jews must have been more submissive when they all took the oath to Cæsar, except six thousand. And after Herod was dead, there was a very numerous embassy sent to Rome in the name of the whole Jewish nation, entreating, that instead of being governed by any of Herod's descendants, 'they[c] might be annexed to the province of Syria, 'and be subject to prætors sent from thence, promising likewise a most quiet and peaceable 'behaviour under such a government.'

In another place, Josephus represents Judas's arguments in these terms: 'And at this time a 'man, called Judas the Galilean, excited the people to rebellion, telling them, they had a mean 'spirit, if they could endure to pay tribute to the Romans, and acknowledge mortal men for 'their lords;——after God had been their king.'[d] It might be as well inferred from what Judas says here, that the Jews had never before paid tribute to the Romans, or been subject to mortal lords; as from what he says in the other place, that they had never before been enrolled. I presume it need not be proved, that they had been subject, before this, to mortal lords. I think too, that I have shewn, they had been tributary to the Romans in the reign of Herod. They had likewise paid tribute to the Romans before Herod's reign: for Josephus says, that 'Cassius imposed a heavy tribute upon the people [in Syria]; and in particular bore 'very hard upon Judea, exacting of them seven hundred talents of silver.'[e] This sum was laid in several portions upon the several parts of Judea; and Herod, then governor of Galilee under Hyrcanus, brought in his quota the first, and thereby much obliged Cassius. Judas's speech therefore is no proof, that there had been no enrolment or census made in Judea before the removal of Archelaus.

(3.) I can think of but one difficulty more. Perhaps some will say, my argument is defective, and that in order to make it out, that this oath taken by the Jews, in Josephus, was a census, I ought to produce some passages of an ancient writer, in which a census is called an oath, or the act of the people enrolling themselves in a census, is expressed by taking an oath. I own then, that I have not any such example by me. However, I would offer here two or three considerations.

[1.] In a Roman census the people gave in their account of themselves and their estates upon oath: and that oath, as represented by Dionysius, has a very near resemblance with the words of Josephus. Dionysius says, the people were commanded to 'take an oath to give in 'a true account, according to the best of their knowledge:' and Josephus says, that the whole Jewish nation engaged by an[f] oath to be 'faithful to Cæsar and the interests of the king.'

[2.] We have in the ancient writers very few accounts of assessments made in provinces. The Roman historians scarce ever take any notice of them, but when they were attended with some disturbances which make them remarkable. As we have but very few writers of those

[a] Οἱ δε, καιπερ το καῖ αρχας εν δεινῳ 'φερονῖες την επι ταις απογραφαις ακροασιν· Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1. sect. 1.

[b] Ibid. [c] Ην δε κεφαλαιον αυτοις της αξιωσεως, βασιλειας μεν και τουτων αρχων απηλλαχθαι, προστυχειν δε Συριας γενομενας υποτασσεσθαι τοις εκειθε πεμπομενοις στρατηγοις· κ. τ. λ. Jos. Ant. l. xvii. p. 784. v. 35. [d] Καιζων, ει φορον τε Ρωμαιοις τελειν υπομενουσι, και μετα τον Θεον θνητας δεσποτας. De Bell. l. ii. cap. 8. sect. 1.

[e] Και φορας αυταις μεγαλας επετεθει· μαλιστα δε την Ιουδαιαν εκακωσεν, επτακοσια ταλαντα αργυριου εισπραττομενος. Ant. lib. xiv. cap. xi. sect. 2. [f] There is another thing which may deserve notice. Dionysius says, That the penalty at Rome for not enrolling in a census was loss of estate and citizenship. Perhaps the fine imposed on the pharisees, who refused to swear, was now ordered in conformity to the Roman customs upon like occasions. For Herod had been wont before to inflict punishments of another kind for refusing to swear fidelity to him. Vid. Antiq. l. xv. c. 10. sect. 4.

times, especially such a lived in the provinces, it is not to be wondered that we meet with some singular phrases in those we have, and which we cannot parallel in any other authors now in our hands. If we had before us the works of a good number of provincial writers, it is not unlikely, but we might see some of them represent their nation enrolling themselves in a census, especially in the first census made in their country, by the taking an oath of allegiance and fidelity to the emperor. I shall give an instance from Josephus, which has likewise some affinity with our subject. In the Jewish War he calls Fabatus Cæsar's procurator:[a] in his Antiquities[b] he calls him Cæsar's servant. He also calls one Stephen, who was in Judea in the time of Cumanus, Cæsar's servant. 'And[c] at this time,' says he, 'some who aimed at innovations, 'set upon Stephen, a servant of Cæsar, in the high-way about a hundred stadia from the city, 'and robbed him of all he had.' I have shewn above, that Fabatus was Augustus's procurator in the kingdom of Arabia, if not also in Judea. And that Stephen also was procurator in Judea may be concluded from the treasure he had with him, and from his being particularly the object of the spite of the seditious Jews, who were uneasy under the Roman government. So that with Josephus, the emperor's servant, and the procurator of the emperor's revenue, were synonymous terms. If Josephus appears at present singular in this style, yet I doubt not, but it was at that time very common.

[3.] I apprehend that though the Jews entered themselves and their estates in the way of a Roman census, yet there was no tribute raised upon it: which might be the reason of Josephus's representing this affair simply by taking an oath, rather than by the name of a census.

I have now laid before the reader the evidence I have for this supposition, that there was a census made in Judea a little before the death of Herod. The particulars mentioned by St. Luke, and the expressions he uses, are very suitable to a census. And the posture of Herod's affairs about this time, inclines me to think there was an enrolment, after the manner of a Roman census, made in his dominions by order of Augustus.

But whether I am in the right or not, St. Luke certainly says, that there was an enrolment; and Josephus says, that the whole Jewish nation had taken an oath to be faithful to Cæsar and Herod. Some entry therefore must have been made: and if St. Luke be understood to speak only of an enrolment of names and persons, his account is confirmed by Josephus as fully as one could wish.

And though it should be thought, that I have not fully proved, that there was at this time a proper assessment made in Judea; yet I have, I think, shewn undeniably, that about this time that country was brought into a very strict subjection to Augustus: and herein also St. Luke and Josephus agree entirely.

I am sensible, that they who have hitherto supposed, that Jesus was not born till a few weeks before the death of Herod, will very unwillingly allow, that the oath in Josephus has any relation to St. Luke's enrolment. But then, beside the task of evading all the many concurring circumstances in St. Luke and Josephus, they will labour under one very great difficulty. For this oath appears to have been taken by the Jews so very near the end of Herod's reign, that it will be utterly inconceivable, that the Romans should have ordered another general enrolment, and harass the people again before Herod's death. Nor will they be able to remove this difficulty by saying, that the swearing began about the time it is placed in by Josephus, but it was not finished till a few weeks before Herod died; for it was all over at the time Josephus speaks of it. All had taken the oath, but six thousand pharisees; they had refused, and were fined.

III. The third objection is this: Cyrenius was not governor of Syria till nine or ten, perhaps twelve years after our Saviour was born: therefore St. Luke has made a mistake in saying, that this taxing happened in the time of Cyrenius.

This objection must now be stated more at length. In our translation the words are, "And this taxing was first made, when Cyrenius was governor of Syria." What is the sense of our translation, I do not know: and it must be owned likewise, that the words of the original[d] seem to have in them an uncommon ambiguity. Many think, the most genuine natural sense

[a] Πεισας δε πολλοις χρημασι Φαδαλον, τον Καισαρος διοικητην. De Bell. l. i. cap. 29. p. 1030. v. 22. vid. & v. 29.

[b] ——Ανηρηκεναι δε και Φαδαλον, Καισαρος δουλον. Ant. l. xvii. cap. 3. p. 755. v. 6.

[c] Των γαρ εφεστωτων επι νεωτερισμω τινες, και την δημοσιαν οδον ως εκατον σταδιων απωθεν της πολεως, Στεφανον Καισαρος δουλον οδοιποροντα λησευσαντες, απασαν αυτε την κτησιν διαρπαζουσιν. Ant. l. xx. cap. 4. sect. 4. vid. & Bell. p. 1072. v. 32.

[d] Αυτη ἡ απογραφη πρωτη εγενετο ἡγεμονευοντος της Συριας Κυρηνιου.

of the original words is, "This first taxing [or enrolment] was made, when Cyrenius was governor of Syria." Upon this sense of them the objection is founded. And it is urged, this cannot be agreeable to the truth: for the evangelists have assured us, that Jesus was born in the latter end of Herod's reign. But Josephus says, that [a] Quintilius Varus was then president of Syria, and he must have been so at least a year before Herod died; and Saturninus was his predecessor. Moreover, Josephus says, that Cyrenius was sent governor into Syria, when Archelaus was removed from his government of Judea, who yet reigned there between nine and ten years after Herod. Josephus relates this matter in his Antiquities thus:

'But in the tenth year [b] of Archelaus's government, the chief of the Jews and Samaritans, 'not being able to bear his cruelty and tyranny, accused him to Cæsar. The emperor sent an 'officer into Judea to bring him to Rome. When he came thither, Cæsar, having heard what 'he had to say in answer to his accusers, banished him, appointing Vienna, a city in Gaul, for 'the place of his abode.[c] And the country of Archelaus being annexed to the province of 'Syria, Cyrenius a consular person, was sent by Cæsar to make an assessment in Syria, and to 'seize Archelaus's estate.'[d]

Afterwards he says, 'In the mean time Cyrenius a Roman senator, who had served all 'other offices, and through them arrived at the consulship, and was distinguished likewise by 'divers other honours and dignities, came into Syria with a few troops, being sent thither by 'Cæsar to administer justice to that people, and to make an assessment of their goods. And 'Coponius a person of the equestrian rank, was sent with him to govern in Judea with supreme 'authority. Cyrenius also came into Judea, now annexed to Syria, both to assess their estates, 'and to seize Archelaus's effects and treasure.'[e]

It is objected, therefore, that St. Luke has committed a very gross mistake, in saying, that "this taxing was made, when Cyrenius was governor of Syria;" since it appears from Josephus, that Cyrenius was not president of that province, till after the banishment of Archelaus, Herod's son, and successor.

To this I answer, that though the sense of the words, as they now stand in St. Luke's gospel, should be supposed inconsistent with this account taken from Josephus, yet it would be unreasonable to conclude, that St. Luke had really made any mistake. St. Luke appears in the rest of his history, and from many particulars of this account before us, to be so fully master of the state of Judea, and of the nature of this affair he is here speaking of, that it is impossible he should commit any such mistake

In the beginning of his third chapter, he has most exactly specified the state of all Judea, or the land of Israel, as it was in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, by setting down the several tetrarchs and governors of it, and the true extent of their territories.

St. Luke understood the nature of enrolments, as made by the Romans. The enrolment now made, was by virtue of a decree of Augustus. And he says, that "Joseph went to be taxed with Mary his espoused wife." This was the custom of the Romans, as has been shewed from undoubted testimonies, to enrol women as well as men; whereas the Jews used to number or enrol males only.

Moreover, St. Luke appears to be well acquainted with the census which Josephus gives us an account of. Gamaliel says, Acts v. 37. "After this man rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him: he also perished, and as many as obeyed him, were dispersed." I think it may be fairly supposed, that St. Luke understood what he has related from Gamaliel. And then, here are particulars enough to satisfy us, he wanted no information concerning the census which Josephus speaks of.

That Gamaliel here speaks of the census made in Judea after the banishment of Archelaus, is evident, because it was at that time, that Judas of Galilee raised a disturbance. Gamaliel calls them "the days of the taxing," which implies, that this was a very noted and remarkable period; as it is certain it was.

[a] Jos. Antiq. l. xvii. cap. 5. sect. 2. [b] Δεκατῳ δε ετει αρχης Αρχελαȣ. [c] Ant. lib. xvii. cap. 15. sect. 2.

[d] Της δε Αρχελαȣ χωρας ὑποτελȣς προσνεμηθεισης τῃ Συρων, πεμπεται Κυρηνιος ὑπο Καισαρος, ανηρ ὑπατικος, αποτιμησομενος τα εν Συριᾳ, και τȣ Αρχελαȣ αποδωσομενος οικον. Ibid. sect. 5.

[e] Κυρηνιος δε, των εις την βȣλην συναγομενων ανηρ, τας τε αλλας αρχας επιτετελεκως, και δια πασων ὁδευσας ὑπατος γενεσθαι, ταλε αλλα αξιωματι μεγας, συν ολιγοις επι Συριας παρην, ὑπο Καισαρος δικαιοδοτης τȣ εθνȣς απεσταλμενος, και τιμητης των ȣσιων γενησομενος. Κωπωνιος τε αυτῳ συγκαταπεμπεται, ταγματος των ἱππεων, ἡγησομενος Ιȣδαιων τῃ επι πασιν εξȣσια· παρην και Κυρηνιος εις την Ιȣδαιων προσθηκην της Συριας γενομενην αποτιμησομενος τε αυτων τας ȣσιας, και αποδωσομενος τα Αρχελαȣ χρηματα. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 1. sect. 1.

Gamaliel here calls this Judas by his proper name: Josephus does in one place call him Judas Gaulanites,[a] but he often styles him Judas the Galilean, or of Galilee.[b] Gamaliel says, that he "drew away much people after him." Josephus says the same thing of him in almost the same words."[c]

Gamaliel does exactly specify the time in which this man rose up, namely, in "the time of the taxing," or of the enrolment: for Josephus says, 'he persuaded not a few not to enrol 'themselves, when Cyrenius the censor was sent into Judea.'[d]

Gamaliel says, "he also perished, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were scattered." Josephus has no where related particularly the end of this Judas. But that his enterprise was defeated at that time, we may be certain; otherwise the Roman government could not have subsisted in that country with any quiet, which yet it did for near sixty years after the banishment of Archelaus. Nor is there after this any mention made in Josephus's history, of any action or attempt of Judas.

Perhaps it will be here objected, that Gamaliel's words imply, that this design of Judas was quite confounded, and his principles sunk at once: and yet it seems likely, from the uneasiness which the Jews express under the Roman tribute in some places of the evangelists, that his principles were in being long afterwards: and from Josephus it appears, that his notions were very prevalent, and were one cause of their war at last with the Romans.

But if any so understand Gamaliel, they appear to me very much to mistake the design of his argument. Doubtless, it was not without special reason that Gamaliel alleged these two instances; and he speaks of each in a very different manner. Of Theudas he says, "He was slain, and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered and brought to nought: διελυθησαν και εἰενιο εις ουδεν· they were ruined and came to nothing. Of Judas he says, "He also perished, and all, as many as obeyed him, were dispersed:" διεσκορπισθησαν. Having mentioned these two instances, which the council were well acquainted with, and thereby laid a foundation for the advice he proposed to give, he goes on: "And now I say unto you, refrain from these men, and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men," [as Theudas's was,] "it will come to[e] nought" [as his did]. "But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God."

It is not to be supposed, that Gamaliel should expressly say, Judas's design was of God. However the chief men of the Jewish nation might approve his principles, they were wiser than openly to espouse them: they left that to the common people.

The force of Gamaliel's argument is this: Theudas and his measures came to nothing. After him Judas rose up; he himself perished, and his people were dispersed; but yet his principles prevail. You likewise may now punish these men, and put an end to their lives; but if their principles be of God, they will prevail notwithstanding; and all the issue will be, that you will contract guilt, fight against God, but in vain.

And to this, seems to be owing the great success of Gamaliel's reasoning, and the service he did the apostles at this time. He insinuates some hopes, that their design might be of the same nature with Judas's. This may be inferred from his way of expressing himself, "lest haply ye be found to fight against God. This was Judas's peculiar principle, that they were to own no mortal lords, but God only.[f] And it is not unlikely, that Gamaliel intended hereby to insinuate, not only that there was danger of their opposing a design which came from God, and of opposing it with no other effect, but that of contracting guilt to themselves, but also of opposing the very kingdom and government of God, which they wished to be under.

It deserves likewise to be observed, that Gamaliel mentions Theudas with contempt and indignation. 'Before these days rose up Theudas, boasting himself to be somebody:' but nothing like this follows the mention of Judas.

Gamaliel concludes upon the whole, that they should "let these men alone." We have no occasion to meddle in this matter: it is not unlikely but the Romans, our present governors, will be jealous of these men. But it seems to me an affair we have no reason to concern ourselves in.

[a] Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 1 p. 792. v. 3. [b] Ὁ Γαλιλαιος Ιεδας, p. 974. 3. τις ανηρ Γαλιλαιος, Ιεδας ονομα· p. 1060. 8. [c] Ελεαζαρος αποϛονος Ιεδα τε πεισανϛος Ιεδαιων εκ ολιϛες μη πειθεισθαι τας αποϛαϕας, ὁϊε Κυρηνιος τιμητης εις την Ιεδαιαν επεμϕθη. De B. J. lib. vii. p. 1313. v. 41. [d] Ibid. & p. 792. init. [e] Καταλυθησεται. [f] Jos. p. 1060. v. 10.

St. Luke therefore must be supposed to be well acquainted with the census made after the banishment of Archelaus.

I must be permitted to observe farther, that St. Luke does here call Cyrenius by his true name. It has indeed been a dispute among learned men, whether his Roman name was Quirinus or Quirinius: Onuphrius in his Fasti printed it Quirinus; Grotius[a] and Lipsius[b] thought Onuphrius was mistaken, and that it ought to be corrected Quirinius. Perizonius[c] seems to have proved, that Quirinus is the true way of writing it in Latin; since it was not the family name, or the nomen, but cognomen, the third name of this gentleman; for his name was Caius Sulpicius Quirinus; and in the Syriac version of St. Luke he is written Curinus, and in the Latin vulgate Cyrinus. But however that be, he allows it to be common for the Greeks to make some alteration in the termination of Roman names, when they turn them into their own language. It is certain, his name in all the Greek authors has the termination of ιος or ius; Strabo[d] and Dio[e] call him Κυρινιος, Cyrinius; but in Josephus[f] his name is always written, as in St. Luke, Cyrenius.

Moreover it is certain, Cyrenius was governor of Syria; and he has here a very proper title, by which he must have been well known in Judea, and in all that part of the world.

Lastly, if we consider that the words now before us are a parenthesis, and that St. Luke calls the enrolment or census he was speaking of, the first, we cannot well doubt, but that the original intention of them was, in some manner or other, to distinguish this enrolment, which was now made in the reign of Herod, from that which was afterwards made when Archelaus was banished.

He that will seriously consider all these particulars, will have no suspicions that St. Luke has made any mistake.

If then the sense, which is now ordinarily given these words, is not consistent with truth, it is highly reasonable to conclude, that either we do not take the true meaning of them, or else that some small alteration or other has happened in the text of St. Luke.

IV. But though what has been here offered, and which has also been in the main alleged before by those who have considered this place, be sufficient to take away the force of this objection, yet I presume it will be expected, I should give some account of the particular solutions that have been offered by learned men: this I shall do, and then endeavour to support or improve that which appears to me the fairest.

1. One solution proposed by[g] Calvin, and much approved by Salmeron and Baronius, is that Josephus was mistaken in the account which he has given of Cyrenius. The two last mentioned writers especially are of opinion, that we need pay little regard to Josephus, whose history, they say, abounds with mistakes and falsehoods.[h] And Baronius[i] has taken some pains to make out a new series of the succession of the governors of Syria about this time; for he thinks that Cyrenius was twice, if not thrice, president of Syria: but this project can be but little approved by learned men at present. No one that reads Josephus without prejudice, and that considers he had before him the history of Herod's reign, written by Nicolas of Damascus, who was a learned man, Herod's favourite, and employed by him in affairs of government, can make any doubt, but that Quintilius Varus was governor of Syria when Herod died; that C. Sentius Saturninus was his predecessor, and was in the province at least two or three years; and that M. Titius was president before him. With all these governors of Syria Herod had some concerns. What Josephus has said of them may likewise be confirmed in a great measure from other authors;[k] so that there is no room for Cyrenius at this time.

Nor can there well be any question made, but that Josephus has given us, in the main, a true account of the enrolment or census made by Cyrenius after Archelaus's banishment. It appears from the manner in which Gamaliel speaks of the taxing, when Judas of Galilee rose up, that it was a remarkable event: and the account Josephus gives of it may assure us, this was an affair all men were then well acquainted with. The disturbance raised by Judas was

[a] In Luc. ii. 2. [b] In not. ad Tacit. ann. l. iii. c. 48.
[c] Dissert. de Aug. orb. Terr. Descr. sect. 30.
[d] Lib. xii. p. 854. [e] Vid. Dio. lib. liv. ad A.U. 742.
[f] Ant. p. 791. v. 5. 12. p. 794. v. 21. 37. & alibi.
[g] In loc. [h] Præstat ut Josephi vero fidem & historiam deseramus, tanquam incertam, & fluctuantem & veritati in multis dissentientem. Salmeron in Evang. T. iii. Tractat. 32. [i] Sicque contra Josephi deliria certo appareret, sub Augusto imperatore, vivente Herode seniore, reperiri duplicem, immo triplicem, Quirinii in Syriâ præfecturam. Baron. Ann. A. D. 3. Vid. etiam App. ad An. num. 80, 86.
[k] Vid. Noris. Cenot. Pis. Diss. ii. cap. 16. sect 9, 10.

suppressed, but yet the principle subsisted; it was the occasion of much uneasiness under the Roman government, and many were at times punished on account of it.[a]

2. Another solution proposed by[b] Calvin, and which Valesius[c] judgeth to be most commodious of any, is, that the decree of Augustus was issued in the latter end of Herod's reign; but that for some reason or other the census could not be made, or at least not finished, till the time that Cyrenius was governor of Syria, ten or twelve years afterwards.

But this is to make St. Luke speak very improperly and confusedly in what he says of Cyrenius, and it is directly contrary to what follows. Having related, that there "went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed," he subjoins: "and all went to be taxed every one into his own city." And there was so great a resort at this time at Bethlehem upon this account, that Joseph and Mary were obliged to take up with very indifferent accommodations: "there was no room for them in the inn."

3. Some think, that instead of Cyrenius we ought to read Saturninus; because, according to Josephus, he was præfect of Syria within a year or two before Herod died; and Tertullian says, this census was made by him. This is one of the solutions proposed by[d] Valesius, though he rather approves that last mentioned. But against this it has been observed by many learned men, that Cyrenius is in all our copies of St. Luke, and appears to have been there before Tertullian's time; since Justin Martyr says expressly, that this census was made by Cyrenius.

4. Other learned[e] men have thought it a very easy and probable conjecture, that originally the name of St. Luke was Quintilius. Quintilius Varus succeeded Saturninus, and was in the province of Syria when Herod died. The census afterwards made by Cyrenius was certainly best known, and some ignorant transcriber might therefore imagine Quintilius a mistake, and pretend to correct the original by inserting Cyrenius in his room. Besides, the alteration of Quintilius to Cyrenius is a change of only a few[f] letters, and therefore might the more easily happen.

But this solution is liable to the same objection with the former, that Cyrenius is in all the copies of the Greek original, and in all the ancient versions; and besides has this disadvantage, that this census St. Luke speaks of is not ascribed to Quintilius Varus by any ancient christian writer whatever, whereas Saturninus has been mentioned by Tertullian.

5. The next[g] I shall mention is that offered by[h] Mr. Whiston, which is this: 'that a description or enrolment of the Jews was made just before our Saviour's birth, but the tax itself 'was not raised till the banishment of Archelaus, when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.' And Dr. Prideaux seems to approve of this way of solving this difficulty. For he says: 'If the 'second verse of the second chapter of St. Luke be so rendered as to imply, that the levying 'the tax, according to the description mentioned in the former verse, was first executed while 'Cyrenius was governor of Syria, this will remove all difficulties: and the text can well bear 'this interpretation.'[i]

In order to support this interpretation, Mr. Whiston says:[k] 'The word used for the description at our Saviour's birth, is the verb ἀπογραφομαι, and that used for the taxation under Cyrenius is the noun ἀπογραφη.' He adds, 'that by custom a noun of the same original with a verb 'does vary in signification from it. Γεωμετρειν is to measure the earth: Γεωμετρια is geometry, or 'the science that consists of the knowledge of numbers and figures.—Nay, in English, in the 'words directly apposite to this matter, the verb to tax is oftentimes to lay an imputation, 'while the noun a tax is the levy of money only.'

But (1.) Mr. W——n's argument from the use of nouns and verbs is not valid here. He says: 'by custom a noun of the same original with a verb does vary in signification from it.' This may be, and there may be many instances of it; but it had been much more material to give an example or two of the use of the noun ἀπογραφη for a tax, namely, in the sense in which he here understands it. This he has not done, and I presume no such example can be alleged from any Greek author.

I know of but two, or at the most three senses, in which this noun is used, which can have any relation to this matter.

[a] Jos. Ant. l. xviii. cap. 1. sect. 6. [b] Ubi supra. [c] Vid Notas ad Euseb. Hist. Ec. lib. i. cap. 5. [d] Ubi supra. [e] Huet. Dem. Evang. Prop. ix. c. 10. Parker's Demonstration of the Truth of the Christian Religion, p. 219. 4to. 1681. [f] Κυιντιλιου Κυρηνιου. [g] I have passed by the conjecture of those, who have supposed this whole parenthesis to be an interpolation, as not deserving to be mentioned. [h] A short View of the Harmony of the Evang. Prop. xi. [i] Connex. Par. ii. l. ix. Anno ante ch. 5. [k] Ubi supra.

[1.] It is used for the act of the people in presenting themselves to be enrolled; as when soldiers offered themselves to be enlisted[a] or enrolled under a general: and in a census it may be used for the act of the people, who come and offer themselves to be enrolled and assessed. So the word seems to be used by Josephus, when he says in the place above quoted, that Judas persuaded not a few[b] of the Jews not to make enrolments or entries; that is, not to offer themselves to be entered and assessed.

[2.] The word is used for a census; so it is used by Dio in many places: *απογραφας ωοιεισθαι* is the same as censum agere; that is, to make enrolments, is the same as to make a census.[c]

[3.] This noun is used for the public rolls or court books in which the entries were made: this sense of the word is very common. Thus Caligula being at play at dice, and having lost all his money, he asked for the Gallic court rolls,[d] and ordered several of the most wealthy of that people to be put to death, and seized their cash. And the citizens of Rome, whose debts were more than they could discharge, having entered the sums they owed in books opened for that purpose, Servius Tullius took the books or rolls, *τας απογραφας ελαβε*, brought them into the forum, and paid the creditors.[e]

Thus I have reckoned up all the senses I know of this noun, relating to this matter; however it never signifies a tax. Taxes were paid according to the census, where any had been made, but they were no part of it: they might be remitted or demanded; and the tribute is never expressed by the noun *απογραφη*, but is ever distinguished from what that signifies.[f]

(2.) This interpretation of these words is contrary to matter of fact. There was no tax levied after the banishment of Archelaus, according to the enrolment made at the birth of our Saviour. But as soon as Archelaus was banished, 'Cyrenius came into Judea to make an assess-'ment of their goods.' Josephus is as express in this matter as can be:[g] 'Then it was that 'Judas of Galilee and his followers exclaimed, that an assessment would bring in among them 'downright slavery.'[h]

This interpretation therefore is so far from being of any service to us, that it would introduce a new, and I think insuperable difficulty, by putting upon these words a sense directly contrary to what Josephus has said.

Josephus is so express, that there seems no need of reasoning upon the matter to confute this supposition. But I can never conceive, how a tax could be levied in Judea, after the removal of Archelaus, upon the census or enrolment made at our Saviour's birth, without the utmost confusion or the utmost injustice. When the enrolment which St. Luke speaks of was made, Galilee, Trachonitis, and other countries were subject to Herod, beside Judea: many who lived in Galilee enrolled themselves in Judea, particularly Joseph, as St. Luke assures us. But when Archelaus was banished, one half of Herod's dominions was in the possession of Herod the tetrarch and Philip, and had been so ever since the death of Herod called the Great: and only Judea, Samaria, and Idumea, which had been subject to Archelaus, were thrown into the form of a Roman province. The Jews having enrolled themselves according to their families at the time of our Saviour's nativity, and many having come into Judea, properly so called, from Galilee, and other parts of Herod's territories, a new enrolment was absolutely necessary in Judea at the time of Archelaus's removal, if they were to pay tribute there in the way of a census; Judea otherwise must have been very much overburdened. If there was an assessment of goods made at the latter end of Herod's reign, undoubtedly Joseph's stock at Nazareth was entered and rated at Bethlehem: and as the Jews in that part of the world were chiefly of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, the inhabitants of Galilee, and Trachonitis, &c. must have very generally enrolled themselves in towns that belonged to the province of Judea. But it would have been very unreasonable in the Romans to demand tribute of the people of Judea, properly so called, for estates and goods which were in the territories of the tetrarchs Herod and Philip.

And we are assured, that the Romans did use to act equitably and with great exactness in

[a] See above, p. 144, n. d. [b] *Ελεαζαρος Ιουδα αποστασης, τε πειρασαντος Ιουδαιων μη ποιεισθαι τας απογραφας.* De B. J. l. vii. p. 1343. 40. [c] *Πλην εν ταις απογραφαις.* p. 509. C. *αυτος δε απογραφας των εν τη Ιταλια καταπεπαυκοτων εποιησατο.* 557. B. vid. etiam jam citat. pag. 496. C. 508. B. C. [d] *Κυζικηνων δε ποτε, και μαθων ὁτι μη εισι οι αργυριον, ητησε τε τας των Γαλατων απογραφας· κ. τ. λ.* Dio. lib. lix. p. 657. B. [e] Dion. Hal. l. iv. c. 10. p. 207. 23. [f] *Τον τε φορον τον εκ των απογραφων αφηκε, τελη τε τινα καθειλυσε.* Dio. l. xlix. p. 401. B. [g] *Παρην δε Κυρηνιος εις την Ιουδαιων —— απολιμησομενος τε αυτων τας ουσιας.* Ant. lib. xviii. c. 1. sect. 1. [h] *Την τε απολιμησιν ουδεν αλλο η ανδικους δουλειαν επιφερειν λεγοντες.* Id. Ibid.

these matters. Many of the Roman citizens had been for a long time oppressed with the weight of their debts. A way having been found out A. U. 402 to give them ease, Livy says, that the next year a census was ordered, because the property of many things had been altered.[a]

6. The solution I shall consider in the next place, is that which was first offered by Herwaert:[b] I give it here in the words of [c] Whitby, by whom it is espoused. "And this taxing was first made (before that made) when Cyrenius was governor of Syria: or rather, This taxing was made before Cyrenius was governor of Syria. The learned Kepler [d] approved of this interpretation, as perfectly agreeable to the genius of the Greek language: notwithstanding which [e] Casaubon rejected it, and was supposed by most to have confuted Herwaert's arguments for it. Perizonius, in his dissertation upon this subject of the taxing, has afresh supported this interpretation. Mr. Le Clerc, in his additions to Dr. Hammond's annotations, expresses his approbation of it; and has since declared, [f] that he thinks it has been set in so clear a light as to be incontestable. And it is now embraced by many other learned men, both protestants and catholicks.

I am very desirous this solution should appear here to as much advantage, as an argument so full of Greek criticisms can do in a design of this nature in our own language. Perizonius allows, that a great many of Herwaert's instances are not to the [g] purpose. I reckon, therefore, that it will be sufficient to represent this argument as it is drawn up by Whitby and Perizonius; especially if I take in by the by an instance or two, insisted on by others, though neglected by them.

Whitby says: 'I would rather read προ της than πρωτη. But neither do we need this criti-'cism, since the words πρωτος and πρότερος are by the seventy oft used according to this sense; 'of the word πρότερον, this is beyond doubt, God saying twice απος-ελω σφηκιας πρότερας σε, "I will 'send hornets before thee," Exod. xxiii. 28. Jos. xxiv. 12.—That πρωτος also is used in the 'sense of priority we learn from these instances; πρωτότοκος εἰμι η συ, I am before thee, I am elder 'than thou; και ἱνα τι ουκ ελογισθη ὁ λογος μου πρωτος; Chal. לי מדכיתא, "Why then was not the 'word first spoken to me?" Cur mihi non annunciatum est priori? 2 Sam. xix. 43. Isa. xlv. 16, '"The former troubles are forgotten," Gr. επιλησονται την θλιψιν αυτων την πρωτην, and ver. 17, ου μη 'μνησθωσι των προτέρων, "they shall not remember the former." So John i. 15, 30, ὅτι πρωτος μου ην, "for 'he was before me." And chap. xv. 18, "know that they hated, εμε πρωτον, me before you." I 'Cor. xiv. 30, ὁ πρωτος, "Let the former hold his peace;" and 1 John iv. 19, "We love him, ὅτι 'πρωτος, because he loved us before." And in Aristophanes, αλλ' ουκ αν πρότε is interpreted αλλ' ουκ 'αν πρότερον· Neph. p. 122. And so Theophylact interprets the word here. Τότε· πρότερα ἡγεμονευοντος, 'ἦν πρότερον η ἡγεμονευε της Συριας Κυρηνιος.'

Perizonius understands these words in much the same sense [h] with Whitby; only he differs from him and Herwaert, in that they suppose πρωτη to be the same as πρότερα; whereas he says, these numeral adjectives have the force of adverbs.[i]

He alleges divers of the same examples which Whitby does, particularly John i. 15, and xv. 18. Of the latter, ὅτι εμε πρωτον ὑμων μεμισηκε, he says, it must by all means be understood [k] of priority of time: "It hated me before it hated you."

[a] Quia solutio æris alieni multarum rerum mutaverat dominos; censum agi placuit. Lib. vii. cap. 22 n. 6. vid. & c. 21.

[b] Ut hoc loco genitivus ἡγεμονευοντος vocabulo πρωτη additus, vim comparationis efficiat, & perinde sit, ac si diceretur descriptionem illam esse priorem priusque factam, quam Quirinius Syriæ præficeretur, præfecturamque ipsius gereret. Herwaert nova & vera Chronologia, Monachii 1612. p. 189.

[c] In loc.

[d] Cum igitur omnium Græce doctorum judicio constet sic optime versum esse hunc locum Lucæ, multoque emendatius quam habet antiqua versio, spero omnes acquieturos hac solutione objectionis prius propositæ. De Natal. J. Chr. p. 116, 117.

[e] Exerc. in Baron. i n. 32.

[f] Ce denombrement se fit avant que Quirinius fût gouverneur de la Syrie. De savans hommes ont mis cette explication de ce passage de St. Luc dans un si grand jour, qu'elle paroît desormais incontestable. Nour. Testam.

[g] Interpretationem hanc primus protulit Joh. Ceorg. Herwartus, multisque argumentis, vel potius exemplis, probare laboravit, sed in quibus non pauca attulit valde απροσδιονυσα. Periz. de August. Descript. sect. 21.

[h] Verus itaque meâ sententiâ verborum sensus est: Hæc descriptio prius, vel, ante, facta est, quam præsideret Syriæ Quirinius. Dissertatio de Augusti orbis terrarum Descriptione, sect. 21.

[i] Voluit autem Hewartus πρωτη poni αντι του πρότερα, atque hujus locutionis vi, genitivum, qui sequitur, a τῳ πρωτη, tanquam a comparativo, regi. Durum hoc plerisque visum. Ego rem aliter expediendam omnino censeam. Πρωτη simpliciter, ut adjectivum numerale jungitur verbo, quemadmodum solent adjectiva habitum vel modum rei gestæ significantia, tanquam si sint adverbia.——Sic plane πρωτος, verbis adjunctum, sæpe significat solam ordinis & numeri rationem, sine discrimine, pluresne sint, an unus, qui sequantur; atque adeo tunc non tam superlativi, quam positivi naturam induit, eandemque subit constructionem, quam δευτερος, & seq. Ibid. sect. 22.

[k] Vertendum omnino cum significatu temporis, me primum ante vos. Ibid. & sect. 23.

He supposes also [a] that we have a parallel instance in a word of an opposite meaning, 2 Macc. vii. 41, εσχαλη των υιων η μητηρ ἑλελευτησε· Last of all after the sons the mother died. In the same manner is πρωΐον the adverb used in Aristophanes in avibus, v. 484. de Gallo; ηρχε τε πρωΐου Δαρειε και Μεγαβυζε, i. e. imperabatque Persis priusquam Darius & Megabyzus; vel ante Dariuſn & Megabyzum.

Perizonius says, that the genitives that follow πρωΐος are governed by an ellipsis,[b] and that πρωΐος μς is the same as πρωΐος προ μς, πρωΐος ὑμων the same as πρωΐος προ ὑμων. Thus in Luke xi. 38. "He wondered," ὁτι ς πρωΐον εβαπτισθη προ αριστ, "that he had not washed before dinner." From this and another such instance he concludes, that the genitive is governed by προ understood, when it is wanting.

This is the substance of the argument in favour of this meaning of this passage of St. Luke.

It has been thought by some to be an objection against this solution, that then St. Luke has omitted to name the person by whom this enrolment was made: but methinks this is a defect which may be dispensed with, if that be the only difficulty. For my own part I dare not absolutely reject it; but yet I am not fully satisfied, that this is the sense of the words. I think myself obliged to review the arguments here offered by these learned men, and hope it may be done without offence.

Whitby's instances of the use of πρωΐτερος and πρωΐτερον from the Seventy are not to the point, because the word in St. Luke is πρωΐη. There is no doubt but πρωΐτερος, the comparative, is very often followed by a genitive case, and denotes such or such a thing to be before another; we want some plain examples of this use of πρωΐος· nor is πρωΐτοκος εἰω η συ to the point, because the η is wanting in St. Luke, and the construction is different. The example from Isa. lxv. 16, only proves that πρωΐος signifies the former: and though πρωΐη in St. Luke should be so rendered, the difficulty will remain in its full force. For then the sense will be, "This former taxing was made when Cyrenius was governor of Judea." Nor can the πρωΐος in 1 Cor. xiv. 30. or 1 John iv. 19, do us any service, for want of a regimen equivalent to what we have in our text: nor do I see what use can be made of the phrase borrowed from Aristophanes. The passage from 2 Sam. xix. 43, as it is quoted by Keuchenius,[c] seems to me more strongly to support this interpretation, than as it is quoted by Whitby, though I suppose he had his reasons for quoting it in that way; nor has Perizonius quoted this text, though he had Keuchenius before him. It is observable, that Ιεδα is wanting in [d] Grabe's edition of the Septuagint, as there is nothing answerable to it in the Hebrew: his instances from St. John's Gospel will be distinctly considered presently.

The first quotation in Perizonius [sect. 23.] which I shall consider is John xx. 3, 4. "Peter therefore went forth, and that other disciple, and came to the sepulchre. So they ran both together, and the other disciple did out-run Peter," και ηλθε πρωΐος εις το μνημειον, "and came first to the sepulchre." Which Perizonius would render thus: and came first, or before Peter; and says, that the meaning cannot be "came first of all," πρωΐος παντων, because Mary Magdalene had been there before. No, for certain, it is not, came first of all, because two only are here spoken of; and omnium primus is not properly said of two. But I wonder Perizonius did not perceive the proper ellipsis in this place, and which is very obvious, namely, τοιν δυοιν, and came

[a] Ibid. [b] Nempe genitivi hi non reguntur ab adjectivis, sed a præpositionibus, quæ per ellipsin sunt omissæ sect. 24. Προ enim esse particulam, quæ in ista locutione desideratur, & a quâ regitur genitivus, certissimum ex eo, quod ubi ellipsis nulla, & sententia plene ac integre exponitur, illa potissimum occurrit expressa. Apud. Anton. Liber. fab. 29. Και προ Ἡρακλεες ἐορτη Θυεσι Γαλινθιαδι πρωΐη. Galinthias ibi optime dicitur merita fuisse de Hercule, & idcirco Thebanos in festo Herculis sacrificare Galinthiadi prius, seu primæ, ante Herculem. --- Sed & ipse Lucas Evang. xi. 38. expressit similiter το προ post πρωΐος, ὁ δε Φαρισαιος, inquit, ἰδων εθαυμασεν, ὁτι ου πρωΐον εβαπτισθη προ τε αριστου· quod non primum se laverit, antequam cibum sumeret. Vides utrobique post πρωΐη & πρωΐον ante genitivum expressam hanc præpositionem; quod certo est indicio, ab ea etiam regi, quando nulla comparet, omissa per ελλειψιν, sed tamen intelligenda: atque adeo explicandum etiam πρωΐον Δαρειε, quasi dictum esset πρωΐον προ Δαρειε· ἡ ἀποδοσις πρωΐη Κυρηνιε quasi πρωΐη προ Κυρηνιε. sect. 25.—mihique idem est, ac si dixisset Lucas, non quidem πρωΐερα ἡγεμονευοντος, verum πρωΐη προ ἡγεμονευοντος.—Sed nihil similius, quod ad constructionis & linguæ rationem, Lucæ verbis secundum nostram eorum interpretationem, quam locus lxx. Interpretum Jerem. xxix. 1. οὗτοι οἱ λογοι, οὑς απεστειλεν Ιερεμιας εις Βαβυλωνα ὑστερον εξελθοντος Ιεχονιε ἐξ Ἱερουσαλημ. Hæc sunt verba, quæ misit, vel scripsit Jeremias Babylonem, postquam exiit Jechonias ex Hierosolymis sect. 28. [c] Silentio tandem præterire nequeo, quod 2 Sam. cap. xix. 43, legitur, Et vir Israëlis respondit viro Judæ, & dixit, mihi sunt decem partes in rege, ubi lxx. de suo addere videntur, και πρωΐτοκος εἰω η συ, & etiam in Davide ego præ te: cur igitur me vilipendisti, & non fuit verbum meum primum seu prius (inter duos enim sermo est) mihi ad reducendum regem meum; quod lxx. vertunt, και ἑκ ελογισθη ὁ λογος μου πρωΐος μοι τε Ιεδα επιστρεψαι τον βασιλεα εμου; ubi πρωΐος τε Ιεδα manifeste ponitur pro πρωΐτερος. Petri Keuchen. annot. in loc.

[d] Και ἑκ ελογισθη ὁ λογος μου πρωΐος μοι τε επιστρεψαι τον βασιλεα εμου.

the first of the two. Perizonius does not deny, that πρῶτος is used where two only are spoken of; nay, he contends for it. But, because it is often denied,[a] and because his proofs appear to me not very clear, or at least not so fully to suit my interpretation of this text, I shall give two undoubted examples. Thus Dionysius says, that Servius Tullius's wife was daughter of Tarquin the first, though there were but two Tarquins kings of Rome. Plutarch thus describes a restless uneasy mind. 'If he is a native of a province, of Galatia for instance, or Bithynia, he 'thinks he is not well used, if he has not some eminent post among his citizens. If he has that, 'he laments that he has not a right of wearing the patrician habit: if he has that, he grieves 'that he is not a Roman prætor: if he is prætor, that he is not consul: and if consul, that he 'was not declared first, but [c] only the latter (of the two).'

This text then will not help Perizonius. All that can be proved from it is, that πρῶτος is used very properly where two only are spoken of: if πρώτη in St. Luke be allowed to signify the first or former of two taxings, all that will result from hence is, that St. Luke thought there was another taxing beside this; and that this now made by Cyrenius was the former of the two. No instance of this sort will prove, that the meaning of this passage is, this taxing was before, or prior to, that made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.

The examples from John i. 15, 30, xv. 18, are some of the most proper examples in the whole number; and if they are rightly understood, they are very much to the purpose. But, with submission to these learned men, I think they are taken by them in a wrong sense. They are both much of the same kind; but I choose to consider first of all that alleged from John xv. 18. Ει ὁ κοσμος ὑμας μισει, γινωσκετε ὁτι εμε πρῶτον ὑμων μεμισηκεν· "If the world hate you, know that it hated me before it hated you." Herwaert [d] is much pleased with this example.

If πρῶτον be supposed to be an adverb, then this is not a parallel instance: but indeed, as I take it, it is neither an adverb, nor an adjective, but a noun substantive; or at least, an adjective used substantively; and the latter part of the verse ought to be rendered, Know that it has hated me *your chief*. The connexion of the words may satisfy us, that this was our Saviour's meaning. His argument is, that men had hated him, who was superior to them; nay, they had hated even his Father; the disciples therefore ought not to be surprised if they hate them also, v. 20, "Remember the words that I said unto you, the servant is not greater than his lord; if they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you." V. 24, "But now they have both seen and hated me and my Father." The force of the argument is not, that the world had hated him before it hated them; but he bids them consider, that it had hated him who was their master, and whom they allowed to be so. This is the argument made use of in other places with the same view, Matt. x. 24, 25, "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord.—If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household?"

If it be said, that there was no occasion to subjoin 'your chief' after 'me,' and that the disciples could consider Jesus no otherwise than as their master; I answer, that it is apparent from the texts already alleged here by me, that this was not our Saviour's style; and that he did not trust so much to his disciples' understandings. When he had occasion to draw any inferences from his superiority, he always expresseth it. John xiii. 14, "Ye call me Master, and Lord, and ye say well: for so I am. If I then your Lord and Master have washed your feet, ye ought also to wash one another's feet."

Πρῶτος is used several times in the New Testament, in the plural number, for superiority of honour and dignity: Και τοις πρωτοις της Γαλιλαιας, is not ill rendered in our version, Mark vi. 21, "chief estates of Galilee:" γυναικων τε των πρωτων ουκ ολιγαι, "of the chief women not a few," Acts xvii. 4; or, as perhaps the words might be rendered, not a few of the wives of the chief men.

It is likewise used in the singular number in the same sense. Και ὁς εαν θελη εν ὑμιν ειναι πρῶτος εστω ὑμων δουλος· Matt. xx. 27, "And whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant." There is another unexceptionable instance of this use of the word: Acts xxviii. 7, 'Εν δε τοις ——ὑπηρχε χωρια τῳ πρωτῳ της νησου· "In the same quarters were possessions of the *chief man* of the

[a] Πρῶτος και πρότερος διαφερει· πρῶτος γαρ επι πολλων, πρότερος δε, επι δυο. Ammon. de Sim. & Diff. ap. H. Steph. Thes. Gr. in Appendice.

[b] Ταρκυνιε Συλλιγουσα τε πρωτε βασιλεως. Dionys. Hal. Antiq. p. 254. v. 13. confer. p. 250. v. 42 ὁτι Ταρκυνιε τε πρότερον βασιλευσαντος Ρωμαιων αδελφε παις ην. & p. 253. 10. τε πρότερον βασιλεως Ταρκυνιε Συλλιγε.

[c] Εαν δε και γραψησιν, ὁτι μη ὑπατευσεν. και ὑπατευων, ὁτι μη πρωτος, αλλ' ὑστερος αναγορευθη. Plutarch. de Anim. Tranq. p. 470. c.

[d] Ille vero S. Joannis xv. 18. locus ad hoc institutum mirifice facit,—Si mundus vos odit, scitote quia me priorem vobis odio habuit.

Island." Grotius in his annotations upon this place, has exhibited a Greek inscription found in this very island of Melita, a part of which inscription is thus: Λ. Κ. ΚΙΟΣ. ΙΠΠΕΥΣ. ΓΩΜ. ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ. L. C. Kius, Roman knight, chief of the Melitenes.

The word is often so used in the septuagint version: *πρωῖος των τριακοντα*, chief of the thirty, 1 Chron. xi. 11. *Και Ασαφ πρωῖος των ᾠδοντων*, Neh. xii. 46, and in many other places. And in Josephus: *Ιωστος ὁ Πιστε παις ὁ της τριτης μεριδος πρωῖος*, Justus the son of Pistus, chief or leader of the third faction in [a] Tiberias. I throw an example or two more from other [b] authors into the margin.

Nor do I see, why *πρωῖος* should not be allowed to be used substantively in divers of the places I have produced. Princeps in Latin is properly an adjective, and is often so used; at other times it is a substantive. *Αυτοκρατωρ* is sometimes an [c] adjective; it is also used substantively: no one will deny it. *Υπατος* is a word very near parallel with *πρωῖος*; is often an adjective, at other times is used substantively, and denotes a consul.

I come now to the other intance, John i. 15, *ουτος ην ὁν εἰπον, ὁ οπισω μου ερχομενος εμπροσθεν μου γεγονεν, ὁτι πρωῖος μου ην*· "This was he of whom I spake, He that cometh after me is preferred before me." The same words occur again, ver. 30, with little variation; but the last clause ought not, in my opinion, to be rendered, "for he was before me," but, "for he is my Prince, or Lord."

What I have already said in favour of this meaning of *πρωῖος* in the former instance, may, I presume, make way for admitting it here.

I apprehend John to say: He that follows me, or comes behind me, was always before me, or in my view, for he is my Prince. *Εμπροσθεν* and *οπισω* (unless I am much mistaken) are never used in the new Testament for priority or posteriority of time, nor for superiority or inferiority in respect of dignity, (unless they are so used here in the case of John the Baptist,) but always have a regard to place. "For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ," 2 Cor. v. 10, *Εμπροσθεν του βηματος του Χριστου*. "I said unto Peter before them all," Gal. ii. 14, *Εμπροσθεν παντων*. "Forgetting the things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before," Phil. iii. 13, *Τα μεν οπισω επιλανθανομενος, τοις δε εμπροσθεν επεκτεινομενος· ενωπιον* and *εμπροσθεν* are frequently used the one for the other. See Matt. x. 33, Luke xii. 9, It is true, John came before Christ, that is, before his face. He went before him as an officer before a great man; but that is expressed here in *οπισω μου ερχομενος*.

But I will not contend about this. Perhaps *εμπροσθεν μου γεγονεν* is not ill rendered in our translation, 'is preferred before me,' though it appears to me an unusual sense of the word.

However, *πρωῖος μου* must nevertheless be understood, as I render it. And I learn from Beza[d], that others have been of the same opinion before me.

Thus then John says, toward the conclusion of his ministry, "Ye yourselves bear witness, that I [from the beginning] said, I am not the Christ, but that I am sent before him," John iii. 28. Referring to what he had declared at first: "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, *make straight the way of the Lord*," ch. i. 23. That is, I came not on my own account, but barely as a harbinger that makes way for his Lord. This is the peculiar character of John, under which he was prophesied of, Isa. xl. 3. Mal. iii. 1. iv. 5, and under which he always speaks of himself. And what in the 15th and 30th verses of this 1st chapter of John, is *ὁτι πρωῖος μου ην*, He is my Prince, is in the 27th verse represented by an expression that denotes the vast superiority of Christ above him;[e] "He it is, who coming after me is preferred before me, whose shoes latchet I am not worthy to unloose:" that is, I am so far inferior to him, and am in so low a post under him, that I am not worthy to perform the meanest office about his person: or, in other words, I am a mere harbinger, and he is my Lord. Athenagoras[f] has used this word in this very sense of a prince or chief.

[a] Joseph. in. vit. p. 907. v. 12. [b] *Τον τηδε παιδα δουλος πρωῖος παρ εμοι· κ. λ.* Herodot. l. i. c. 115. *ην δε ανηρ ασος, και ὁ πρωῖος αυτων, κ. λ.* Ibid. c. 173. *Και Επαμινωνδας βυτιωλαρχων, εν Λευκτροις ενικησε Λακεδαιμονιους, και των Ρωμαιων [Θηβαιων* legit Perizonius] *και των Ελληνων πρωῖος εγενετο.* Ælian. Var. H. vii. 14. [c] *Λαζων την αυτοκρατορα αρχην.* Dionys. Hal. l. vii. p. 408. v. 1.

[d] Quamobrem etiam nonnulli *πρωῖος μου* interpretantur Princeps meus: quod mihi penitus insolens videtur. Bez. in loc. [e] *Αυτος εστιν ὁ οπισω μου ερχομενος, ὁς εμπροσθεν μου γεγονεν· ου εγω εκ ειμι αξιος ινα λυσω αυτου τον ιμαντα του υποδηματος.* [f] *Προσηκε δε τω μεν το πρωτευειν και φυσιν, τω δε δορυφορειν τον* ΠΡΩΤΟΝ, *ὁδοποιειν τε και προαγορευειν παν ὁποσον εμποδων και προσαντες.* Decet enim hoc secundum naturam principatum habere, illud autem, satellitis vice, *principi* suo viam facere, & prævio cursu, omnia impedimenta & prærupta tollere. De Resur. p. 50. D. Paris. 1636.

I hope it will be no objection against this interpretation, that then the words would not have been πρωτος μου ην, but εστιν· for these are all one and the same. I need go no further for proof than these two verses: ουτος ην ὁν ειπον in the 15th, in the 30th is ουτος εστι περι ου εἰω ειπον. So that ην and εστι signify the very same thing, and are used one for the other.

I am indeed aware, that some grammarians will except against my notion of πρωτος being a substantive: I will then, for the present, suppose it to be an adjective; but yet I cannot part with the interpretation I have given of either of these texts. The context satisfies me, the sense I affix to the words is the true meaning; and I can, if I mistake not, account for it according to the strictest rules of the grammarians. Let then πρωτον in John xv. 18, be inclusive, and be understood partitively, and ὑμων will be governed by the ellipsis εξ; this I suppose will not be contested: but I choose to understand πρωτον here exclusively. I think that is the best sense, and then the ellipsis may be [a] προ, περι, επι, or whatever else the grammarians like best. Πρωτος in John i. 15. 30, is evidently exclusive, according to my way of rendering it; and the μου following is governed by an ellipsis of one of the last mentioned prepositions. This I take to be perfectly agreeable to the rules of the grammarians: and thus, in one place, Jesus tells his disciples, that he was chief above them; and in the other, John the Baptist says, that Jesus was prince or chief above him. And now I have Beza on my side, with reference to John i. 15, for though he would not allow, that πρωτος μου is 'my prince,' yet he says,[b] after a very careful examination, he is convinced, it expresses the vast excellence and superiority of Christ above John. I am not singular therefore in supposing, that this text does not express directly and simply priority of time, but only virtually and consequentially, as it is implied and comprehended in the superior dignity of which it it is a part.

There is another πρωτη in the New Testament, which has been understood by some in the same sense in which these learned men have taken the two former instances, though it is not alleged by them. Matt. xxvi. 17. Mark xiv. 12, "Now the first day of the feast of unleavened bread." This was the fourteenth day of the month: but it is argued here, that the fifteenth day was the first day of the feast of unleavened bread; for Josephus says, that the sixteenth day of the month was [c] the second day of the feast; and the words of the law agree herewith. "And in the fourteenth day of the first month is the passover of the Lord. And in the fifteenth day of this month is the feast. Seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten," Numb. xxviii. 16, 17. See Exod. xii. 18. The fourteenth day therefore was the day of the passover: the feast of unleavened bread was distinct from it, and lasted seven days from the fourteenth at night; the fifteenth day of the month was the first of unleavened bread. Therefore when the evangelists, speaking of the fourteenth day say, it was πρωτη των αζυμων, they mean not the 'first' day of unleavened bread, but the day 'before' that feast.

The Jews have a rule, that in the computation of feasts, the day [d] precedes the night: what stress ought to be laid upon this rule in this case I know not, I am satisfied we do not need it. The passover was, strictly speaking, distinct from the feast of unleavened bread, and seven days of unleavened bread followed the day of the passover: but their houses were cleansed from all leaven on the morning of the day on which the paschal lamb was slain, and therefore after noon they could eat no leavened bread. For this reason, perhaps, the day of the passover was called the first of unleavened bread; but whatever was the reason of it, it is certain, that the passover and the feast of unleavened bread are often taken promiscuously the one for the other. And though Josephus, in the particular account of the institution, distinguishes the passover from the feast of unleavened bread, yet he often calls the one the other. 'At [e] that time,'

[a] Perizonius says, sect. 24. Apud Græcos hanc vicem præstant præpositiones προ & περι, quarum illa respondet τῳ ante, hæc τῳ præ. Προ is also used to denote preference and pre-eminence, both simply and in composition. Simply: Και ουτος ποιμην αποδεικνυται διανοιας, τυφον προ αληθειας ασπαζομενης, και προ τε ειναι το δοκειν αποδεχομενης· Philo p. 193. D. vid. & p. 194. D. In composition: in προεστως, προλιμαω, &c.

[b] Cæterum hoc loco diligentius expenso, quam antea.—Declarat igitur præstantiam, sed Christo peculiarem, & ipsi propriam: nempe quasi diceret Joannes: Qui me sequitur, quasi magistrum præeuntem discipulus quispiam, mihi antepositus est, idque optimo jure, quia infinitis modis est præstantior; quamvis ante docere cæperim quam ille sese mundo patefecerit. In loc.

[c] Τῃ δε δευτερα των αζυμων (ἡμερα ἑκτη δ' εστιν αυτη δεκατη·) Ant. lib. iii. c. x. p 124. v. 20.

[d] Quum autem Matt. xxvi. 17. & Marc. xiv. 12, ipse dies 14. Nisan appellatur primus dies azymorum. Intelligendum id est secundum canonem Judæorum, mox traditum, scilicet in sacris comedendis diem præcedere noctem; sic ut tempus vespertinum diei 14. & nox subsequens hoc modo diei 14 accenseantur. Reland. Antiq. Heb. p. 422.

[e] Ενστασης δε καια τονδε τον καιρον ἑορτης, εν ῃ Ιουδαιοις αζυμα προτιθεσθαι πατριον. Πασχα δε ῃ ἑορτη καλειται, ὑπομνημα εστα της εξ Αιγυπτου απαρσεως αυτων γενομενης. Antiq. l. xvii. c. 9. sect. 3 p. 773. v. 25. vid. & p. 609. v. 51. 887. v. 15.

says he, 'the feast approaching, in which the Jews are wont to eat unleavened bread: the 'feast is called the passover, it being kept in remembrance of their departure out of Egypt.' And in one place he says, 'we keep the [a] feast of unleavened bread eight days.' According to this method of computation, the fourteenth day was the first of unleavened bread: so that when the passover and feast of unleavened bread were considered as one, (as they were very often,) and the whole was called by the feast of unleavened bread, the fourteenth day must be the first. The evangelists perhaps do not write in system; nor does Josephus, as it seems, nor indeed any other good writers, but according to the usual way of speaking.

Herwaert [b] lays great stress upon a passage of Athenæus, who quotes Aristotle, saying, (as Herwaert understands the words,) that Alexamenus's dialogues were written before the Socratic dialogues; [that is, the dialogues in which Plato introduces Socrates;] expressly affirming, says Athenæus, that Alexamenus wrote dialogues before Plato.

But it is very plain to me, that Aristotle says, that Alexamenus's dialogues were the first Socratic dialogues; that is, that Alexamenus was the inventor of that way of writing. I have transcribed the passage of Athenæus more at length than Herwaert has done; and if the reader will consider the whole of it, I think he will be convinced, 1st, That by Socratic dialogues is here meant, not Plato's dialogues, in which he introduces Socrates, but in general that way of writing: and 2dly, That Aristotle says, that, Alexamenus's dialogues were the [c] first of the kind. From whence Athenæus infers very justly, that Aristotle says expressly, that Alexamenus wrote dialogues before Plato.

I think likewise, that Athenæus never dreamed of that meaning of Aristotle's words, which Herwaert affixes to them. Interpret Aristotle as Herwaert does, and Athenæus is guilty of a ridiculous tautology in his inference.

That I understand Aristotle right, is farther evident from Diogenes Laertius, whose words upon the same subject are thus: 'Some say, that Zeno the Elean was the first writer of dia- 'logues, but Aristotle, in his first book of Poets, says, that Alexamenus the Teian was, as does 'also Phavorinus in his commentaries.' [d]

But though I contest all these instances, (as thinking I have given the true meaning of all those places,) it must be allowed, that Perizonius's example from Aristophanes, and another from Alexander Aphrodisius, [e] alleged by others in this cause, prove that πρῶϊον, used adverbially, is put without προ following it to denote the priority they contend for. How far the argument will hold by way of analogy from adverbs to adjectives, I cannot say. It ought also to be allowed, that the πρῶϊος μοι τε ἰδεῖν of 2 Sam. xix. 43. (but not found in all copies of the Seventy,) is an equivalent phrase to that in St. Luke, and to be understood in the sense put upon St. Luke's words. The passage from the Maccabees, " Last of all after the sons the mother died," contains also a parallel phrase. To these I add two other instances [f] of πρῶϊος itself, which I am unwilling to contest, and shall leave with the reader.

Perizonius's way of accounting for this construction by the ellipsis of a preposition to be understood, when not expressed, is well argued from the two instances he has alleged of προ subjoined to πρῶϊος. I add another like instance from Eusebius: [g] though perhaps the other way of supposing πρωΐη used for πρωΐτερα [h] need not be quite rejected.

[a] Ὅθεν εἰς μνημην τῆς τοῦε ενδειας ἑορτὴν ἀγομεν ἐφ' ἡμερας ἑπτὰ, τὴν των ἀζυμων λεγομενην. Ant. l. ii. c. 15. p. 88. init.

[b] Ille vero locus Aristotelis est singularis. Eum recenset Athenæus Lib xi. p. 505. Προ γαρ αυτε [Πλατωνος] τεθ' εὑρε το εἰδος των λογων ὁ Τηΐος Αλεξαμενος, ὡς Νικιας ὁ Νικαευς ἱστορει και Σωτηριων. Ἀριστοτελης δε εν τῳ περι ποιητων οὕτως γραφει, Οὐκουν ουδε εμμετρους τους καλουμενους Σωφρονους μιμους μη φωμεν ειναι λογους και μιμησεις, η τους Αλεξαμενου τε Τηΐε τους πρωτους γραφεντας των Σωκρατικων διαλογων· ανθικρυς φασκων ὁ πολυμαθεστατος Αριστοτελης προ Πλατωνος διαλογους γεγραφεναι τον Αλεξαμενον. Hæc quidem Athenæus: ubi sane verba illa Aristotelis τους πρωτους γραφεντας των Σωκρατικων διαλογων, Athenæus hisce interpretatur: [τους προτερον] προ Πλατωνος διαλογους, κ. τ. λ. Plato enim in suis dialogis introducit Socratem qui hortetur juvenes, sophistas redarguat, viros doceat; unde haud immerito vocantur Socratici.—Quemadmodum igitur Aristoteles Alexameni dialogos prius scriptos, quam Plato suos Socraticos conscripsisset, vocat τους πρωτους γραφεντας των Σωκρατικων διαλογων, sic Divus Lucas, &c. Herw. ubi supra, p. 197.

[c] So Athenæus says expressly: τεθ' εὑρε τὸ εἰδος των λογων.

[d] Διαλογους τοινυν φασι πρωτον γραψαι Ζηνωνα τον Ελεατην. Ἀριστοτελης δε εν πρωτῳ περι ποιητων Αλεξαμενον Στυρεα η Τηΐον, ὡς και Φαβωρινος εν απομνημονευμασι. Diog. Laert. lib. iii. Segm. 48.

[e] Ἡ πληξη πρωΐον της ασραπης την βροντην αποτελει, η ἁμα. Ictus prius tonitru perficet quam fulgur, aut simul. Alex. Aphrod. Problem. l. i.

[f] Προ των ὁλων ὁλων, και των ὁλων αρχων εστι θεος εἷς, πρωτος και τε πρωτε θεε και βασιλεως. Ante eas res quæ vere sunt, & ante principia universalium, est unus deus prior etiam primo deo & rege. Jamblich. de Mysteriis, sect. viii. c. 2. Και πρωτος εστεφανωτο των αλλων· primus ante alios coronâ honoratus est. Dionys. Hal. Hist. Rom. l. iv. c. 3.

[g] Αὐτικα γαρ μαλα θεασωμεθα, ὁπως μεν ὁ Πλατων τους προ αυτε πρωτους εσκωπτειν, ὁπως δε τους Πλατωνος διαδοχους αλλοι· Præpar. Ev. l. xiv. c. 2.

[h] Ἐστι δε τις δυναμις, θειας μεν δευτερα, ψυχης δε πρωτη. Est autem quædam vis essentiâ quidem inferior, sed nobilior animo. Sallust. de mundo. c. 8.

I presume this may be sufficient to shew, that the phrase in St. Luke is capable of the sense contended for by these learned men. But I cannot yet persuade myself, that it is the real sense of the text for the following reasons.

1. This is a very uncommon use of the word πρωτος. This I think is evident, in that the critics have been so much at a loss for instances. Stevens knew of [a] none, beside that produced above from Aphrodisius, where πρωτον is used adverbially. There are also almost innumerable other ways of expressing this priority of time.[b] The reason of the Greek writers so rarely using this word thus is very obvious; it can hardly be done without causing some ambiguity, therefore when they use it in this sense, we see they often subjoin προ. That this use of πρωτος was designedly avoided, seems to me evident, from a passage of Herodotus; where having in the former branch of the sentence twice used the superlative, in the latter he takes the comparative; either to avoid ambiguity, or as more agreeable to the genius of the Greek language.[c]

2. It does not appear, that any of the first christians understood St. Luke in this sense. That they did not so interpret this text, we are assured from the Syriac, Vulgate, and other versions; from Justyn Martyr, Eusebius, and from the passage of Julian above quoted; in which he certainly represents the common opinion of people in his time, of christians and others.

3. There is another solution, which was first proposed by [d] Beza, and has been embraced by many learned [e] men. The Roman catholic authors, that approve of this solution, agree to understand the words, as they stand in the Vulgate version: This first description, or enrolment, was made by Cyrenius.[f] The Protestants generally render them: 'This first enrolment was made, Cyrenius being president of Syria: or, when Cyrenius was president of Syria.[g]'

By president of Syria, they do not understand president in the most strict and proper sense of the word; it being apparent from Josephus, that either Saturninus or Quintilius Varus, must have been president of Syria at the time this enrolment was made. And there is no instance of two persons being jointly presidents with equal power in the same province, when a province was in peace, as Syria was at this time.[h]

They suppose, that when Augustus had issued his decree, that all the world, that is, all the Roman empire should be taxed, (for in this wide and extensive sense do these learned men understand these words of St. Luke,) Cyrenius was sent with extraordinary power to make the census in Syria and Judea: and Saturninus, or Quintilius Varus, whichsoever of them was then president, was joined with him; and was subordinate to him, or had equal power with him in this particular work. Cyrenius therefore, having at this time some power in Syria, he is called president of it, though he was not properly president, or the ordinary chief magistrate of that province.

In order to justify this solution, two things are to be considered: 1. Whether Cyrenius, though not properly president of Syria, may be called so in a loose and general sense: 2. It must be shewn, that it is not unlikely, that Cyrenius might be sent upon this affair at this time with extraordinary power.

As to the first point, it is alleged, that the title of governor or president is often given to others beside those who are properly possessed of that dignity. Josephus calls Saturninus and Volumnius presidents of Syria,[i] though Saturninus was at that time president, according to his own account, and Volumnius procurator only; that is, the officer that took care of the emperor's revenue in that province.

[a] Πρωτον· προτερον, prius. Alexander Aphrodisius, ἡ πλησιη, κ. λ. Quem alioqui usum apud vetustiores scriptores rarissimum esse puto: affertur tamen & ex Aristotelis Rhet. πρωτον ἡ, pro prius quam. Thesaur. Gr. Tom. iii. 567. A.

[b] Πριν, πρότερον, πρωτον, [adverb.] πρότερα, πρωτη, προ, πριν, &c. [c] Οἱ δε Αἰγυπτιοι, πριν μεν ἡ Ψαμμητιχον σφεων βασιλευσαι, ενομιζον ἑωυτους πρωτους γενεσθαι παντων ανθρωπων· επειδη δε Ψαμμητιχος βασιλευσας ηθελησε ειδεναι οἵτινες γενοιατο πρωτοι, απο τουτου νομιζουσι Φρυγας προτερους γενεσθαι ἑωυτων, των δε αλλων ἑωυτους. Herodot. l. ii. init. The Egyptians, before the reign of Psammetichus, thought themselves the first [or most ancient] of all people. But since the reign of Psammetichus, who made an experiment for finding out who were the first of all people, they have thought that the Phrygians were before them, they before others. [d] Bez in loc. Vid. & Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. ix. cap. 10. sect. 3. [e] Grot. & Hamm. in loc. Scaliger. animad. in Chron. Euseb. ad A. 2016. Casaub. in Bar. Exerc. i. Num. xxxi. 32. Usser. Ann. ant. ær. Chris. v. Noris. Cenot. Pis. Dissert. ii. p. 320—322. Pagi. Ap. ad ann. Bar. Num. 126—129. [f] Hæc descriptio prima facta est a præside Syriæ Cyrino. [g] Hæc descriptio prima facta est præsidente Syriæ Cyrenio Luc. Hæc descriptio prima facta est, cum præesset Syriæ Cyrenius. Casaub. ubi supra. Numb. xxxi. [h] Vid. Noris. Cenotaph. Pis. Diss. ii. c. 10. sect. 10. [i] Εκεινος δε διελεγετο περι τουτων τοις Καισαρος ἐπιτροποις Σατορνινῳ τε και Ουολουμνιῳ —— περι ὡν επι τε Σατορνινου και Ουολουμνιου της Συριας επιτροπευοντων· Ant. l. xvi. c. 9. p. 734. v. 25. & 37. Πολλακις μεν επι Σατορνινου ελθουσα και Ουολουμνιου τους της Συριας ἐπιτροπους· Ib. c. 10. p. 741. v. i.

That Cyrenius might be sent upon this affair with extraordinary power, is not at all unlikely. For the office of censor in the city was very honourable, and was a distinct charge from that of the consuls and prætors, the ordinary magistrates. The surveys in provinces also were often performed, not by the ordinary governors, but by persons sent thither with extraordinary power, and those, persons of the highest eminence and dignity.[a]

Such an one was this Cyrenius. He was not descended from a noble, or patrician family; but by his early services he had obtained the honour of the consulship, and passed through that and other offices with great reputation; obtained a memorable victory over the Hemonadenses, for which he received the honour of triumphal ornaments: was afterwards governor to Caius Cæsar, Augustus's eldest adopted son; married Æmelia Lepida, who had been designed by Augustus for the wife of Lucius, his second adopted son; and at last had the honour of a public funeral by a decree of the senate in the reign of Tiberius.[b]

The quick dispatch he made of affairs of importance, rendered him a very fit man for such an affair as this census in Syria and Judea.

Moreover there is nothing in the history that we have of Cyrenius, which is any way inconsistent with his coming into Judea about this time; but divers particulars, which render it very probable he might be employed in this work.

Cyrenius was consul of Rome, A. U. 742. He might therefore very well be sent upon the expedition against the Homonadenses in the year U. C. 747, or possibly, in 746. It was a piece of prudent advice, which Mæcenas gave[c] Augustus, never to bestow a provincial overnment upon the senators, or other great men, till some time after they had laid down their city magistracy: which advice Augustus followed, and appointed the space of five years interval between their serving any public office in the city, and receiving another in the provinces.[d]

As Cyrenius's expedition against the fore-mentioned people was his first action after his consulship, he might very probably be employed in it, A. U. 747. Archbishop Usher[e] thinks he was then proconsul of Cilicia. Cardinal Noris thinks it more likely, that he was not then the ordinary governor of Cilicia, but that he was sent upon this expedition with extraordinary [f]power. However, the learned men that embrace this solution suppose, that having finished this war, he might be sent into Syria and Judea to perform the census there, in the latter end of the year of Rome 747; or, as others, in 748, or 749. About which time the census or enrolment, which St. Luke speaks of, must have been made; for Herod died in the year 750, or 751.

Cyrenius was not appointed governor to Caius Cæsar till the year U. C. 755. Cardinal Noris infers this from the words of Tacitus above-cited; *datus rector Caio Cæsari Armeniam obtinenti.* It is evidently a mistake of those learned men who have thought, that Cyrenius was governor to Caius, when he first went into the east. It is certain, that M. Lollius was then his governor. And Cyrenius was not put into that post, till after the death of Lollius,[g] which seems to have happened some time in the year of Rome 755. Besides, it is certain from Josephus, that Caius was at Rome after the death of Herod, and therefore was not yet set out for the east; for he was one of those whom Augustus called to the council he held after Herod's death about confirming his last will.[h]

Cyrenius therefore seems to have been at leisure for this work; and from the whole of his story and character, so far as it is come down to us from the Greek and Roman authors, no man appears more likely to have been employed in it.

This solution has one advantage above most of those abovementioned, in that it is here allowed, that this survey was performed by Cyrenius, in which all the ancient christian writers agree, except Tertullian; who in one place (but the only place in which he has named the chief

[a] Regimen summæ rei penes Germanicum agendo Galliarum consui tum intentum. Tacit. Ann. l. i. c. 31. ad A. U. 767. Interea Germanico per Gallias, ut diximus, census accipienti, excessisse Augustum adfertur. Id. c. 33. vid. & l ii. c. 6.

[b] Sub idem tempus, ut mors Sulpicii Quirinii publicis exsequiis frequentaretur, petivit [Tiberius] a senatu. Nihil ad veterem & patriciam Sulpiciorum familiam Quirinius pertinuit, ortus apud municipium Lanuvium: sed impiger militiæ, & acribus ministeriis consulatum sub Divo Augusto; mox, expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium castellis, insignia triumphi adeptus; datusque rector Caio Cæsari Armeniam obtinenti, Tiberium quoque Rhodi agentem coluerat. Tacit. Ann. l. iii c. 48. Quirinio—destinata quondam uxor L. Cæsari, ac Divo Augusto nurus, dederetur. Id. ibid. c. 23 De hac re vid. etiam Sueton. Tib. c. 49 & de victoriâ in Homonadenses partâ, Strabon. l. xii. p. 854.

[c] Dio, lib. 52. p. 479. fin.

[d] Μηδενα προ πεντε ετων μετα το εν τη πολει αρξαι κληρουσθαι· Id. l. liii. p. 505. C. Auctor & aliarum rerum fuit. In queis—ne magistratus deposito honore statim in provincias mitterentur. Sueton. Aug. c. 36.

[e] Vid. Ann. A. 5. ante ær. Chr.

[f] Cenotaph. Pis. Diss ii. p. 319.

[g] Velleius, l. ii. c. 102. Suet. Tib. c. 13. Noris. ubi supra, p. 317.

[h] Joseph. Ant. lib. xvii. c. 9. p. 775. v. 24.

officer concerned in it,) ascribes it to Saturninus. And we are much obliged to these learned men, for tracing the history of Cyrenius, and thereby removing, in part at least, the objections against this supposition, which has been the current opinion of christians.

There is, however, one difficulty attending this solution; I mean the sense in which these learned men understand Cyrenius's government or presidentship. I do not at all contest the validity of their argument, that the title of ἡγεμων may be given to one who is not properly president. But since Cyrenius certainly was afterwards the ordinary governor of Syria, it is not easy to understand this title in St. Luke in a loose and general way: and I can never persuade myself, that St. Luke intended no more than the power and authority of making a census in Syria. If Cyrenius had never been president of Syria, perhaps their instances had been to the point; but now I think they are not. Besides, according to the way in which these learned men generally interpret St. Luke, ἡγεμονευοντος, &c. is here the genitive case absolute, or governed by επι understood: either of which does as fully express Cyrenius's being president of Syria, as any form of expression can do.

Joseph Scaliger seems to have interpreted these words somewhat differently from other learned men, who embrace this solution. He takes them thus: 'This description was the first under Cyrenius, president of Syria.' I put his words in the margin,[a] that the reader may judge whether I misunderstand him. But still this interpretation is liable to the objection last mentioned; for it is implied in it, that Cyrenius was president of Syria, at the time of both these surveys.

V. There is yet another interpretation, which these words are capable of, and which has for some time appeared to me the genuine meaning of them. "This was the first assessment of Cyrenius, governor of Syria." The natural order of the words is this: Αὐλη εγενετο ἡ πρωτη απογραφη ἡγ· τ. σ κ. There are innumerable instances of a construction parallel with this here of Αὐτη ἡ απογραφη πρωτη· Matt xxii. 38. Αὐτη εστι πρωτη και μεγαλη εντολη· "This is the first and great commandment," Mark xii. 30. Αὐτη πρωτη εντολη· Numb. ii. 32. Αὐτη επισκεψις των υἱων Ισραηλ· "These are those which were numbered of the children of Israel." I put an instance or two more into[b] the margin. It is easy for the reader to observe, these instances are parallel with the words before us: the particle ἡ or αἱ follows αὐτη or αὐται, and precedes the substantive.

Εγενετο is not here facta est, 'was made,' but fuit, 'was.' I presume I need not give any proofs that this is a very common meaning of this verb.

The distant situation of εγενετο in St. Luke from αὐτη, need not create any scruple. In some examples the verb substantive is quite wanting, as in Mark xii. 30. Numb. i. 44. Sometimes εστιν is expressed, and follows immediately after αυτη. But it is found in all kinds of positions in passages parallel with this of St. Luke. I give one instance, which answers the construction of this verse in every respect, Rev. xix. 9. οὐτοι οἱ λογοι αληθινοι εισι του Θεου· "These are the true sayings of God." And another instance from[c] Plato of εγενετο itself, in a situation exactly parallel with this in St. Luke. Ἡ δε ἡ τελευτη, ω Εχεκρατες, του ἑταιρου ημιν εγενετο, ανδρος, ὡς ἡμεις Φαιμεν αν, των τοτε ὡν επειραθημεν αριστου, και αλλως φρονιμωτατου και δικαιοτατου. 'This, O Echecrates, was the end of 'our friend; and, as we say, the best, wisest, and justest man that ever we knew.'

If it be objected, that it must be this census, or this first census was made, and not this was the first census; because there is no noun substantive preceding αυτη, by which it can be governed: I answer, that as I interpret the words, αὐτη is governed by the απογραφη that follows, or by an απογραφη understood. And this is the case of many other[d] passages, which yet must be construed, as I do St. Luke.

Let us proceed. When St. Luke calls Cyrenius "governor of Syria," I understand the words in the strict and proper sense. Ἡγεμονευοντος της Συριας is not the genitive case absolute, or governed by επι understood, and to be construed, "Cyrenius being governor of Syria," or "when Cyrenius was governor of Syria;" but it is governed by απογραφη. They do not express any time at all: but this is Cyrenius's title, the title by which he was well known in that part

[a] Ideo S. Lucas non contentus est dicere Αὐτη απογραφη εγενετο ἡγεμονευοντος της Συριας Κυρηνιου. Sed quum duas απογραφας sciret fuisse, addidit, πρωτη· αὐτη ἡ απογραφη εγενετο πρωτη. Certè, si est πρωτη, ergo quædam fuit δευτερα; & sane της δευτερας meminit, idem. Act. v. 37. Atque ita distinguendum esse nemo dubitare potest Scaliger. animadv. in Chron. Euseb. ad A. 2016.

[b] Numb. i. 44. Αὐτη ἡ επισκεψις ἡν επεσκεψαντο Μωϋσης· cap. iii. 1. Και αὐται αἱ γενεσεις Ααρων. v. 2 και ταυτα τα ονοματα των υἱων Ααρων· vid. c. iv. 31 37. Deut. vi. 1. & alibi.

[c] Phædo. Fin.

[d] Ezek. xlviii. v. 1. Και ταυτα τα ονοματα των φυλων. v. 29. 30. Αὐτη ἡ γη, ἡν βαλειτε εν κληρῳ ταις φυλαις του Ισραηλ· και οὐτοι οἱ διαμερισμοι αὐτων—Και αὐται αἱ εξοδοι της πολεως.

of the world: as we say, Antony the triumvir, or Cato the censor, to distinguish them from others of the same names. Ἡγεμονευοντος, &c. is with me the same thing, as if St. Luke had said, ἡγεμονος της Συριας Κυρηνιȣ.

It is certain, that Greek authors delight very much in the use of participles; and I think more especially, when they speak of titles and dignities. Thus Cicero, in [a] Dio, says: 'We 'expect that our prætors and consuls should follow the laws of reason and justice.' The same historian [b] says; 'The three brothers, the Antonies, had all of them some office in the city at 'one and the same time; Marcus was consul, Lucius tribune, and Caius prætor.'

These participles seem to me to be sometimes substantives, or at least, to be [c] used substantively. I believe all are sensible that that αρχων is so used. Some of those other titles of offices or dignities expressed by participles, seem to me to be very near, or altogether parallel with it.

But let ἡγεμονευοντος be a mere participle; only then it will be said, if it be governed by απογραφη, it ought to have been ἡγεμονευσαντος. To this I answer, that undoubtedly ἡγεμονευσαντος would have been very proper, but so is also ἡγεμονευοντος. It is no uncommon thing, for Greek authors to use the present tense for the first aorist. I give an instance or two that may fully justify my interpretation. Josephus says, 'And it is certain that Varus was of a royal family, 'since he was a descendant of Soemus, who was tetrarch of a country near mount [d] Libanus.' Και ην ὁμολογȣμενως ο Ουαρος βασιλικȣ γενȣς, εγγονος Σοεμȣ τȣ περι Λιβανον τετραρχȣντος. Dionysius says, that the Latins were so called from Latinus, a king of that country.[e] If any should say, it is improper to understand this participle as I do, because Cyrenius was not governor of Syria till after the time in which St. Luke's survey was made, I add one example more, which must fully obviate this exception. Herodian says, 'That to Marcus the emperor were born several daugh-'ters[f] and two sons.' Τῳ βασιλευοντι Μαρκῳ θυγατερες μεν εγενοντο πλειȣς αρρενες δε δυο. Yet several of those children were born to him before he was emperor. This instance shews plainly, that these participles do not always import only the time when men are in office.

I hope this is sufficient to shew, that ἡγεμονευοντος is the same as ἡγεμονος, at least that it is governed by απογραφη. The supposing ἡγεμονευοντος τ. σ. κ. to be the genitive absolute, or governed by επι, as it has given occasion for the objection we are now upon, so it seems to have carried most learned men off from the right way of solving it.

I apprehend I have now justified my interpretation of every part of this verse: "This was the first assessment (or survey) of Cyrenius, the governor of Syria, or of Cyrenius, who was governor of Syria."

But if any choose rather to take Scaliger's method as to the first part of the verse, I shall not contend about that, provided my sense of the latter part be admitted. Then the interpretation will stand thus: this survey was the first [survey] of Cyrenius the governor of Syria.

Nor can I see any reason why all those who follow Beza, and suppose that this survey was made by Cyrenius, as well as that made after Archelaus's removal, should not receive this interpretation. When they come to shew, why this is called by St. Luke the first survey, though indeed they have not translated the place as I do,[g] they unavoidedly run into the same meaning. Baronius [h] likewise understands the words much after the same manner, only he falsely supposed that Cyrenius was twice president of Syria.

Some time after I had been persuaded that this was the sense of this text, I met with these words of Tanaquil Faber.[i] 'Beatus Lucas, cap. 2. ait natum esse Christum dominum tempore primi census, seu descriptionis, quæ a Cyrenio seu Quirinio facta est.' This passage gave me a great deal of pleasure, though it does not appear how this acute and learned man understood

[a] Τȣς μεν ςρατηγȣντας τȣς θ' ὑπατευοντας παντα απ' ορθης της διανοιας ποιειν αξιωσομεν· Lib. xliii. p. 250. D.

[b] Τρεις γαρ οἱ αδελφοι οἱ Αντωνιοι οὑτοι οντες αρχας ἁμα παντες εσχον· Ο μεν γαρ Μαρκος ὑπατευων· ὁ δε Λȣκιος δημαρχων· ὁ δε Γαῖος ςρατηγων. Lib. xlv. p. 274. C.

[c] Δεκιανος Κατος ὁ της νησȣ επιτροπευων· Dio. l. lxii. p. 791. A. Κεςιῳ Γαλλῳ τῳ της Συριας ἡγεμονευοντι. Joseph. p. 907. v. 12. Αυτος δε ὑπο τȣ της χωρας ηγεμονευοντος δεθεις. Id. p. 945. v. 35.

[d] P. 909. v. 20.

[e] Ονομα δε κοινον οἱ συμπαντες οὑτοι Λατινοι εκληθησαν επ' ανδρος δυναςευοντος των τοπων Λατινȣ. Antiq. R. lib. ii. p. 76. v. 24.

[f] Lib. i. init.

[g] Denique dicitur hæc descriptio πρωτη, ut distinguatur ab aliâ, de quâ Act. v. 37. quam Josephus & Eusebius literis consignarunt, & sub Cyrenio etiam factam dicunt, licet diverso tempore. Hamm. in loc. ex versione Cleric.

Hunc igitur censum Quirinius habuit A. U. 749. cum extraordinario imperio in Syriam missus; quæ descriptio prima a S. Lucâ dicitur, quod idem postea Quirinius A. U. 760. præses ordinarius in Syriam veniens, censum Iterum in Judæa egit, eâdem tum primum in provinciæ formam redactâ. Noris. Cenotaph. Pis p. 322.

[h] Quod igitur ab Evangelistâ ea descriptio a Quirino prima facta dicitur, non sic (ut vidimus) est accipiendum, ut tunc primum Judæi fuerint descripti atque censi: sed primam diversæ respectu secundæ sub eodem præside factæ. App. Num. 88.

[i] Epist. lib. i. ep. 43.

ἡγεμονευοντος.—But I have since met with a more explicit authority for my way of translating Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφή. The title of Origen's xith Homily upon St. Luke, in the Latin edition of his works, is thus: 'De eo quod scriptum est, Puer autem crescebat & confortabatur spiritu, usque ad eum locum ubi ait: Hæc est descriptio prima quæ facta est sub præside Syriæ Cyrino.' And in the body of the homily[a] are words to the same effect.

The version I here offer does not only appear to me a very natural and obvious meaning of the words, but it is very good sense, and extremely suitable to their position in a parenthesis. "In those days there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world [land] should be taxed." (This was the first assessment of Cyrenius the governor of Syria.) It is needless to observe, that if this version be allowed, the objection we are considering vanishes. There is no colour or pretence to say, that St. Luke confounded the census or survey made in the time of Herod, with that made after the removal of Archelaus.[b]

VI. I apprehend there lies now no objection against St. Luke, but what may arise from the doubts which some may have in their minds, concerning Cyrenius being the officer employed in making this survey. I wish the reader be not quite tired with this long succession of criticisms; but whether he will accompany me any farther or not, I think myself obliged to take into consideration all the difficulties which attend this particular circumstance.

Here I adopt at once all that has been already offered by those who embrace Beza's solution, to make it appear probable, that Cyrenius performed the census of which St. Luke speaks. But now I enjoy a peculiar advantage above those learned men, in the supposition I advanced at first, that this census of Cyrenius was of Judea only. They think, that Augustus's decree extended to the whole empire; and that Cyrenius was sent with extraordinary power to make the census in Syria and Judea. But they suppose, (and indeed they are obliged to allow it,) that Saturninus was joined with him, if Saturninus was then president. This has given Perizonius[c] a fine advantage against their supposition, that Cyrenius was concerned in this census. To give Cyrenius superior, or equal power to Saturninus in Syria, the province of which he was the ordinary governor, would have been an affront; especially considering, that Saturninus was equal to Cyrenius in every respect, and superior to him in some: for he was of a better family, and the elder consul by seven years. And it is no less injurious to Cyrenius to put him under Saturninus.

I am not at all concerned with this. I think Cyrenius performed the census alone, by virtue of the extraordinary power with which he was sent; but if any are inclined to think, that Saturninus was joined in the commission with him, this would be no disparagement to Saturninus. To give him authority in a neighbouring kingdom, where he had none before, would not be to lessen him, but to augment his power: nor do I suppose it could be any disgrace to Cyrenius, to have the governor of Syria made his partner.

I proceed to consider all the difficulties that can affect the supposition, that this census was made by Cyrenius, as far as I am concerned with them.

1. It is said, that it was not customary for the Romans to send any great man twice into the same country. Since it is certain from Josephus, that Cyrenius afterwards made a census in Syria and Judea, it may be concluded, he did not perform that survey, which St. Luke says was made in Judea at the time of our Saviour's nativity.[d]

To this I answer: I allow, that it was not usual for the same person to be more than once made the president of one and the same province; and in this Baronius, who thought Cyrenius was twice or thrice governor of Syria, is deserted by all learned men. For none of the defenders of Beza's solution, who maintain the double census of Cyrenius, do say, that Cyrenius was twice the ordinary president of Syria.

But it was very common for one and the same person to be sent twice or oftener into the same country in different posts, or with different degrees of authority. Casaubon[e] has pro-

[a] Hæc fuit descriptio prima, a præside Syriæ Cyrino.

[b] Non potest hic census esse, de quo Lucas meminit, quippe tandiu post natum Dominum factus. In quo turpiter lapsus est Eusebius, l. i. Hist. c. 5. qui eumdem fuisse credidit. Nos ab Quirino bis in Judæa [illegible]sum actum esse conjicimus, & extraordinarium utrumque, hoc est, præter ordinarios præsides Syriæ, missum esse cum extraordinariâ curatione & potestate Quirinum. Primus ante illo census institutus est sub ortum Domini, quo tempore Cn. Sentius Saturninus Syriæ præerat. ——Posterior censio, post Archelai relegationem ab eodem facta Quirino est. Ideo S. Lucas superiorem illam descriptionem primam appellat. In quâ tributi nihil, aut capitationis, exactum puto, &c. Petavii Rationarium Temporum. P. 2. lib. iv. c. 2.

[c] Dissert. de Aug. Descrip. sect. 15, 16, 17.

[d] Multis de causis displicet nobis gemina hæc Cyrenii descriptio. Bis ad eandem rem Quirinium in Syriam fuisse missum, fidem vix imperat, nec Romanos ad mores quadrat. Basnage. Ann. Pol. Ecc. ant. Dom. 5. num. 14. Neque vero nullum est exemplum illorum, qui in easdem provincias cum eodem vel diverso munere sunt missi. C. Cassius pro-

duced instances enough to silence this objection. M. Vipsanius Agrippa, the person last mentioned by him, was sent twice into Syria by Augustus with extraordinary power: first of all, A. U. 731,[a] and again, A. U. 738.[b]

I will give an undeniable example of an officer's being twice in the same province with different degrees of power. When Piso, præfect of Syria, had been removed by Germanicus, and after that Germanicus himself died, the officers in the province had a consultation together, who should be made president of Syria: Vibius Marsus laid claim to it, but at last yielded to Cn. Sentius Saturninus,[c] the elder officer. Thus Sentius, one of the chief officers then in the province, was made president. This alone is a proof, that it was very common for officers to serve different posts in the same province. But this is not the only thing I aim at. This consultation[d] was held A. U. 772. A. D. 19. and it appears from Josephus,[e] and Tacitus,[f] that long after this, in the reign[g] of Claudius, this same Vibius Marsus came to be actually president of Syria. There is therefore no absurdity at all in supposing, that Cyrenius was sent by Augustus with extraordinary power at the latter end of Herod's reign to make a survey in Judea, and that about ten or twelve years afterwards he came as the ordinary governor into Syria, and then made a census in that province, and in Judea annexed to it.

2. It is objected, that none of the Roman or Greek historians, though Cyrenius has been spoken of by several of them, have taken any notice of this census.

I answer, that this is no difficulty at all. I suppose, that no one will make any question, but that Cyrenius made an assessment in Syria and Judea when he was sent president into Syria, because we have Josephus's authority for it; and yet none of the Roman or Greek authors have said any thing of that census.

Though Tacitus has in the passage above cited reckoned up divers of Cyrenius's exploits and honours, and others have made mention of him, and some of his services, yet Florus[h] has taken notice of a considerable action of his omitted by all the rest: if indeed he means our Cyrenius.

3. But it will be said: It may be certainly concluded from the account, which Josephus has given of the census made[i] by Cyrenius after Archelaus's banishment, that Cyrenius had never been in Judea, or enrolled the Jews before; if he had, Josephus could not well have omitted to take notice of it then.

I own, that at first sight this must appear a very considerable difficulty.

(1.) But it ought to be observed, that Josephus does not particularly name any of Cyrenius's honours or services, beside those which relate to the city of Rome. Josephus knew of divers others, but he does not express them: and among those omitted or referred to in the general only, may be that of the first survey in Judea.

(2.) I think it is plain, that either Josephus did not care to give any particular account of that oath taken by the Jews to Augustus in the latter end of Herod's reign, or else that he found but a slight account of it in those memoirs or histories which he made use of. He had said nothing of it, had it not been for a most remarkable disturbance in Herod's court and family, with which it had a connexion.

And any one may perceive, that it is then touched upon very slightly. Is it not strange, that Josephus should not name the officer that took the oath for Augustus? No one can make any doubt, but there was some person of eminence deputed by the emperor for that work. As Josephus did not mention him then, I should never expect to find his name afterwards. And whoever can account for Josephus's omissions relating to the affair of the oath, may account for his silence in this passage, though Cyrenius had been once before in Judea.

fectus in Syriam quæstor M. Crassi: mox, ipso & ejus exercitu deleto, res magnas ibi gessit, & aliquamdiu provinciam obtinuit: eidemque post aliquot annos senatus Syriam & bellum contra Dolabellam decrevit. Ventidius Bassus, quando primum cum Parthis bellum gessit, Antonii fuit legatus: postea ejusdem belli gerendi cura illi demandata est,—Agrippa, qui per decennium Asiam administravit, bis ex Italiâ eodem est profectus. Casaub. in Baron. Exerc. 1. num. 32.

[a] Dio l. liij. p. 518. c. [b] Id. lib. liv. p. 534. B.

[c] Consultatum inde inter legatos, quique alii senatorum aderant, quisnam Syriæ præficeretur. Et cæteris modice nisis, inter *vibium marsum* & Cn. Sentium diu quæsitum: dein Marsus seniori, & acrius tendenti Sentio concessit. Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 74. [d] M. Silano & L. Norbano Coss.

[e] Και μετ' ου πολυ, Πετρωνιον μεν Μαρσος διεδεξατο, και διειπε Συριαν. Ant. l. xix. c. 6. sect. 4. [f] Et reciperare Armeniam, ni *vibio marso* Syriæ legato bellum minitante cohibitus foret. Tacit. Ann. xi. cap. 10. [g] About A. U. 795. vid. Pagi. Crit. in Bar. A. [illegible] n. 8. [h] Marmaridas atque Garamantas Curinio [illegible] dedit [Augustus.] Potuit & ille redire Marmaridas; sed modestior in æstimandâ victoriâ fuit. Florus lib. iv. c. 12. [i] See the account above, p. 160.

(3.) I think, that arguments formed upon the omissions of historians are of very little weight. There are in Josephus other omissions as remarkable as this. I desire to consider the account he gives, in his War of the Jews, of the reducing Judea to a province. 'Archelaus's 'country being reduced to a province, Coponius a man of the equestrian rank among the 'Romans, was sent procurator, being invested with the power of life and death. In his time '[επι τȣτȣ] a certain Galilean, whose name was Judas, excited the people to a rebellion; telling 'them, That they were of a mean spirit, if they could endure to pay tribute to the Romans, and 'acknowledge mortal men for their lords after God had been their king. This man was the 'head of a distinct sect in nothing like[a] the rest.' This is all he says. He does not say there was now any census made, has not one word of Cyrenius, or his coming into Judea.

It is true, that Josephus has in two other places in the War of the Jews,[b] occasionally mentioned Cyrenius, and in the latter of those places his census also; but it must be allowed to be a very great omission, not to do this in the proper place, in the account of the reduction of Judea to the state of a province. This might have been reasonably expected in the history of the war, when this assessment made by Cyrenius, and the principles broached at that time, were main foundations of it.

If it be said, that Josephus passed over this affair slightly in the War, because he intended to write his Antiquities, and mention it more particularly then: I answer, this is said without ground: and I might as well say, that Josephus omitted in his Antiquities the particular account of Cyrenius's first assessment, because he intended to write afterward another book of the history of the Jews, and go over their affairs once more, as he expressly assures us at the conclusion of his Antiquities.

Josephus informs us in his Life, written after the War and the Antiquities, that the Jews had a battle with Gessius Florus, their last procurator, and killed him, and a good many of his men; and that this victory was fatal to them, forasmuch as this determined them to the war with the[c] Romans. Is it not strange that Josephus should say nothing of this in the history of the War, where he has made so frequent mention of Florus, and ascribed the Jewish uneasiness under the Roman government to the cruelties and other irregularities of this man? For this instance I am indebted to[d] Mr. Le Clerc.

There is another omission appears to me very remarkable. Pheroras, Herod's youngest brother, is often mentioned by Josephus. He has particularly informed us, that when Augustus was in Syria, he gave this Pheroras a tetrarchy,[e] at the request of Herod; and we are informed by Josephus, of Pheroras's retirement into his tetrarchy, of Herod's visiting him there, and of Pheroras's dying[f] at home, and of his being brought afterwards from thence to be buried. But yet, if I mistake not, he has never once said, what this tetrarchy was, whose it had been before, nor where it lay. It is true, that whereas in the Antiquities[g] Josephus says, Pheroras went to his tetrarchy; in his War[h] he says, he went to Peræa; or, as in some copies, Petræa: but Peræa, properly so called, could not be this tetrarchy, because Peræa belonged all along to Herod. But this tetrarchy of Pheroras was given him by Augustus, and was distinct from that estate or revenue which had[i] been settled upon him by Herod. These particulars may convince us, that though Cyrenius was in Judea in the time of Herod, Josephus was capable of omitting to take notice of it.

4. Again, it will be said: It may be fairly concluded from another place in Josephus, that Cyrenius was but once in Judea. For he says, that 'Massada was then held by Eleazar, the 'chief man of the sicarii, a descendant of Judas, who persuaded not a few of the Jews not to 'enrol themselves, as I have said[k] above, when Cyrenius the censor[k] was sent into Judea.'

I own this is a difficulty, but the argument is not conclusive. It is true, that Judas made

[a] De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 8. sect. 1. [b] Ibid. cap. 17. sect. 8. & l. vii. c. 8. sect. 1. [c] Ὁ δ' επελθων και συμβαλων μαχη, ενικηθη, πολλων των μετ' αυτȣ πεσοντων· και γινεται το Γεσσιȣ πταισμα, συμφορα τȣ παντος ημων εθνȣς· επηρθησαν γαρ επι τȣτῳ μ[illegible] οι τον πολεμον αγαπησαντες, και νικησαντες τȣς Ῥωμαιȣς [illegible]λος ηλπισαμεν· in Vit. sect. 6.

[d] Hist. Eccl. A. D. [illegible] 12. [e] Antiq. l. xv. c. 10. sect. 3. [f] Ibid. l. xvii. c. 3. de B. J. l. i. c. 29.

[g] Φερωραν δ' επι τȣς αυτȣ τετραρχιας· p. 756. v. 37.

[h] Φερωρας δε ὑποχωρησειεν εις την Περαιαν, p. 1031. v. 41. vid. & p. 1032. v. 26. [i] Τῳ μεν αδελφῳ Φερωρᾳ παρα Καισαρος ῃτησατο τετραρχιαν, αυτος απονειμας εκ της βασιλειας προσοδον εκατον ταλαντων. κ. λ. Antiq. l. xv. c. 10. sect. 3.

[k] Vid. de Bell. l. ii. c. 17. sect. 8. [l] Καλειται δε το μεν φρȣριον Μασαδα, προειστηκει δε των κατειληφοτων αυτο σικαριων δυνατος ανηρ Ελεαζαρος, απογονος Ιȣδα τȣ πεισαντος Ιȣδαιων ȣκ ολιγȣς, ὡς προτερον δεδηλωκαμεν, μη ποιεισθαι τας απογραφας, ὁτε Κυρηνιος τιμητης εις την Ιȣδαιαν επεμφθη· de B. l. vii. c. 2. sect. 1.

this disturbance when "Cyrenius was sent into Judea," or in the time of Cyrenius; but it does not follow, that Cyrenius was sent but once into Judea. The New Testament will afford us an instance upon this very subject, which will be of use to us. Gamaliel says, Acts v. 37, "After this man rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him." If we had in our hands this book only of St. Luke, namely, the Acts of the apostles, it is not unlikely, that many would have supposed, that St. Luke knew of no other taxing made in Judea, but that in the time of which Judas rose up. But we are assured from his gospel, that this conclusion would have been false: for there he has spoke very particularly of another, which he calls the first, or at least distinguishes very plainly from some other.

I must be allowed to repeat here once more, that arguments formed upon the silence of writers are very seldom of much moment. Josephus is the only Jewish writer of those times in whom we have the history of that country; and it cannot be justly concluded, that any particular thing was not done, or that such or such circumstance did not attend it, because he has not mentioned it. All writers have their particular views, and some things we are very desirous to know, might, for some reason or other which we are ignorant of, lie without the compass of their designs. Besides, the most accurate and careful historians have omitted many facts or incidents, that might be very properly mentioned, through forgetfulness or oversight. I take the omission of the description of the tetrarchy that belonged to Pheroras, to be a remarkable instance of this sort.

5. But it will be said, that Tertullian is positive, the census in Judea at the time of our Saviour's birth was made by Sentius Saturninus.[a]

I answer to this: (1.) It ought to be considered, that the heretic Marcion, with whom Tertullian disputes in this place, did not admit the authority of the first chapter[b] of St. Luke's gospel. And it was the custom of Tertullian, to argue from those parts of scripture which the heretics he was dealing with[c] acknowledged. Possibly therefore Tertullian having, or supposing he had reason to think, that this census was made when Saturninus was president of Syria, he might choose to mention the ordinary officer as a thing certain; but yet might not intend to affirm, that the census was made by him, but only that it happened in his time. Isaac Casaubon judged it not unreasonable so to understand Tertullian, who often uses[d] words improperly. I thought it not fit to deprive the reader of this answer of that learned man; but I do not adopt his interpretation of Tertullian.

(2.) Tertullian's authority ought not to outweigh the testimony of more ancient writers, who were nearer the event. Justin Martyr, in his first apology, presented to the Roman emperor sixty years before Tertullian wrote his books against Marcion, says, this census was performed in Judea by Cyrenius; and all other writers agree with Justin, as has been shewn already.

(3.) Tertullian's authority is of the less weight in this point, because he has made very gross blunders in history, of which I shall say somewhat more in the third chapter.

(4.) I imagine some account may be given of this mistake of Tertullian. It has been observed, that Marcion, whom Tertullian was now arguing with, did not own the first chapters of St. Luke's gospel. Tertullian therefore not having his eye particularly on St. Luke, and supposing that this census was made in Judea when Saturninus was president of Syria, says, it was made by him.

Judea having been afterwards a branch of the province of Syria, he concluded it was so at this time, and that therefore the census must have been made by the president of Syria: but this was arguing from later to more early times, as men not thoroughly versed in history are apt to do.

After the banishment of Archelaus Judea was annexed to Syria; but whilst Herod was living, the president of Syria had not any proper authority in Judea. The president of Syria was always the most considerable officer in the eastern part of the empire. When the Romans had

[a] Sed & census constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Judæâ per Sentium Saturninum. Apud quos genus ejus inquirere potuissent. Cont. Marc. lib. iv. c. 19. [b] Accedit his Cerdon quidam. ——Solum evangelium Lucæ, nec tamen totum recipit. Post hunc discipulus ipsius emersit Marcion.—Hæresin Cerdonis approbare conatus est. De præscrip. Hæret. c. 51. [c] Quam & argumentationibus earum, & scripturis quibus utuntur, provocavimus ex abundanti. De carne Christi. cap. 25. [d] Tertullianus, cum adversus Marcion. scribit, Sed & constat,—ad majorem [illegible] magistratum ordinarium potius nominat, quam extraordinarium [illegible]. Ait autem per Sentium Saturnigum dure & Tertullianice, hoc est, improprie pro ἐπὶ Σεντίου Σαλουρνίνου, vel ἡγεμονεύοντος τότε Σ. K. Casaub. Exercit. 1. n. 31.

any war[a] in that part of the world, the neighbouring kings were obliged to follow his directions; to furnish those sums of money, or those troops, which he required, and to send these to the places he appointed. When any differences happened between these kings and tetrarchs, they were bound to refer them to him, nor could they march any forces out of their territories without his consent: but he seems not, especially in a time of peace, to have had any proper authority within their dominions.

Nor do I think I here impute to Tertullian any very gross mistake. The state of dependent kingdoms and provinces in the Roman empire underwent frequent changes, and a person had need to have made history his peculiar study, and to have aimed at some uncommon accuracy, in order to understand the state of the Roman provinces for a couple of centuries.

I have now gone through all the difficulties which are of any moment in this point.

I have nothing farther to add to those evidences which I have already produced, except these two observations: 1st, That it seems to me highly probable, from the manner in which Eusebius speaks of this matter in his chronicle, that it was originally the common opinion of christians, that Cyrenius was sent into Judea on purpose to make this census; 'In the thirty 'third year of Herod, Cyrenius being sent by the Roman senate, made a census (or enrolments) 'of goods and persons.'[b] This does very much confirm the opinion of those learned men, who think that Cyrenius was sent with extraordinary power: though why Eusebius mentions the senate instead of the emperor I know not.

Possibly some may be disposed to set aside Eusebius's authority, because in his Ecclesiastical History he has confounded the two surveys. But I must confess I ascribe that, not to ignorance, but to somewhat a great deal worse. It is impossible, that a man of Eusebius's acuteness, who had the New Testament and Josephus before him, should think a census made after Archelaus's banishment was the same with that made before Herod died; but Eusebius was resolved to have St. Luke's history confirmed by the express testimony of the Jewish historian, right or wrong. Here Eusebius was under a bias. In his chronicle we have a simple unbiassed account of what was the opinion of Christians, and others, at that time.

Secondly, It seems to me in the nature of the thing most probable, that some person was sent with extraordinary power to make this enrolment. There is no evidence in Josephus, that Augustus had any intention to take away the kingdom from Herod, and make Judea a province. A census in his dominions was a very great disgrace: but to have ordered it to be performed by the president of Syria, would have been an additional affront; it would have looked like making Herod subject to Syria. Since Judea was to continue a distinct kingdom as hitherto, and only to be reduced to a more strict dependence, the only method of making this census, could be that of sending some person of honour and dignity, like Cyrenius, to enrol the subjects of Herod, and value their estates; that for the future, tribute might be paid according to this census. And this does admirably suit the nature of the oath mentioned in Josephus, the substance of which was, to be faithful to Cæsar and Herod.

I conclude therefore, that it is upon the whole most probable, that the first assessment, of which St. Luke here writes, was performed by Cyrenius, as well as the second. This appears to me a very natural meaning of St. Luke's words, and the external evidences for this supposition seem to me to outweigh the objections.

We have now got through the affair of the census. If I have not been so happy as to remove every difficulty attending, his text of St. Luke, yet I hope the reader will allow at least, that I have not concealed or dissembled any.

[a] Tum intellecto barbarorum irrisu, qui peterent quod eripuerant, consuluit inter primores civitatis Nero, bellum anceps an pax inhonesta placeret, nec dubitatum de *bello*——scribitur tetrarchis ac regibus præfectisque ac procuratoribus,——jussis Corbulonis obsequi. Tacit. Ann. lib. xv. cap. 25.

[b] Chron. p. 76.

CHAP. II.

TWO OBJECTIONS TAKEN FROM THE SILENCE OF JOSEPHUS.

I. *He has not mentioned the slaughter of the Infants of Bethlehem:* II. *Nor of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices.*

ST. Matthew says, chap. ii. 16, "Then Herod, when he saw that he was mocked of the wise men, was exceedingly wroth, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently inquired of the wise men.

It is objected to this, that if there had been so cruel a slaughter made by Herod, of innocent infants at Bethlehem, a place not far from Jerusalem, it is very unlikely it should have been omitted by Josephus, who has written the history of the Jews, and particularly of the reign of Herod.

To this I answer: 1. This appears to me to be at the best an objection of a very extraordinary nature. The most exact and diligent historians have omitted many events, that happened within the compass of those times of which they undertook to write: nor does the reputation which any one historian has for exactness, invalidate the credit of another, who seems to be well informed of the facts he relates. Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dio Cassius, have all three written of the reign of Tiberius: but it is no objection against the veracity of any one of them, that he has mentioned some things of that emperor, which have been omitted by the rest. No more is it any objection against St. Matthew, that he has related an action of Herod not mentioned by Josephus.

2. There have been as great cruelties committed by many eastern princes; nor was there ever any man more likely than Herod to give the orders here mentioned by St. Matthew. When he had gained possession of Jerusalem [a] by the assistance of the Romans, and his rival Antigonus was taken prisoner, and in the hands of the Roman general Sosius, and by him carried to Mark Antony, Herod by a large sum of money persuaded Antony to put him to death. Herod's great fear was, that Antigonus might some time revive his pretensions, as being of the Asmonean family. Aristobulos, brother of his wife Mariamne, was murdered [b] by his directions at eighteen years of age, because the people at Jerusalem had shewn some affection for his person. In the seventh year of his reign from the death of Antigonus, he put to death Hyrcanus, grandfather of Mariamne, then eighty years of age, and who had saved Herod's life when he was prosecuted by the sanhedrim; a man, who in his youth, and in the vigour of his life, and in all the revolutions of his fortune had shewn a mild and peaceable disposition.[c] His beloved wife, the beautiful and virtuous Mariamne, had a public execution,[d] and her mother Alexandra was put to death soon after.[e] Alexander and Aristobulus, his two sons by Mariamne, were strangled in prison by his order[f] upon groundless suspicions, as it seems, when they were at man's estate, were married and had children. I say nothing of the death of his eldest son Antipater: if Josephus's character of him be just, he was a miscreant, and deserved the worst death that could be inflicted.

In his last sickness, a little before he died, he sent orders throughout Judea, requiring the presence of all the chief men of the nation at Jericho. His orders were obeyed, for they were enforced with no less penalty than that of death. When these men were come to Jericho, he had them all shut up in the Circus; and calling for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, he told them, 'My life is now but short: I know the dispositions of the Jewish people, and 'nothing will please them more than my death. You have [g] these men in your custody; as 'soon as the breath is out of my body, and before my death can be known, do you let in the 'soldiers upon them and kill them. All Judea and every family will then, though unwillingly,

[a] Jos. Ant. l. xiv. c. 16. sect. ult. [b] Antiq. l. xv. c. 3. sect. 3. De Bell. l. i. c. 22. [c] Ant. l. xv. c. 6. de Bell. ubi supra. [d] Ant. xv. c. 7. sect. 5, 6. [e] Ib. sect. 8. [f] Antiq. l. xvi. c. 11. sect. 6. De Bell. l. i. c. 27.

[g] Τας δε τες φρουρεμενας ανδρας ... ειδαν τεθνεωσ, ταχισα κλεισαλ περισησανλες τας θυρας, λε σπασ Ιουδαια και πασ οικος ακων επ' εμοι δακρυση. de Bell. l. i. c. 33. sect. 6.

'mourn at my death." Nay, Josephus says, 'That with tears in his eyes he conjured them, 'by their love to him, and their fidelity to God, not to fail of doing him this honour; and 'they promised[a] they would not fail.'

These orders indeed were not executed; but, as a modern historian of very good sense observes, 'The[b] history of this his most wicked design, takes off all objection against the truth 'of murdering the innocents, which may be made from the incredibility of so barbarous and 'horrid an act. For this thoroughly shews, that there can nothing be imagined so cruel, 'barbarous and horrid, which this man was not capable of doing.'

It may also be proper to observe, that almost all the executions, which I have instanced in, were sacrifices to his state jealousy and love of empire. And the slaughter, which St. Matthew has given an account of, was made upon the occasion of tidings brought to Jerusalem, of the birth of one who was "king of the Jews."

3. Josephus has given us an account of a terrible execution made in Herod's court, and at Jerusalem, about this very time, upon the occasion of some predictions, that God was about to take away the kingdom from Herod. I think it was made at the very same time with the slaughter of the infants. St. Matthew relates only what was done at Bethlehem, Josephus what happened at Jerusalem. The silence of Josephus about the former, and of St. Matthew about the latter, may be in a good measure accounted for by these two or three considerations.

(1.) St. Matthew was not concerned to relate state matters, but barely to give the history of Jesus Christ; and therefore all that he was obliged to take notice of upon this occasion, was the attempts made upon the life of Jesus. Josephus's is a political history of the Jewish nation, and therefore the executions at court might be more suitable to his design.

(2.) All writers of good sense and candour, who have written the history of such jealous and cruel princes as Herod, have been obliged, both out of a regard to themselves and their readers, to omit some of their odious and offensive actions, and to pass by some parts or circumstances of those transactions which they mention.[c] And I cannot help paying a particular respect to the evangelists for the many instances of their candour and goodness, and for this in particular, that none of them strove to brand the memory of Herod, who sought the life of Jesus, with the many cruelties of his reign, or the dreadful circumstances of his death; and that Matthew, who alone has informed us of the murder of the infants, confined his narration to that, and passed by all the other tokens, which I doubt not, Herod shewed at this time, of a most odious jealousy.

Nor would I blame Josephus barely for the omission of the barbarities committed at Bethlehem. He has related many cruel actions of Herod: to have related them all would probably have appeared spite and ill-will, rather than faithfulness, or impartiality. It is evident, there were many put to death at Jerusalem, beside those he nameth in the account of that execution. Possibly, the omission of the murder of the infants may be owing to those reasons I have here hinted, namely, a fear of being charged with a design to load Herod unreasonably, or a fear of rendering his history disagreeable, by too particular a detail of cruel actions.

(3.) I have thus far endeavoured to account for Josephus's silence in the way of apology for him, and should be glad to leave the matter here: but his strange way of speaking, and that in two[d] places of his works, of an execution at Jerusalem about this time, though according to his own account and acknowledgment it was very severe and terrible, will not permit me to conclude here. Supposing then, that execution to have been made on account of discourses, which happened at Jerusalem upon the rumour of the birth of Jesus, I think, that since Josephus was determined in the main to vindicate Herod upon that occasion, he was obliged for his own honour, to say nothing of what was done at Bethlehem. The slaughter of the infants, from two years old and under, of a whole city, town, or village, and the district

[a] Και ὁ μεν μετα δακρυων ποτνιωμενος, και τε συγγενες την ευνοιαν και πιστιν τε Θειε προσκαλων, επεσκηπτε μη ηλιμωσθαι αξιων· κακεινοι ὡμολογουν παραβησεσθαι· Ant. l. xvii. c. 6. sect. 5.

[b] Pri[illegible] Conn. Part. ii. p 655.

[c] Neque sum ignarus, [illegible] plerisque scriptoribus omissa multorum pericula & pœnas, dum copiâ fatiscunt, aut quæ ipsis nimia & mœsta fuerant, ne pari tædio lecturos adficerent, verentur. Tacit. An. l. vi. c. 7.

[d] One of those passages with observations upon it may be seen above, p. 152. It is the passage I referred to, p. 74, &c. as deserving a particular attention. If the reader has not yet observed it, I would now recommend it to his perusal. The other passage will be found toward the latter end of sect. 1. of the next chapter to this. See in the index 'Josephus, his account of a terrible execution at Jerusalem.'

round about it, whatever colours an historian might have put upon it, would have appeared to all mankind, but prejudiced and hardened Jews, an horrid inhumanity.

In a word, the objection against this relation of St. Matthew must be founded on the silence of the Greek and Roman historians, or of Josephus. As for the silence of the former; the Roman republic or empire about this time was so vast, that the affairs of many dependent princes have been lost in the crowd. Tacitus goes over the history of the Jews, from Pompey's conquest of Judea to the government of Felix, mentioned in the Acts, in one short chapter. Of Herod he says, 'The kingdom he received from Antony was enlarged [or con-'firmed] by Augustus. And that after his death, his kingdom was divided between three of 'his sons;'[a] without so much as naming the sons of Herod, who arrived at sovereign power, and succeeded their father. Strabo says, 'Herod obtained the title of king first from Antony, 'and then from Augustus. Some of his sons he put to death, as guilty of designs against him-'self: others he appointed his successors, dividing his kingdom among them. But his sons 'were not happy, for they fell under some accusations: one of them was banished into Gaul, 'and the other two by means of a great deal of submission, with much difficulty kept their 'several tetrarchies.'[b] He does not so much as name those sons whom Herod killed, nor those that succeeded him. It is with a like brevity, that some other writers have mentioned Herod. Dio Cassius's history of affairs about the latter part of Herod's reign is wanting. I leave it to any one to judge, whether it be reasonable to expect the particular fact at Bethlehem from historians, who plainly content themselves with delivering the successions of princes, without relating their affairs, or so much as recording all their names.

As for Josephus, his silence is no more an objection against St. Matthew, than the silence of other writers is against him. Josephus has said a great deal of Herod's liberality to foreigners, to Antioch, Berytus, Tyrus, Sidon, Damascus, and many other cities in Syria; to the Athenians, Lacedæmonians, Rhodians, and other people of Greece. Of his benefaction to the Eleans, he says, 'It was a common benefit not to Greece only but to all the world:'[c] and 'that he was so remarkable for his liberality, that Augustus and Agrippa often said, Herod's 'kingdom was too small for him, and that he deserved to be king of all Syria and Egypt.'[d] I suppose people take these things upon Josephus's authority. I cannot conceive, how the single silence of Josephus (and of Justus of Tiberias, if you please to add him,) should be an objection against St. Matthew, when the silence of the Greeks and Syrians, people that abounded so much in writers, (several of which are also still in being,) is an objection against Josephus; who has recorded many things done by Herod for those people, of which they have made no mention, that we know of.

It has been pretended, indeed, that Josephus was a great enemy to Herod, and seems willing to tell all his various acts of cruelty. But this is not certain. For Herod's character in Josephus has a mixture of good and bad: he has related a great many things to his advantage, which can be verified by no other writers. Herod put to death every member of the Jewish great council in Hyrcanus's time, except Hillel and Shammai; yet Josephus mentions this very slightly:[e] he even takes part with Herod against the pharisees in an account of an execution made at Jerusalem in the latter part of his reign. Though Josephus were an enemy to Herod, he might have inducements to shew him favour upon some occasions: Agrippa the younger was living, when Josephus wrote, and he had some acquaintance with him, and obligations to him:[f] it was not for the honour of the Jewish nation, to make a mere monster of Herod, who had reigned over them between thirty and forty years. A particular recital of all Herod's cruelties, could not but make the uneasiness of the Jewish people under the Roman government appear very unreasonable: they might be thought a strange people, who rebelled

[a] Regnum ab Antonio Herodi datum, victor Augustus auxit [al. sanxit]. Post mortem Herodis, nihil expectato Cæsare, Simon quidam regium nomen invaserat. Is a Quinctilio Varo obtinente Syriam punitus. Et gentem coërcitam liberi Herodis tripartito rexere. Tacit. Hist. l. v. c. 9.

[b] Ἡρώδης—ὥστε και βασιλευς εχρηματισε, δοντος το μεν πρωτον Αντωνιου την εξουσιαν, ὑστερον δε και Καισαρος του Σεβαστου· των δε υἱων τους μεν αυτος ανειλεν, ὡς επιβουλευσαντας αυτῳ· τους δε τε αυτων διαδοχους απελιπε, μεριδας αυτοις αποδους.——ου μεν τοι ἐπιοχησαν οἱ παιδες, αλλ' εν αιτιαις εγενοντο· και ὁ μεν εν φυγη διετελεσε, παρα τοις Αλλοβροξι Γαλαταις λαβων οικησιν· οἱ δε θεραπειᾳ πολλῃ μολις εὑροντο καθοδον, τετραρχιας αποδοθεισης ἑκατερῳ. Strabo. l. xvi. p. 765. ed. Casaub.

[c] Antiq. l. xvi. c. 5. sect. 3, 4. De Bell. l. i. c. 21. sect. 11. 12. Το δε Ηλειοις χαρισθεν, ου μονον κοινον της Ἑλλαδος, αλλ' ὁλης της οικουμενης δωρον. Ibid. sect. 12.

[d] Και φασιν αυτον τε Καισαρα [illegible] πολλακις ειπειν, ὡς αποδεοι τα της αρχης Ἡρῳδου [illegible] αυτῳ μεγαλοψυχιας. Αξιον γαρ ειναι και Συριας [illegible] και Αιγυπτου την βασιλειαν εχειν. [e] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 9. sect. 4. l. xv. 1.

[f] Joseph. vit. sect. 65.

against the Romans, and yet had bore with a man who had spared neither young nor old; who had slaughtered all the members of their great council, and the innocent infants of a whole town and all its district. I have sometimes thought, that this was really one reason, why Josephus made so slight mention of the cutting off the members of that senate: it might also be some inducement not to relate the slaughter of the infants.

But Josephus, as a firm Jew, had certainly a particular reason for passing over this event at Bethlehem: he could not mention it, without giving the christian cause a great advantage. To write, that Herod, at the latter end of his reign, had put to death all the young children at Bethlehem, on occasion of a report spread at Jerusalem, that the king of the Jews had been newly born there, would have greatly gratified the christians; since it was well known, when he wrote, that about thirty years after the death of Herod, Jesus, being then about thirty years of age, had been styled the king of the Jews, and had been publicly crucified at Jerusalem with that title; and it was firmly believed by all his followers, that he was the great person spoken of under that character, and was now advanced to dominion and power.

Nay, I do not see how any serious and attentive heathen, who had heard any thing of Jesus, could read a relation of this event in Josephus, a Jewish historian, known to be no favourer of those called christians, but he must be disposed to think, the christian belief deserved some consideration. For if there was a report spread at Jerusalem, the capital city of Judea, that the king of the Jews had been newly born; and if this report was so far credited, that Herod, notwithstanding his numerous issue, thought it needful to make away with all the young children at Bethlehem and its borders, in order to secure the succession in his own family: this is at once a strong argument, that the Jewish expectation of a great person to arise from among them is no new thing, and that there were some reasons to think, that great person had been born at that time. Moreover, he must also suppose it possible, that the child, whose life was aimed at, escaped, notwithstanding the care of Herod: for it is plain he did not certainly know the child, of whom the discourse was; if he had, he would not have given orders for destroying all the young children under such an age.

The more any heathen knew of the Jewish expectations, or of the story of Jesus, either by hearsay from the christians, or by having looked into any of the gospels, the more would he have remarked such a relation in this historian.

For this reason, Josephus could by no means be willing to relate this event, with its most peculiar circumstances; though I think he has given a general account of Herod's cruelty at that time, as I have sufficiently shewn already.

4. St. Matthew's account is confirmed by the testimony of ancient christian authors. I give one passage from Justin Martyr, who wrote before the middle of the second century. 'But,' says he, 'Herod, when the Arabian wise men did not come back to him as he had 'desired them, but according to a command given them returned by another way into their 'own country; and when Joseph, together with Mary and the young child, were gone into 'Egypt, according to directions given to them also by a divine revelation; not knowing the 'child whom the wise men had come to worship, commanded all the children in Bethlehem, 'without exception, to be killed.[a] This was prophesied of by Jeremiah, the spirit of God 'saying by him thus, "A voice was heard in Rama."——

This event is also mentioned by [b] Irenæus, who lived in the same century, and by Origen [c] in the third century, in his answer to Celsus, where he says, 'Herod put to death all the 'little children in Bethlehem and its borders, with a design to destroy the king of the Jews, 'who had been born there.' It is needless to make any more quotations of christian [d] writers.

There is also a noted passage in Macrobius, a heathen author, who flourished in the latter end of the fourth century, who among other jests of Augustus has this. 'When he [Augustus] 'had heard that among the children within two years of age, which Herod king of the Jews

[a] Πανίας ἁπλῶς τὰς παιδὰς τὰς ἐν Βηθλεεμ ἐκελευσεν ἀναιρεθῆναι. Dialog. Part ii. p. 304. Paris. (p. 307. Thirlb.)

[b] Propter hoc & pueros interficiebat, qui erant in domo David, bene sortiti in illo tempore Christi, ut eos præmitteret in suum regnum; ipse infans cum esset, infantes hominum martyres parans, propter Christum, qui in Bethlehem natus est Judæ, in civitate David, interfectos secundum scripturas. Contra Hær. lib. iii. c. 16. sect. 4. al. c. 17. In quâ [Ægypto] & dominus noster servatus est, effugiens eam persecutionem quæ erat ab Herode. Ibid. c. 21. sect. 3. al. c. 28.

[c] Ὁ δ' Ἡρῴδης ἀνεῖλε πάντα τὰ ἐν Βηθλεεμ καὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐτῆς παιδία, ὡς συναναιρήσων τὸν γεννηθέντα Ἰουδαίων βασιλέα. Lib. i. p. 47.

[d] Vid. Euseb. Hist. Ec. l. i. c. 8. P. Oros. l. vii. c. 3. &c. &c.

'commanded to be slain in Syria, his own son had been killed, he said, "It is better to be "Herod's hog than his son."[a]

I lay little or no stress upon this passage, partly because it comes too late, partly because there is reason to suppose, Macrobius has been mistaken about the occasion of the jest. No early christian writers have said any thing of Herod's having had a young child of his own killed in the slaughter at Bethlehem. If Augustus did pass this jest upon Herod, it might be occasioned by the death of Antipater, or rather of Alexander and Aristobulus.[b]

This is what I said of this passage in the first edition. I would now add; it ought to be allowed, that Augustus did pass this jest upon Herod, upon some occasion or other, and that Macrobius has given us exactly the words of the jest. This passage also shews, that Herod's slaughter of the infants in Judea was a thing well known in Macrobius's time, and was not contested by heathens.

If we could be assured, that Macrobius transcribed this whole passage, not only the jest itself, but the occasion of it likewise, from some more ancient author, it would be a proof, that this event was well known in that author's time also. And we should have a great deal of reason to suppose that author was a heathen, because it is most likely, that Macrobius, a bigotted heathen himself,[c] did not much deal in christian writers.

But it is possible, that Macrobius found only the jest in his author, and added the occasion, having collected it from the common discourse of the christians of his time, who frequently spoke of this cruel action of Herod. There is some reason to suspect this, because it is very likely, that Augustus's reflection upon Herod was occasioned by the death of one of those sons whom Josephus has mentioned, and that it has no relation at all to the slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem. This suspicion may be farther strengthened by the great agreement of Macrobius with St. Matthew, in the words he uses concerning the children.[d] Macrobius being ignorant of Herod's story, and having heard of the slaughter of the infants, when he met with this jest in some author, concluded there had been some young child of Herod put to death together with them.

I am content therefore to leave it a doubtful point, whether Macrobius transcribed this whole passage, or the jest only, from some more ancient author.

Upon the whole then, there lies no objection against this relation of St. Matthew: there is nothing improbable in the thing itself, considering the jealous, cruel temper of Herod. The silence of Josephus, or of the ancient Greek and Roman historians, can be no difficulty with any reasonable person. This fact is confirmed by the express testimony of very early christian writers, and by Macrobius, a heathen author, in the latter end of the fourth century; from whom it appears, that this event was not then contested, and that it was even better known, than the fate of those sons of Herod, whom Josephus says he put to death at man's estate.

II. An objection of the like sort with that we have been considering, may be made against St. Luke, who says, ch. xiii. 1, "There were present at that season, some that told him of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices." It has been thought strange by some, that Josephus has made no mention of this event.

In answer to this objection, I shall transcribe a passage of Josephus. 'Judas the Galilean 'introduced a fourth sect among the Jews. In all other things they agree with the pharisees, 'but they have an invincible love of liberty, and acknowledge God alone their lord and 'governor: nor can any kind of death, or any punishments of their friends and relations, 'make them call any man lord. As many have been witnesses of their immoveable firmness, 'I shall say no more upon this head; not out of a fear lest my accounts should be thought 'incredible, but rather because it is not easy fully to represent their contempt of all kinds 'of sufferings.'[e]

Perhaps, the Galileans mentioned by St. Luke, were some of the followers of the before-

[a] Cum audisset inter pueros, quos in Syriâ Herodes Rex Judæorum intra bimatum jussit interfici, filium quoque ejus occisum; ait, Melius est Herodis porcum esse quam filium. Macrob. Sat. lib. ii. c. 4.

[b] See Whitby's Annot. on Matth. ii. 16, 17.

[c] This is very evident from his works: and the reader may see a full proof of it in the Rev. Mr. Masson's Slaughter of the Children in Bethlehem, as an historical Fact, vindicated, sect. 8.

[d] Children within two years of age, which Herod king of the Jews commanded to be [illegible]

[e] Ου γαρ δεδοικα μη εις απιστιαν ὑποληφθῃ τι των [illegible] αυτοις, τοὐναντιον δε μη ελασσονως τȣ εκεινων [illegible] ἐχομενȣ την ταλαιπωριαν της αλγηδονος, ὁ λογος [illegible]. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1. sect. 6.

mentioned Judas. Josephus says, he has omitted the greatest part of the sufferings of that sect. I think, it is not difficult to guess the reason. Judas's principles were very popular among the Jews, but in the opinion of the Romans they were criminal, as being inconsistent with subjection to their government. And it was next to impossible, for Josephus to give a particular account of all transactions in Judea relating to this matter, without offending the Jews, his countrymen, on the one hand, or the Romans on the other.

But whether the Galileans in St. Luke were men of this principle, is not certain, nor is it material. For though they were not, the passage just transcribed from Josephus may satisfy us, that many remarkable events have been omitted by him upon some account or other.

CHAP. III.

AN OBJECTION AGAINST THE FIFTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF TIBERIUS, COMPARED WITH THE AGE OF JESUS AT HIS BAPTISM.

I. *The objection stated.* II. *The first solution: That St. Luke by the fifteenth of Tiberius, might intend the fifteenth of his proconsular power, not of his sole empire after the death of Augustus.* III. *The consistence of other notes of time in the Gospels with this supposition.* IV. *The second solution: That the age of thirty years ascribed to Jesus at his baptism may be understood with latitude.*

St. Luke says, ch. iii. 1, 2, "Now in the *fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar*, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea,—the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness.—Now when all the people were baptised, it came to pass, that Jesus also being baptised, and praying, the heaven was opened: And the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him, and a voice came from heaven, which said, Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased. And Jesus himself——*began to be about thirty years of age*," ver. 23.

Against this account of St. Luke this objection may be formed. St. Matthew says expressly, that Jesus was "born in Bethlehem of Judea in the days of Herod the king." Though Jesus was born but a month or two before the death of Herod, he would be at least thirty-one years of age at his baptism. But if Jesus was born above a year, much more, if above two years before Herod's death; then the age of thirty years here ascribed to him at his baptism, is absolutely inconsistent with the notes of time mentioned at the commencement of John the Baptist's ministry; even allowing that the word of God came to John in the very beginning of the fifteenth year of Tiberius, and that Jesus was baptised a few months after.

Before I state this objection at length, I would observe, that the true genuine meaning of these words, "Jesus himself[a] began to be about thirty years of age," is not that he then entered the thirtieth year of his age, but that Jesus was about thirty years of age when he began his ministry: or, when[b] he thus began to shew himself publicly. This I think, is now the general opinion of learned[c] men: so the Greek word of this text is used by St. Luke in other places. Thus the high priests and others charge Jesus before Pilate, saying, Luke xxiii. 5, "He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry, *beginning* [αρξαμενος having begun] from Galilee to this place." St. Peter, in the debate concerning the choice of an apostle in the room of Judas, says, Acts i. 21, 22, "Wherefore of these men, which have accompanied with us *all the time* that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, *beginning* from the baptism[d] of John, unto the same day that he was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection."

[a] Και αυτος ην ο Ιησους ωσει ετων τριακοντα αρχομενος, ων, κ. λ. [b] Dr. Clarke's paraphrase. [c] Lucæ mentem Jansenius [Copc. cap. 14.] optime assecutus est, quam sic exprimit: Sensus erit, & ipse Jesus erat fere triginta annorum, cum jam suscepto baptismo auspicaretur deinde munus suum. Bas. Ann. Fol. Ecc. ant. D. 5. n. 28 vid. & Anton. Cappell. de cœnâ Christi supremâ. Sect. 12. c. 23. Mr. Whiston's short View of the Harmony, &c. p. 130.

[d] Εν ω εισηλθε και εξηλθεν εφ' ημας ο Κυριος Ιησους, αρξαμενος απο τε βαπτισματος Ιωαννε.

I come now to the objection: Augustus died, and Tiberius succeeded him the 19th of August, A. U. 767, Julian year 59, A. D. 14. Therefore the fifteenth of Tiberius began the 19th Aug. A. U. 781, A. D. 28. Herod died[a] before the passover in A. U. 750, Jul. year 42, or else before the passover in A. U. 751, Jul. year 43. If then John the Baptist began to preach in the beginning of the fifteenth of Tiberius, in the latter end of A. U. 781, and Jesus be supposed to have been baptized by John a few months after, on the 6th of January of the year following, viz. A. U. 782, Jesus must have been in the 32d year of his life, if Herod died in the spring, A. U. 751, and if Jesus was born the 25th Decemb. preceding, viz. A. U. 750. But if Herod died, A. U. 750, and Jesus was born the 25th Decemb. before, viz. A. U. 749, then he would be at his baptism in the 33d year of his age.

But it may be made appear several ways, that Jesus was born above a year, probably above two years before Herod died.

1. This may be inferred from the evangelists themselves. For it is very probable, that Herod lived a year or more after the murder of the infants. The wise men having worshipped Jesus, when they were departed, Matt. ii. 13, 14, "Behold, the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream, saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, *and be thou there until I bring thee word:* for Herod will seek the young child to destroy him. When he arose, he took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt. And was there *until the death of Herod.*" The direction given to Joseph by the angel, may afford ground to suppose, that Joseph was to make some stay in Egypt, at least some months, or more than a few weeks or days: which, from what follows, appears to have been "till the death of Herod."

Moreover, St. Matthew says, ch. ii. 19, 20, that "when Herod was dead, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream in Egypt, saying, Arise, take the young child and his mother, and go into the land of Israel: *for they are dead which sought the young child's life.*"

It being known from Josephus, that Antipater died but five days before his father Herod, it may be inferred from the use of the plural number, that Antipater is meant by the angel as well as Herod, and that he had been concerned in the design to put Jesus to death, and that his cruel intentions were one cause of Joseph's removal out of Judea into Egypt. But Antipater could have no influence on his father's counsels for ten months or more before Herod died, as will appear presently: therefore the murder of the infants happened, most probably, a year before the death of Herod.

It may likewise be concluded from St. Matthew's account, that Jesus was born near two years before the murder of the infants. For thus he says, ch. iii. 1, 2, "Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, saying, Where is he that is born king of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him." Ver. 7. "Then Herod, when he privily called the wise men, inquired of them diligently, what time the star appeared."

The wise men having been to worship the child, and departing into their own country without coming back to Jerusalem, Ver. 16, "Then Herod, when he saw he was mocked of the wise men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently inquired of the wise men."

Jesus was born before the wise men came, for their question was, "Where is he that is born?" They knew he was born, because they had seen his star in the east. Herod inquired what time the star appeared, and slew all the children from two years and under, according to that time. Therefore the star had appeared two years before, and Jesus was born at or near that time.

Nor can the supposed distance between the appearing of the star, and the arrival of the wise men, weaken this calculation. There might be many reasons to hinder their undertaking the journey immediately: possibly, they apprehended no necessity of setting out sooner. For allowing the truth of the fact, that they had seen a star, by which they understood the birth of a king in Judea, they could not well make any doubt of his living, or of their having an opportunity to worship him, though they delayed a year or two. But, whatever were the reasons of their delay, we have no right to depart from the words of St. Matthew; who in

[a] See the Appendix.

timates very plainly, that it was two years from the appearing of the star, to the time in which Herod ordered the children to be slain.

Add these two years to the forementioned year, which Herod lived after the slaughter of the children, and it will appear, that according to St. Matthew, Jesus was born three years before Herod's death.

2. It may be proved from Tertullian, that Jesus was born above two years before the death of Herod: for he says, that the census or tax made in Judea, at the time of which Jesus was born, was made[a] by Sentius Saturninus. But Josephus assures us, that Quintilius Varus was come into Syria as successor to Saturninus, before[b] the death of Herod. It may not be easy to determine exactly from Josephus the time of Varus's arrival in Syria: but there are in being some ancient coins[c] or medals of the city of Antioch, the capital of that province, that demonstrate the time of his government. One of these coins has on the reverse a figure representing the city of Antioch, and the name of Varus with a date in Greek numerals, xxv. And there are others with the same figure and inscription, with the numerals xxvi. xxvii. The first of these coins assures us, that Varus was in Syria before September, A. U. 748. For the æra which the Antiochians used at that time was that of the Actiac victory, which was obtained A. U. 723.[d] The 25th year of this æra ended the second of Sept. A. U. 748. It is therefore manifest, that Jesus was born before September in that year, if Saturninus made the census of which St. Luke speaks, or if it was made in his time: and if it be supposed, that Jesus was born on the 25th of December, then his nativity must necessarily be placed as far back as the 25th Decemb. A. U. 747.

3. I expect likewise to be here reminded of some things advanced by me in the first chapter of this book; and that it will be urged; If the oath which Josephus says was taken by all the Jews to Augustus and Herod, relating to the census or enrolment which St. Luke speaks of, then Jesus must have been born three years before the death of Herod.

Possibly the objection may be stated in this manner:

It cannot be less than ten months from the commencement of the inquiries made by Herod into the cause of Pheroras's death, and the crimes of Antipater, to the death of Herod. When the first discoveries were made Antipater was at Rome: Herod sent for him in a very pressing but kind manner, dissembling all suspicions concerning him, that he might not delay to return to Judea. Josephus says, that when Antipater returned, he knew nothing of the accusations which had been brought against him, though[e] seven months had then passed from the first discovery of his crimes. In a day or two after Antipater's return to Judea, Herod calls a council in which[f] he himself and Varus, governor of Syria, presided. Antipater is brought before them, convicted, and remanded to prison. But Herod not daring to pronounce sentence on Antipater without leave from Augustus, expresses were sent to Rome with an account of what had passed. After that these messengers were sent away from Judea, a letter was intercepted, which was written to Antipater by Acme a Jewish woman at Rome, in the service of the empress Livia, in which letter were fresh proofs of Antipater's designs. Hereupon Herod sent away fresh dispatches to Rome. These return to Judea, and bring word, that Acme had been put to death by Augustus, and that the emperor left it to Herod to do with Antipater as he thought fit. Soon after this Antipater was put to death, and in five days after Herod died.[g]

As there was a second embassy sent to Rome after the trial of Antipater, and this returned before Herod died, with an account that Acme had been put to death, upon informations they had carried with them to Rome; it is impossible to assign less than three months for the interval between the arrival of Antipater in Judea, and Herod's death, which added to the former seven make ten months.

It being supposed in the first chapter, that the execution which Herod made in his own

[a] Adv. Marc. lib. iv. cap. 19. See above, p. 178.

[b] Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 5. sect. 2. & alibi. [c] Scripsit ad me Card. Norisius, extare in scrinio illustrissimi Marchionis Riccardi nummum minimæ magnitudinis caput Jovis in anticâ repræsentantem, in cujus posticâ habetur, ΕΠΙ ΟΥΑΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ, mulier sedens pede super figuram Orontis fluminis, tenens dextrâ palmam: & in medio ΕΚ. id est, Anno xxv. Pagi Appar. ad Bar. n. 136. vid. omnino. Noris. Epoch. Syromaced. Dissert. 3. c. 7. & Memoires de l' Académie des Inscrip. Tom. 4. p. 181. ed. Amst. [d] Allix supposes, that the Antiochian æra of the Actiac victory does not begin till A. U. 724. Vid. Dissert. de J. C. Anno & Mense natali, p. 102. It is not my business to enter into dispute upon this head: the other opinion seems to me most probable. Vid. Noris. ubi supra. Pagi Apparat. n. 103, 104. [e] Και τοι μεταξυ των ελεγχων και της επανοδε διελθοντων επτα μηνων. De Bell. Lib. i. c. 31. p. 1034. v. 27. [f] Ibid. cap. 32.

[g] Vid. Jos. de Bell. l. i. c. 30—33. Ant. l. xvii. c. 3—8.

family, happened at the same time with the slaughter of the children at Bethlehem; it must next be considered, how long time that execution preceded the first inquiries into Antipater's designs. The facts mentioned by Josephus in this interval stand thus.

Herod having put to death several of his courtiers and servants, calls his friends together, charges Pheroras's wife with creating disturbances, and insists upon it that Pheroras put her away. Pheroras loving his wife too well to comply with this demand, the two brothers fall out. Pheroras leaves Herod, and goes to his tetrarchy, withal swearing solemnly never to come to Herod more. About this time, as it seems, Antipater, with his father's consent, left Judea and went to Rome. Soon after Pheroras was gone home, Herod fell sick; but though Herod sent for Pheroras, he would not come to him. Not long after, Pheroras is sick; Herod goes to see him, they are reconciled, Pheroras dies. Herod has him brought to Jerusalem and buried there.[a]

When Pheroras was buried, some of his servants made applications to Herod, desiring him to inquire into the manner and causes of Pheroras's death. These inquiries open a horrid scene of wickedness. And it appears, that a conspiracy had been formed by Antipater to poison his father Herod; and that he had committed the execution of this design to Pheroras, and servants of his own, whom he had left behind him when he went to Rome, and who were to obey Pheroras's directions.[b]

It will not be easy to allot less than three months for the facts just now mentioned, in the interval between the execution in Herod's family, and the first inquiries into the cause of Pheroras's death. Three months added to the former ten make thirteen.

The execution spoken of by Josephus, and the slaughter of the children mentioned by St. Matthew, being allowed to have happened both at the same time, the interval between the birth of Jesus and this execution is already computed. It cannot be less than a year and nine or ten months, that is, near two years; consequently, we have a fresh argument that Jesus was born three years before the death of Herod: but how inconsistent this is with Jesus being "about thirty years of age" in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, appears from what has been said already.

Having now stated these objections, and given them their full force, as I imagine; before I proceed to offer a reply, I would make two or three reflections upon some particulars contained in them.

I do allow that it appears to me highly probable, that Herod did live a year at least after the slaughter of the infants.

But as for Tertullian's testimony, that the tax in Judea was made by Saturninus, I think it is not of much weight; since he is the only person that has said this, and he flourished not till about two hundred years after the event. Besides, though Tertullian was well skilled in the Roman laws and customs, he has committed many gross blunders in history. The reader may see several of them collected by[c] Dodwell in his Dissertations upon Irenæus. One of them is the computation Tertullian has made of the time, from the nativity of Jesus to the taking of Jerusalem[d] by Vespasian; which, according to him, was not full fifty-three years. And in reckoning up the reigns of the several emperors he has quite omitted that of Claudius, and allotted not quite ten years to the reign of Nero. He, who could make such mistakes in the history of the Roman emperors, might very easily be ignorant who was president of Syria at the time of our Saviour's nativity.

Nor am I satisfied with the proofs offered in these objections, that Jesus was born two years before the slaughter of the children at Bethlehem. Whitby[e] questions whether απο διετους και κατωτερω should not be rendered from "one year old" and under, rather than from "two years old" and under. But let διετης signify two years, yet I think no conclusion can be made about the precise time of the birth of Jesus from Herod's orders. It is most likely, that this star appeared some time before the birth of Jesus, and that it was understood by the wise men to presignify it. Hereby they were prepared for their journey, and it is highly probable, that these wise men came into Judea to worship this King, as soon as they could, after they concluded he was born, and that they arrived at Jerusalem in a very few months after his birth. But since their inquiry was, "Where is he that *is born* King of the Jews?" Herod, whose cruelty had in a manner no bounds, orders all children near Bethlehem to be slain who had been born since the

[a] Joseph. de Bell. l. i. cap. 29. sect. 4. Ant. l. xvii. cap. 3. [b] De Bell. ibid. cap. 30. Ant. ibid. 4.
[c] Dissert. iii. sect. 13. [d] Vid. Tertul. advers. Jud. cap. 8. [e] Matt. ii. 16.

appearing of the star; or perhaps even for some space [a] before the time, at which, after an exact inquiry of the wise men, he perceived it had appeared.

As there appears not any proof from St. Matthew, that Jesus was born two years, or near two years before the slaughter of the infants; so, I think also, that there are no proofs in Josephus that the oath taken by the Jews had preceded two years, or near two years, the execution made in Herod's court The oath and the execution are related by Josephus both together. The reader is referred to that passage, as also to the charge brought against Pheroras's wife immediately after that execution was over: among other things in the charge Herod says,—'That she did all she could to create a difference between him and his brother; that the 'fine imposed upon the pharisees had been evaded by her means; and that in the present affair 'nothing had been done without her.' This present affair I suppose to relate to the predictions given out by the pharisees, that God would take away the kingdom from Herod and his children. The payment of the fine is the last crime she is charged with before this affair, which had preceded the execution; it certainly therefore is not a crime of two years' standing. Herod, in so long a time, might have found out some new fault in a woman he was so much offended with. We may be pretty well assured from this account, if I mistake not, that this oath had preceded the said execution and predictions but some few months only.

Supposing then the execution to be truly dated in the objection, at about thirteen months before the death of Herod, we may infer, that the oath in Josephus, and the description in St. Luke was made, and that Jesus was born about a year and six or seven months before Herod's death.

If indeed Antipater had been at Rome two years before he was recalled by his father, as some learned men have thought, then this execution must have been made above thirteen months before Herod's death; because it is likely, or rather certain, that Antipater was in Judea at the time of that execution. But I think it is a mistake to suppose he had been so long out of Judea. Antipater staid some time in Judea after his brothers Alexander and Aristobulus were [b] dead; and took a great deal of pains to defeat and set aside the advantageous marriages, which Herod designed for their children: he also entered into cabals with Pheroras and his wife, in order to secure the succession for himself: moreover, Saturninus was got to Rome a good while before Antipater went from home. Josephus says in his Antiquities, that Antipater having resolved, if possible, to hasten his father's death, and being desirous to strengthen and secure his own interest, that he might reign after him; 'He remitted large sums 'of money to his father's friends at Rome, that he might gain their good will, but especially 'that he might have the favour of Saturninus the governor of Syria.' [c] Saturninus is not here called governor of Syria, because he was then actually in that post, for he is manifestly at Rome, but to distinguish him from others of that name, of which there were many. And it appears from the parallel place in the War of the Jews, that one favour which Antipater desired of these persons at Rome, who had influence on his father, was, that they would write to Herod that his [Antipater's] presence at Rome would be serviceable to him in the present posture of affairs. Antipater had now settled all things with Pheroras for the poisoning of Herod, as soon as an opportunity offered: but Antipater, so long as he staid in Judea, could not forbear conversing with Pheroras and his wife, which was extremely disagreeable to Herod. 'There- 'fore Antipater [d] contrived, by the interest of friends at Rome, to procure leave for a voyage 'thither. These writing, that it would be very proper for Antipater to be sent to Cæsar with- 'out delay; he [Herod] immediately sent him thither, having furnished him with a sumptu- 'ous equipage and large sums of money, giving him also his will to carry with him to the 'emperor.'

It is true, that after Antipater's journey to Rome, mention is made of Saturnius as in Syria; but then it is, because Josephus relates a fact, that had happened before Antipater went from Judea. Josephus giving an account of what Antipater did at Rome, mentions [x] some accom-

[a] Neque vero sequitur, si Herodes, omni modo cavens ne puer elaberetur, latius sævitiam extendit, non minus in ætate quam loci ratione, ideo stellam quoque tanto ante apparuisse. Grot. ad Matt. ii. 1. [b] Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. [illegible]

[c] Και μαλιστα τες επι Ρωμης φιλες ΠΟΜΠΑΙΣ μεγαλων δωρεων ευθυς καθιστα μενος, προ παντων δε Σατορνινον, τον της Συριας επιμελητην· ibid. p. 750. v. 10. [d] Προσμαλευεται, δια των επι της Ιταλιας φιλων, την εις Ρωμην αποδημιαν αυτω· γραψαντων γαρ εκεινων, δειν Αντιπατρον πεμφθηναι δια χρονε προς Καισαρα, ὁ δε ει μελλησας εξεπεμψε, κ. λ. de Bell. I. i. c. 29. sect. 2. [x] De B. Ibid. sect. 3. Ant. l. xvii. c. 3. sect. 2.

plices of Syllæus sent thither by Saturninus to answer for themselves. But this might have been done by Saturninus some time before.

Again, if Antipater had been two years out of Judea, Herod, who wanted plausible reasons to induce him to return, could not have failed to have put this, of his long absence, into his letters, as a very cogent and unexceptionable argument, which yet he does not appear [a] to have done.

It may be further argued, that Antipater's journey to Rome did not precede the death of Herod two years. The very commencement of the inquiries into the death of Pheroras, could not be above ten months before the death of Herod, as has been shewn already. A great progress had been made in those examinations; Doris, Antipater's mother, had been detected and put out of [c] Herod's house; Mariamne the high priest's daughter [b] was also put away, and her son struck out of a new will Herod had made. 'When these things were doing,' says Josephus, 'Bathyllus, Antipater's freedman, arrived from Rome, and being put to the question, was 'discovered to have brought with him a fresh quantity of poison to be given to his [Antipater's] 'mother and Pheroras, and that if the former had failed to dispatch the king, they might try [d] 'this upon him.' Before Antipater had gone to Rome, he had provided [e] poison for Pheroras to give his father. It is is plain, that when Bathyllus was sent from Rome, Antipater did not know whether Pheroras had made any use of the first poison or not, and that he had still a full confidence in him: but if Antipater had been gone from Judea two years, and had heard nothing of the effect of that poison, such a delay would have created suspicions. Moreover, this second preparation appears to be sent to back the former; so that we may be assured, we are to go backward, not years, but only some months, for the true time of Antipater's leaving Judea.

Once more, the first opening of the enquiries into the causes of Pheroras's death has been laid at about ten months before the death of Herod. That Antipater was then but newly set out out for Rome, may be inferred from hence. Pheroras being dead, Herod had him brought to Jerusalem, honoured him with a funeral, and made great lamentations for him. 'This,' says Josephus, 'was the beginning of sorrow to Antipater, though [f] he was then sailed to Rome, 'God requiring of him the blood of his brothers. I shall give a particular relation of this whole 'affair, that it may be an admonition to all mankind to adhere to the practice of virtue.' If Antipater had been then any long time out of Judea, Josephus would have said, though he was then at Rome, or though he had been some time there. It is possible, Antipater might have been gone from home a month or two; but the phrase here used by Josephus seems to me to import, that there were not yet come to Jerusalem any tidings of Antipater's arrival at Rome.

I hope it will be excused, that I have insisted so long upon this point. The supposition, that Antipater was gone to Rome before the removal of Saturninus, and two years or more before the death of Herod, has caused much confusion in the chronology of many learned men about this time.

There is in Josephus another passage, not yet observed by any one upon this occasion, that I know of, which may help to determine the time of the execution made by Herod in his court and at Jerusalem, and which will confirm my opinion about it. Josephus, having given the history of Herod's putting to death his two sons Alexander and Aristobulus, makes divers reflections upon that action. 'It might have been sufficient,' says he,[g] 'even supposing them 'guilty of the crimes laid to their charge, to have condemned them to perpetual imprisonment, 'or to have banished them, but to take away their lives was a piece of downright cruelty. 'Nordoes the delay extenuate the crime; for after deliberation, having been resolved at one 'time and in suspense at another, to commit such a fact, is an argument of a cruel disposi- 'tion, and of a mind obstinately bent upon wickedness: which same temper he shewed after- 'wards upon another occasion, when he spared not others [or the rest,] persons who seemed to 'be the most dear to him of any. The justice of their punishment abates our compassion for

[a] See the substance of these letters. De B. l. i. c. 31. sect. 3. Ant. l. xvii. c. 5. sect. 1. [b] Ant. l. xvii. c. 4. sect. 2. [c] Ibid. [d] Εν τελῳ δε και Βαθυλλος εκ Ρωμης απελευθερος Ανλιπατρα παρην, και βασανισθεις εὑρισκεῖαι φαρμακον κομιζων, δωσειν τῃ τε αυλε μητρι και Φερωρα ὡς ει το προτερον μη απτοιτο τε βασιλεως, τελῳ γαν μελαχειριζοινῖον αυτον. Ibid. sect. 3. De B. c. 31. sect. 1. [e] Antiq. ib. sect. 3. De Bell. ibid. c. 30. sect. 5. [f] Και πενθος μεγα επ' αυτῳ προεβελο· τελο Ανλιπατρος καιτοιγε επι Ρωμης πεπλευκοτι κακων εξενεγκε αρχη, της αδελφοκτονιας αυτον τινυμενε τε Θεε. κ. λ. Antiq. l. xvii. c. 3. sect. 3. [g] Εν επιτασει δε, και πολλακις μεν ορμηθεντα πολλακις δε μελλησαντα, το τελευταιον δε ὑποπτηναι και διαπραξασθαι, φονωσης και δυσμελαγκολιε ψυχης απο των χειρονων· εθηλωσε δε και τοις αυτις εκ αποσχομενος εδε των περιλοιπων ὁσες εδοκει φιλταιες, εφ' οις το μεν δικαιον ελαττον εποιει συμπαθεισθαι τες απολλυμενες, το δε ωμον ὁμοιον ην, τῳ μηδε εκεινων φεισαμενῳ· δειξιμεν δε περ ναυτων εξης αφηγεμενοι. Ant. l. xvi. c. ult. ad fin.

'their ruin, but yet his cruelty was alike here also, in that he spared not even them. But of 'these more in course by and by.'

This last piece of cruelty, I take to mean the execution made by Herod in his court, and which Josephus relates afterwards in the next book of these Antiquities. It cannot refer to the death of Antipater, because he is but one; nor to the design upon the chief men of Judea shut up in the Circus, because they had committed no offence, and that design was never executed; nor to the rabbies, because they do not appear to have ever been dear to Herod: but it must be the before-mentioned execution, of which I hope the reader has a clear idea. Then Herod put to death all of his own family, that adhered to the things said by the pharisees, and other persons, who appear to have been favourites with him. And it is observable, that as in that account Josephus is pleased to divert himself with those executions; so here also, even when he is aggravating the cruelty of Herod, he betrays the same good will toward those who then suffered under the rage of this inhuman tyrant.

It would be desirable here to settle exactly the time when these two sons of Herod were put to death. Allix[a] places the council of Berytus, before which they were tried, and by which they were condemned, in the month of May, A. U. 749, about ten months before Herod died. But if Herod died in the spring, A. U. 750, as Allix supposes, this council is certainly placed by him too late. It is evident, from particulars insisted on in the objection, and since allowed, or mentioned by me, that it must have preceded the death of Herod above ten months. Moreover, Saturninus was one of this council, and if the first medal and the epoch above mentioned be allowed, Saturninus was gone from Syria before Sept. 748. It may be however supposed, I think, that this council was not held long before the removal of Saturninus: and it is certain from the passage just transcribed, that the execution of the pharisees and others at Jerusalem, happened some considerable time after the death of Alexander and Aristobulus.

If any should object, that according to the account I have given of the oath or enrolment, that it was owing to the displeasure of Augustus against Herod; it cannot be placed so near the end of Herod's reign as I here suppose, but must have happened a considerable time before the removal of Saturninus; because Augustus appears to have been reconciled to Herod before Saturninus left the province, and before the council at Berytus, in which Alexander and Aristobulus were condemned: I answer, that the enrolment is not placed by me too late at all. It might be resolved upon by Augustus before, and yet not be executed till after Saturninus went away. And though Augustus might be in some measure pacified, yet he might think fit to have the assessment made. Besides, though Josephus says, that upon the applications which Nicolas of Damascus had made to Augustus at Rome, the emperor was reconciled to Herod; that Syllæus was ordered home, required to pay the money he owed, and give all proper satisfaction, and was[b] afterwards to be punished: yet it is certain, that Syllæus did not give Herod, or any one else, satisfaction. And it may be from thence inferred, that Herod was not fully reinstated in Augustus's favour, for then Syllæus would have been more submissive. Josephus, relating Antipater's voyage to Rome, of which we have made frequent mention, says: 'Syllæus 'the Arabian[c] also went thither at the same time, not having performed any of those things which 'Cæsar enjoined: and Antipater accused him to Cæsar upon the same heads he had been before 'accused of by Nicolas.' From what has been said concerning the time of Antipater's journey, it appears, that this accusation must have been brought against Syllæus in the last year of Herod's life.

It is evident, that Herod's affairs were not in a good posture at this time at Rome: if they had, Antipater could not have made the state of them, and the service he might do his father there, a pretence for his journey. Moreover, Antipater[d] charged Herod with a sum of two hundred talents, laid out chiefly, as he pretended, in the cause against Syllæus, his father's great enemy. From all which it is reasonable to conclude, that Nicolas had, in his history, out of regard to his master and himself, magnified the success of his negociations at Rome. Nor can it be justly expected from an historian, that when he comes down to the affairs of his own time, he should be perfectly indifferent toward those in which he acted a part himself.

[a] —Conventum Berytensem, qui habitus est in causâ Alexandri & Aristobuli Maio mense, A. U. 749. ibid. p. 18. vid. etiam, p. 13 & alibi.

[b] Και περας εις τουτο κατεστη Καισαρ, ὡς τε μεν Συλλαιου καταγνωναι θανατον, Ηρωδη δε διαλλαττεσθαι.—το δε συμπαν, ὁ μεν Συλλαιος ανεπεμπετο, τας δικας και τα χρεα τοις δεδανεικοσιν αποδωσων, ειτα οὑτω κολασθησομενος. Ant. l. xvi. c. x. sect. 9.

[c] Συνεξορμα δε Αντιπατρῳ και Συλλαιος ὁ Αραψ, μηδεν ὡν προσεταξε Καισαρ διαπεπραγμενος· και Αντιπατρος αυτου κατηγορει επι Καισαρος, περι ὡν προτερον Νικολαος Ib. l. xvii. c. 3. sect. 2.

[d] Διακοσια γουν αναλωματος ανηνεγκε ταλαντα, και τουτων μεγιστη προφασις ην ἡ προς Συλλαιον δικη· De B. l. i. c. 31. sect. 2.

Having now cleared the way, I would lay down two or three conclusions.

1 I apprehend it appears from what has been here offered, that there is no necessity of placing the birth of Jesus above a year and six months before the death of Herod. If Herod died in March, A. U. 750, I should be inclined to place the nativity of Jesus in September or October, A. U. 748: if Herod died in March 751, then the nativity of Jesus might very well be placed in September or October 749. As I am not able fully to determine the time of Herod's death, I shall for the future have some regard to both these dates of our Saviour's nativity.

2. The account that has been given above of the time of Saturninus's removal, and Varus's arrival in the province of Syria, does also incline us to one of these dates. It is not improbable, that the oath was taken, or the assessment made much about the same time that Varus came into Syria. And it is supposed by many learned men, that the Roman governors usually came from Rome into these eastern provinces at the latter end of the summer. It is certain, that upon the removal of Archelaus, when Cyrenius came governor into Syria, there was an assessment made in Syria and Judea. I am the rather inclined to think this the time of the oath, because Josephus in his history does not relate when it was taken, but mentions it only upon occasion of a disturbance at Jerusalem, which had a connexion with it. And it is observable, that he has said nothing of Varus, nor of the concerns of Syria, till we hear of Varus being at Jerusalem when Antipater returned home; but, if those medals are to be relied on, Varus had now been a good while in Syria. There is therefore in Josephus a long gap in the concerns of Syria, and also in the public concerns of Judea, from the council at Berytus to the execution at Jerusalem: during this time of Josephus's silence, I suppose the assessment was made. According to the first of the Antiochian medals, Varus came into Syria before Sept. 748; if this be supposed the most likely date of his government, and if it be also most probable that Herod died A. U. 750, these may strongly dispose us to place the nativity of Jesus in September or October 748.

3. The latter part of the summer, or the autumn season, seems to be the most likely time of the year for the birth of Jesus; there is no particular reason to determine us to the 25th of December. The very depth of winter is not a very proper season for a survey and assessment, when people are to enter themselves according to their tribes or families: the autumn, when harvest and vintage are over, is a time of general leisure. When Jesus was born at Bethlehem, "there were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flocks by night," Luke ii 8. In some very mild climates sheep may be abroad in the night time in December; but it is not very likely, they should be so in those countries where they must be attended by shepherds: this circumstance is not very favourable to the supposition, that Jesus was born the 25th of December, and we are at liberty to place it in autumn, a more likely season.

It is not improbable then, that Jesus might be born some time between the middle of August and the middle of November. Cyrenius, we may suppose, came into Judea at the time, or soon after the time, that Varus came governor into Syria, and published the decree of Augustus, requiring all people to enter themselves, their dependents, and estates. Judea was a country of a narrow compass, and the assessment might very well be made in two or three months. Cyrenius coming into the country, and being a man of dispatch in all his undertakings; being desirous also to hasten to Rome to receive the honours decreed him for the victory over the Homonadenses; being also concerned to set sail before the bad weather came on, he appointed all people to enrol themselves with all expedition within a certain limited time, which they did accordingly, ver. 3, "And all went to be taxed every one in his own city." The short time appointed for this work may be fairly concluded from St. Luke's history of it. If the space of time allotted for it had been of any considerable length, it cannot be thought but that Joseph would have taken an opportunity to go to Bethlehem some while before the time of the virgin's delivery, or else have deferred the journey till that was over. There is not the least hint, that this journey was taken just at this season, in obedience to a divine admonition; it is given us as the pure result of obedience to this decree of Augustus.

We will now lay together a few events of this time, in the order in which it may be supposed they happened.

About a year and six or seven months before the death of Herod, soon after the arrival of

Varus in the province of Syria, in August or September, A. U. 748, or 749, Julian year 40, or 41, Cyrenius [or some other person of eminence] came into Judea, an assessment was made there, and in the time of it, Jesus was born at Bethlehem, in the month of September or October. After the term of forty days was expired, Jesus was presented in the temple at Jerusalem, and Mary made her offering according to the law. When these things were finished, they went from Jerusalem, and dwelt in some city of Judea, possibly at Bethlehem. In the year following, viz. A. U. 749, or 750, about the beginning of February, came "wise men from the east to Jerusalem, saying, Where is he that is born king of the Jews?" they being guided by the star, which they "had seen in the east, went and worshipped him." After their departure, the virgin and the child Jesus being now fit for travelling, Joseph was admonished by "an angel, to take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt;" which he did. Herod soon perceiving from the wise men's not returning to him, that he had been mocked by them, and being much enraged thereat, "sent forth and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the wise men." He also put to death at the same time divers pharisees, and other persons at Jerusalem, some of his own family and attendants; who, being before in expectation of the coming of a great prince, who was to rise up from among them, and by the arrival of the wise men had been confirmed in the belief that this event was now at hand, expressed themselves in terms, which Herod and his son Antipater and their flatterers termed seditious. Immediately after these executions, Pheroras's wife was called to an account also, as being supposed to have entertained the same principles with these pharisees; to whom she had lately shewn great favour, in paying the fine imposed upon them for not entering themselves, nor taking the appointed oath in the time of the fore-mentioned assessment. Pheroras not submitting to the orders given him by Herod in council to put away his wife, Herod and Pheroras fell out: hereupon, in the latter end of February, or beginning of March, the same year, Pheroras retires with his wife to his tetrarchy. And Antipater having before this, by various practices, and particularly by [a] letters procured from Rome, disposed his father to consent to his making a journey into Italy; and supposing, that by the execution now just over, all turbulent spirits had been awed, and that peace and quiet might ensue, set sail for Rome. In the latter end of April, or the beginning of May following, Pheroras dies, is brought to Jerusalem and buried: no sooner is the mourning for him over, but his servants apply to Herod to make inquiry into the causes of his death; and now in the middle of May, or soon after, the examnations into this matter began: and though Antipater was sailed from Judea for Rome, and got at a distance from the place in which justice ought to be executed on him, and therefore, according to the ordinary course of things, it might have been supposed he was in safety; yet from this time the divine vengeance began to prepare itself against him, till at last it fell upon him for all his horrid crimes. The evidence was at first obscure and imperfect, but opened continually more and more: Herod, in his letters to Antipater, dissembled his resentments, but earnestly pressed his return to Judea. About the middle of December, seven months after the first inquiry into the cause of Pheroras's death, Antipater arrived at Jerusalem: and is tried before Herod, and Varus president of Syria, and condemned to death. Herod however not daring to proceed to execute the sentence without express leave from Augustus, sent ambassadors to Rome with a full account of what had passed; and soon after a second embassy, new evidence having been found after the departure of the former. These last ambassadors return to Judea, with full power from Augustus, about the middle of March, A. U. 750, or 751; soon after which Antipater was executed, and in five days after Herod himself died, about a year and five or six months after the birth of Jesus.

Upon the whole, I presume it appears, we lie under no necessity of dating the birth of Jesus before the latter end of the year of Rome 748, or 749. We hereby in part abate the objection, as stated above; but still we have before us undoubtedly a very great difficulty: we will now inquire, what can be said to it.

II. 1. When St. Luke says, "Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius,—the

[a] The account of Antipater's sending letters and presents to Rome is Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 1. sect. 1. of Herod's last quarrel with Pheroras, his forbidding Antipater to converse with Pheroras, or his wife; of Antipater's journey to Rome, and Pheroras's retirement, is ibid. c. 3. In the War, [lib. i. c. 29. sect. 2] Antipater's letters to Rome, and his journey, are mentioned together: but as his journey is here also represented, as the effect of advice brought from Rome, it is supposed that these letters were sent by him some time before. And Pheroras's retirement is the thing next mentioned.

word of God came unto John;" he may intend some computation of the reign of Tiberius, different from that of his sole empire after the death of Augustus. It is no unusual thing, for the reigns of princes to be computed from several dates. There were two computations of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. For, as Prideaux observes, 'Nabopollaser, king of Babylon, being 'old and infirm, took his son Nebuchadnezzar into partnership in the empire, and sent him 'with an army into those parts [Syria and Palestine]. And from hence the Jewish computa-'tion of the years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign begins.—But according to the Babylonians, his 'reign is not reckoned to begin till after his father's death, which happened two years after-'wards. And both computations being found in scripture, it is necessary to say so much here 'for the reconciling of them.'[a] And there were two or three ways of computing the reign of [b] Cyrus.

But to come nearer to our time; there were many computations of the reign of [c] Augustus. Some computed the beginning of his reign from the year in which Julius Cæsar was killed; as [d] Josephus, who says, Augustus reigned fifty-seven years six months and odd days. Some from the year after, and reckoned his reign fifty-six years; others computed from the year in which the victory was obtained at [e] Actium, and say, he reigned forty-four years; others from the year after; as Ptolemy in his canon, and St. Clement [f] of Alexandria, and give him only forty-three years. And Herod reigned thirty-four years from the death of Antigonus, thirty-seven from the time he was declared king of Judea by the [g] Roman senate.

2. There seems to be very good reason to conclude, from divers passages of the Roman historians, and the most ancient christian writers, that there were two different computations of the beginning of Tiberius's reign; one from the time he was made colleague with Augustus, and the other from his sole empire after the death of Augustus.

Several very learned men and very eminent chronologers [h] are of opinion, that St. Luke intends the former of these two computations. I shall give a brief account of the grounds there are for this supposition, taken chiefly from Pagi; who appears to have bestowed a great deal of pains upon this argument, and must be allowed to have treated it with great accuracy and judgment.

(1.) That Augustus did in part lay aside government some time before he died, may be inferred from the words of an uncertain author of a panegyric, in which, in the name of the city of Rome, he dissuades Maximianus Herculeus from resigning the empire. 'Is it fit,' says he, 'that you should now give yourself a discharge, and do that so soon, which Augustus did not 'do till after the seventieth year of his age, and the fiftieth of [i] his reign?'

(2.) Several of the Roman historians have expressly mentioned Tiberius's being taken into partnership in the government with Augustus.

Velleius Paterculus, who lived in the reigns of these two emperors; says, 'that at the 'desire of Augustus there was a law passed by the senate and people of Rome, that Tiberius 'might have equal power with him in all the provinces and [k] armies.' Suetonius says; 'There 'was a law made, that Tiberius should govern the provinces jointly with Augustus, and make 'the census with [l] him.' Tacitus says; 'That Tiberius was made colleague in the empire '(with Augustus), taken into partnership in the tribunician power, and recommended [m] to all

[a] Conn. Part i. p. 60. [b] Marshall's Treatise of the 70 Weeks. p. 44. [c] Vid. Petav. Rationarium Temp. Par. 2. l. 3. c. 15. Pagi. Appar. n. 66—73, 103, 114.

[d] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 2. sect. 2. De Bell. l. ii. c. 9. sect. 1.

[e] Atque ab eo tempore exercitibus comparatis, primum cum M. Antonio. Marcoque Lepido, dein tantum cum Antonio per duodecim fere annos, novissime per quatuor & quadraginta solus rempublicam tenuit. Sueton. in August. c. 8. vid. Dio. l. li.

[f] Strom. p. 339. A. Edit. Paris.

[g] Joseph de B. l. i. c. ult. sect. 8. Antiq. l. xvii. c. 8. sect. 1.

[h] Herwaertus in nova & vera chronologia c. 248. Usser. Ann. A. M. 4015. Joann. Cleric. Dissertatio de Ann. vitæ Christi. Prideaux Conn. Part ii. Book ix. A. D. xii. Pagi Critic. in Baron. A. Chr. 11. 71. 117. 147.

[i] Quo usque hoc, Maximiane, patiar, me quati, te quiescere, mihi libertatem adimi, te usurpare tibi illicitam missionem? An quod Divo Augusto post septuaginta ætatis, quinquaginta imperii, non licuit annos, tam cito licuit tibi? Panegyr. cap. 11. laudat. a Pagio. Critic. A. Ch. 11. n. iii.

[k] Cum res Galliarum maximæ molis, accensasque plebis Viennensium dissensiones, coërcitione magis quam pœnâ mollisset, & Senatus Populusque Rom. (postulante patre ejus) ut æquum ei jus in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque esset, quam erat ipsi, decreto complexus esset—in urbem reversus, jampridem debitum, sed continuatione bellorum dilatum, ex Pannoniis Dalmatiisque egit triumphum. Vellei. lib. ii. c. 121.

[l] A Germaniâ in urbem post biennium regressus, triumphum, quem distulerat, egit.——Dedicavit & Concordiæ ædem: item Pollucis & Castoris, suo fratrisque nomine, de manubiis. Ac non multo post, lege per Coss. latâ, ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, simulque censum ageret, condito lustro in Illyricum profectus est. Suet. in Tiber. cap. 20, 21.

[m] Drusoque pridem extincto, Nero solus e privignis erat: illic cuncta vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors tribunitiæ potestatis adsumitur, omnisque per exercitus ostentatur. Tacit. An. lib. i. cap. 3.

'the armies.' And there are in this last mentioned [a] historian frequent references to Tiberius's partnership in the empire with Augustus.

I must be allowed to be particular in the account of some things said by Dio. In his history of the affairs, A. U. 765. A. D. 12. he says: 'Augustus [b] now advanced in years, 'recommended in a writing Germanicus to the senate, and the senate to Tiberius. He did not 'however read the writing himself, (not being able,) but Germanicus, as he had been wont to 'do.—But yet he did not lay aside the care of the public.'—Under the next year, A. U. 766. A. D. 13. the same historian says: 'Augustus then accepted [c] for the fifth time, though un- 'willingly, the government of the state for ten years, and renewed also the tribunician power 'to Tiberius.' He says also, 'That Augustus, [d] on account of his great age, (which like- 'wise hindered his coming to the senate, except very rarely,) desired he might have twenty 'annual counsellors —And a decree was passed, that whatever was enacted in council by him, 'together with Tiberius, and those said counsellors, and the consuls in being, and the consuls 'elect, and his grandsons adopted by him, and any others, whom he should call to his council, 'should be ratified, and deemed of the same authority, as if enacted by the authority of the 'whole senate.' This mention of Tiberius, and of him only by name, in this decree of the senate, next after Augustus, appears to me remarkable. I do not observe, that any of these passages of Dio have been quoted by Pagi; for what reason he omitted them I do not know. He has however insisted upon another passage of this historian, taken from the preceding year, A. U. 764. A. D. 11; but his argument from it seems to me to be founded upon a forced and arbitrary construction of Dio; and therefore I content myself with referring the reader for it to [e] him, and [f] Mr. Le Clerc, who also lays a stress upon it.

Once more, Dio says, 'that upon the death of Augustus, Tiberius immediately [g] sent away 'letters from Nola to the armies and all the provinces as emperor; but yet did not call himself 'so, though that, with other titles, had been given him by a decree.'

(3.) There is a particular fact related of Tiberius by several historians, said to be done by him when prince, which yet must have been done before Augustus died. Pliny says, that Tiberius was much given to drinking: 'And that it was thought, that for this reason Lucius Piso had been 'chosen by him to be præfect of Rome, because he had continued two days and two nights 'drinking with him, [h] when prince.' Suetonius says; 'That Tiberius, in his first campaigns, 'was much reflected on for his excess in drinking; and that afterwards, when prince, in the 'very time of the correction of the public manners, he spent a night and two days in eating and 'drinking with Pomponius Flaccus and Lucius Piso; to the former of which he gave imme- 'diately the province of Syria, and to the other the præfecture of the city.' [i]

It may be worth while to observe with Pagi, that these two writers, who tell us the story of this drunken bout of Tiberius, and the consequences of it, seem not to have had their accounts from one and the same source. They differ from each other in two or three particulars: one says, that this piece of excess lasted 'two days and two nights;' the other, 'one night and two 'days.' Pliny mentions only the preferment of Piso; Suetonius adds that of Flaccus also; but they both agree in saying, that Tiberius was 'then prince,' and Suetonius adds a very particular

[a] Etenim Augustus, paucis ante annis, cum Tiberio tribuniciam potestatem a *patribus rursum* postularet, &c. id. ib. c. 10. Versæ inde ad Tiberium preces. Et ille varie disserebat, de magnitudine imperii, suâ modestiâ; solam Divi Augusti mentem tantæ molis capacem: se, in *partem curarum vocatum* experiendo didicisse, quam arduum—regendi cuncta onus. Ibid. c. 11. [b] Ὁ δὲ δὴ Αὐγουστος ἐκεινον τε, ὡς καὶ ἐπι γηρως ων, τῃ βουλῃ, καὶ ταυτην τῳ Τιβεριῳ παρακαλεῖσθαι. ἀνεγνω δὲ τὸ βιβλιον ἐκ αὐτου (ἐ γαρ οἱός τε ἦν γεγωνισκειν) αλλ' ὁ Γερμανικος, ὡσπερ εἰωθει·——ἐ μεντοι καὶ τἀλλα ἠτίον τι παρα τὸ δικαιον. Dio. l. lvi. p. 587. B. C. [c] Τὴν τε προστασιαν των κοινων τὴν δεκεῖιν, τὴν πεμπτὴν ἀκων δὴ ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐλαβε, καὶ τῳ Τιβεριῳ τὴν ἐξουσιαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν αὐθις ἐδωκε. Ibid. 588. B. [d] Καὶ συμβουλους, ὑπὸ τε γηρως (ὑφ' οὑπερ ἐδὲ ἐς τὸ βουλευτηριον ἐλθειν πολλην σπανιωλαλα, συνεφοιτα) εἰκοσιν εἰησιους ἠτησατο - καὶ προσεψηφισθη, πανθ' ὁσα ἂν αὐτῳ μετα τε τῳ Τιβεριῳ καὶ μετ' ἐκεινων, τῶν τε ἀει ὑπατευοντων, καὶ των ἐς τὸ πλεῖον ἀποδεδειγμενων τῶν τε ἐγγονων αὐτῳ τῶν ποιητων δηλονοτι, τῶν τε ἀλλων ὁσους ἂν ἑκαστοτε προσπαραλαβῃ, βουλευομενῳ δοξῃ, κυρια, ὡς καὶ πασῃ τῃ γερουσια ἀρεσαντα, εἰναι. Ib. C. D. [e] A. C. 11. n. 13, 14, 15. [f] Ubi supra. [g] Τοιουτος ἐν δὴ τις ὢν, ἐς τε τα στρατοπεδα καὶ ἐς τα ἐθνη, πανταχοῖ, ὡς αὐτοκρατωρ, εὐθυς ἀπο της Νωλης ἐπεστειλε, μη λεγων αὐτοκρατωρ εἰναι· ψηφισθεν γαρ αὐτῳ καὶ μετα των ἀλλων ὀνοματων, ἐκ ἐδεξατο. Dio. l. lvii. p. 602. D. [h] Tribus congiis (unde & cognomen illi fuit,) epotis uno impetu, spectante miraculi gratiâ Tib. principe, in senectâ jam severo atque etiam sævo alias, sed ipsâ juventâ ad merum pronior fuerat: eâque commendatione credidere L. Pisonem urbis Romæ curæ ab eo delectum, quod biduo duabusque noctibus perpotationem continuâsset apud ipsum jam *principem*. Plin. Nat. Hist lib. xiv. c. 22. [i] In castris tiro etiam tum, propter nimiam vini aviditatem, pro Claudio Caldius, pro Nerone Mero vocabatur. Postea *princeps* in ipsâ publicorum morum correctione cum Pomponio Flacco & L. Pisone noctem continuumque biduum epulando potandoque consumpsit: quorum alteri Syriam provinciam, alteri præfecturam urbis confestim detulit. Suet. in Tib. cap. 42.

circumstance as to the time, that it was during the correction of the public manners; which may very naturally lead us to what he had said of the law passed, that Tiberius should govern the provinces jointly with Augustus, and make the census with him, one part of which at Rome was the correction of manners.

But we must inquire somewhat more particularly into the time of this act of intemperance: it may be easily inferred from Tacitus, who relating the affairs of the year in which Domitius Ænobarbus and M. Furius Camillus were consuls, sc. A. U. 785. A.D. 32. says: 'Then Piso had the honour of a public funeral by decree of the senate, having behaved in his office to 'general satisfaction for[a] twenty years.' If we go back twenty years, we are brought to the 12th year of the christian æra, and the 765th of the city, in which year, according to Tacitus, Piso must have been præfect of Rome, which is two years before the death of Augustus.

There are however some objections to this story, which must be considered before we leave it. Several[b] learned men would read in Tacitus X. instead of XX. but to this Pagi's reply is sufficient, that this emendation is without the authority of any manuscripts. It is likewise objected, that Pomponius Flaccus was not præfect of Syria till long after the year of the city 765; consequently, neither was Piso then made præfect[c] of Rome. Dr. Pagi[d] allows very readily, that Pomponius did not at this time go præfect into Syria; but then he gives several instances of men who have been nominated governors of provinces, who yet never went into them; one is Ælius Lamia, who by this very same emperor had been nominated præfect of the same province likewise, namely of Syria, but yet never went thither. The fact is taken notice of by[e] Tacitus, and Dio;[f] which last observes, that this was a common practice with Tiberius. Tacitus has mentioned another like instance in the reign of Nero.[g]

Another objection against Piso's being made præfect of the city, A. U. 765, is this: Suetonius says, that this excess of Tiberius was committed during the public correction of manners; by which he has been supposed to refer to Tiberius's being made censor with Augustus. But cardinal Noris objects, that the census was not made by Augustus, A. U. 765, but 767; and[h] he is of opinion, that the 'public correction of manners,' which Suetonius here speaks of, intends the edicts which Tiberius published against luxury, A. U. 775. For my own part, I cannot see but that the words of Suetonius may very well refer to the time in which Tiberius was decreed censor with Augustus, which might be done, A. U. 765; though the census was not made, or at least not finished, till the year 767.

But that this 'correction of manners,' which Suetonius here speaks of, is not that which he has himself mentioned in another[i] place, and which Tacitus says was made, A. U. 775,[k] may be made evident from two or three passages, not particularly insisted on by Pagi. Seneca says, that Tiberius gave secret directions of importance to Piso, when he went into Campania, at which time there were divers uneasinesses and discontents in the city.[l] This journey of Tiberius was made in the beginning of the year before that, in which the edicts were published for the suppressing of luxury, namely, in the year of the city 774, as appears from Tacitus.[m] It is plain therefore, that Piso was præfect of Rome in 774, and in the very beginning of it; and

[a] Dein Piso viginti per annos pariter probatus, publico funere ex decreto senatûs celebratus est. Tacit. Ann. l. vi. cap. 11. [b] Lipsius in loc. Noris. Cenot. Pis. Diss. ii. p. 324. [c] Sed hoc amplius ex Suetonio colliges, factum Pisonem præfectum, sub idem tempus quo Pomponius Syriæ prætor. Ille autem Syriæ non ante annum 773 præponi potuit: (Mæsiam enim provinciam administrabat, A. 772. uti ex Tacit. lib. ii. clarum:) non ergo tot annos Piso præfectus urbi. Lipsius ubi supra vid. etiam Norisium ibid.

[d] A Chr. 11. n. v. [e] Extremo anni [A. U. 786. A. D. 33.] Mors Ælii Lamiæ funere censorio celebrata, qui administrandæ Syriæ imagine tandem exsolutus, urbi præfuerat. Tacit. Ann. l. vi. c. 27. [f] Τονὶς Πεισωνα τον πολιαρχον τελευτησαντα δημοσια ταφη εἰμησε, και Λευκιον (legendum Λαμιαν, id est, Lamiam) ανθ' ἁπλης ταμιαν ανθειλετο, ὁν ωροπαλαι τη Συριᾳ (legendum Συρια. Muretus in Tacit. Ann. vi.) ωρος-αξας κατειχεν· εν Ρωμη τελος δε και ἐφ' ἑτερων πολλων ἐποιει, ἐργῳ μεν, μηδενος κωλυοντος, λογῳ δε δη, τιμαν αυτο προσποιουμενος. Dio. l. lviii. p. 633. D. [g] Syria P. Anteio destinata, & varîs mox artibus elusus, ad postremum in urbe retentus est Tacit. Ann. l. 13. cap. 22. [h] Sed Suetonius si censorem Tiberium significaret, annum U. C. 767. designâsset, quo ipsa publicorum morum correctio a censoribus peracta est. Itaque designat tempus, quo Tiberius publicis edictis urbano luxui modum ponebat, A. U. 775. ibid. p. 324. vid. eund. p. 329. [i] In Tib. cap. 34.

[k] Caius Sulpicius, D. Haterius, consules sequuntur. Inturbidis externis rebus annus, domi suspectâ severitate adversum luxum. Ann. lib. iii. c. 52. [l] L. Piso, urbis custos, ebrius, ex quo semel factus est, fuit, majorem partem noctis in convivio exigebat: usque in horam sextam fere dormiebat: hoc erat ejus matutinum. Officium tamen suum, quo tutela urbis continebatur, diligentissime administravit. Huic & Divus Augustus dedit secreta mandata, cum illum præponeret Thraciæ, quam perdomuit, & Tiberius proficiscens in Campaniam, cum multa in urbe & suspecta relinqueret & invisa. Seneca ep. 83. [m] Sequitur Tiberii quartus, Drusi secundus consulatus. Ejus anni principio Tiberius, quasi firmandæ valetudini, in Campaniam concessit: longam & continuam absentiam paulatim meditans. Tacit. Ann lib. iii. cap. 31.

it may be supposed, that Tiberius had had considerable experience of Piso's fidelity and ability in that post before that, since he relied upon him in a very critical conjuncture.

Cardinal Noris objects[a] farther: It is true Tiberius had proconsular power in the provinces two years before Augustus's death: all the authority he had in the city was owing to his tribunician power, but that included only a right of interceding or forbidding, but could not give the power of appointing a præfect.

I think it is undoubted, that Tiberius might call the senate by virtue of the tribunician power,[b] and it is likely do several other things: but there is no need of contending about this point. Perhaps Tiberius did not nominate and appoint Piso præfect of the city; he might however recommend him so effectually to Augustus, his colleague, that he might appoint him. Pagi observes, that Pliny, speaking of this matter, uses the word choosing, not appointing.[c]

I imagine, that this fact is now cleared up and vindicated against the several objections which have been made to it; and that Piso was appointed or chosen to be præfect of the city of Rome by Tiberius, 'then prince,' two years before the death of Augustus, namely, in A. U. 765.

But before I quite leave this story, I would strengthen the argument founded upon it by a remark or two upon the title of prince, given here to Tiberius by Pliny and Suetonius.

It is well known, that prince was the soft title which Augustus chose, rather than that of[d] king or dictator. This title therefore, when used absolutely, is equivalent to emperor: and Dio says, that Tiberius had the title of emperor given him by a decree before Augustus died, as has been observed already. Moreover this title of emperor is frequently given by Roman and Greek authors to Titus and Trajan, on account of their tribunician and proconsular power which they enjoyed, the former in the lifetime of his father Vespasian, the latter of Nerva. Pagi thinks, this title of emperor which was given to these colleagues in the empire, was founded particularly on the perpetual proconsular power in all the provinces.[e] But, however that be, it is certain, they are often called emperors. Josephus, in his description of Vespasian's and Titus's triumph at Rome, after the Jewish war, says, That the[f] emperors lodged the night before near the temple of Isis. Pliny the elder, in his dedication of his Natural History to Titus, written before the death of Vespasian, calls Titus emperor[g] more than once. Philostratus says, that Titus was declared emperor at Rome, and admitted to equal power in the government[h] with his father. It is in vain therefore to say, that Titus was called emperor in his father's lifetime, purely on account of his having been saluted emperor by his soldiers in the camp, or in the sense in which this word was used under the commonwealth; since Philostratus says, he was declared emperor at Rome: moreover Capitolinus[i] calls Vespasian and Titus princes without any distinction. All these passages thus laid together may satisfy us, that prince and emperor are equivalent in these writers; and that Tiberius had a right to the title of prince, even during the lifetime of Augustus, after he was made his colleague in the empire. I shall refer the reader to but one passage more, in which Pliny the younger assures us, that Trajan was declared emperor[k] by Nerva in his lifetime: and it seems very strongly to support Pagi's opinion, that the title of emperor given to these colleagues was founded rather on their proconsular empire than their tribunician power.

(4.) There are two or three verses of Dionysius the geographer, which Pagi esteems a very

[a] His accedit, Tiberium in provinciis biennio ante mortem Augusti imperium obtinuisse; intra urbem vero non habuisse, nisi jus intercedendi ob tribuniciam potestatem. Quare unus Augustus urbis præfecti designandi potestatem habebat. Noris. ibid. p. 324. [b] Vid. Usser. Ann. A. M. 4015 & 4017.

[c] Eâque commendatione credidere L. Pisonem urbis Romæ curæ ab eo delectum. Vid. Pagi Critic. ad An. Ch. 11. n. 4.

[d] Qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa, nomine *principis*, sub imperium accepit. Tacit. Ann. lib. 1. cap. 1. Non regno tamen, neque dictaturâ, sed *principis* nomine constitutam rempublicam. Id. ibid. c. 9. [e] Titus enim, quemadmodum & ante eum Tiberius, ac post eum Trajanus, imperii collega fuit, ideoque imperatoris titulo exornatus. Imperii collegæ tribunicia potestate & imperio proconsulari donabantur, ratione cujus imperatores nuncupati. Pagi A. D. 71. n. 3. in Crit. ad Bar. [f] Εκει γαρ ανεπαυονλο της νυκλος εκεινης οι αυτοκραλορες· Joseph. de Bell. lib. vii. cap. 5. p. 1305. v. 2.

[g] Jucundissime imperator——Sciantque omnes quam ex æquo tecum vivat imperium. Triumphalis & censorius tu, sexiesque consul, ac tribuniciæ potestatis particeps. Plin. in Præfat. [h] Αναρρηθεις και αυλοκραλωρ εν τη Ρωμη, και αρισειων αξιωθεις τελων, απηει μεν ισομοιρησων της αρχης τω παλρι· κ. τ. λ. Cumque imperator Romæ esset appellatus, omnibus ornatus dignitatibus, Romam iter ingressus, ut patris collega fieret. Philost. vit. Apollonii lib. vi. cap. 30. p. 269. Lipsiæ, 1709. [i] Avus Annius Rufus, item consul & præfectus urbi adscitus in patricios a *principibus* Vespasiano & Tito censoribus. In Marc. Antonin. Philos. [k] Simul filius, simul Cæsar, mox IMPERATOR, & consors tribuniciæ potestatis, & omnia pariter & statim factus es, quæ proxime parens verus tantum in alterum filium contulit, Plin. Paneg. c 8.

remarkable testimony to the proconsular empire of Tiberius.[a] It appears from the two last of these verses, that in Dionysius's time Rome was governed by more than one prince. It has been questioned indeed when Dionysius lived, and who are those princes he speaks of; some have thought they were the two Antonines, others have thought he intended Severus, Caracalla and Geta. Cardinal[b] Noris, I think, hath put it beyond all doubt, by a passage alleged from[c] Pliny, that Dionysius lived in the time of Augustus: the cardinal indeed supposes, that the princes here referred to are Caius and Lucius Cæsar, Augustus's adopted sons. Pagi seems to me to have shewn, that the title of ανακτες cannot belong to them; and that Augustus and Tiberius are the princes which Dionysius means: but for the particulars I must refer the reader to Pagi himself.[d]

(5.) There were two different computations of Tiberius's reign in the time of St. Clement of Alexandria: for having first said, that Augustus reigned forty-three years, and Tiberius twenty-two,[e] he adds: 'But some reckon the reigns of the Roman emperors thus.—Augustus reigned forty-six years four months and one day. Then Tiberius, twenty-six years, six months, nineteen days.'[f]

Having laid before the reader the chief arguments that have been produced for the proconsular, or joint empire of Tiberius with Augustus, I will consider also some of the objections which there are against this opinion.

1. It is objected, that Spartian says, that Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus[g] were the two first Augusti that governed the Roman empire together. But to this it is answered, that none of the patrons of this opinion ever said, that Tiberius had the title of Augustus whilst Augustus lived, but only that he was colleague with him in the empire. These words of Spartian are no more an objection against Tiberius's proconsular empire, than they are against Titus's and Trajan's; who certainly enjoyed this honour, the one with his father Vespasian, and the other with Nerva.

Nor indeed did the title of Augustus give any new power; it was only a title of honour,[h] which sort of titles were usually taken gradually. Tiberius ever refused that of father of his country, and would not permit that of Augustus to be given him by any decree, though he accepted of it from some persons, and made use of it himself in letters to[i] foreign princes. And Dio takes notice of it as a singularity in Caligula, that in one day he accepted all those titles which Augustus had received throughout his long reign, and had suffered to be given him only one by one, (some of which Tiberius never would accept of,) except only that of father of his country, which he took upon him also in a short time after.[k]

2dly, It is objected: If Tiberius had been made colleague in the empire with Augustus, there could have been no reason for those fears about the succession of Tiberius which Livia shewed upon the death[l] of Augustus; nor would Tiberius have hesitated to accept the empire when offered to him by the senate: or indeed, what occasion could there have been for any new investiture at all?

But to this, I think, it is easy to answer; that it is no surprising thing that Livia should be under some pain, when the settlement of her son in the empire was at stake. Though Tiberius had been partner in the empire, yet certainly the death of Augustus made a great change. Germanicus was very popular, and at the head of a numerous army:[m] and as for Tiberius's hesitation, he had been hitherto but partner in the empire, and some kind of new investiture

[a] Εκ Διος Αυσονιηες αει μεγα κοιρανεοντες, v. 78.
A Jove Ausonii semper longe lateque dominantes.
Ῥωμην τιμηεσσαν, εμων μεγαν οικον ανακτων, 355
Μητερα πασαων πολιων, αφνειον εδεθλον, 356
De amne Tiberi loquitur; aitque, Qui amabilem secat in duas partes Romam, Romam honorabilem: meorum magnam domum Principum vel Dominorum. Dionys. orbis descript.

[b] Cenot. Pis. Diss. 2. p. 193.

[c] Hoc in loco [Arabiâ nempe] genitum esse Dionysium, terrarum orbis situs recentissimum auctorem, quem ad commentanda omnia in orientem præmisit Divus Augustus, ituro in Armeniam ad Parthicas Arabicasque res majore filio. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vi. cap. 27.

[d] Critica in Baron. A. D. 11. n. 6, 7.

[e] Αυγυστος ετη τεσσαρακοντα τρια· Τιβεριος, ετη κβ. Clem. Strom. l. i. p. 330. A Pari iis 1629.

[f] Τινες μεν τοι τυς χρονυς των Ῥωμαϊκων βασιλεων ουτως αναγραφυσι.——Αυγυστος εβασιλευσεν ετη μς, μηνας δ, ἡμεραν μιαν. Επειτα Τιβεριος, ετη κς, μηνας ς, ἡμερας ιθ. Id ib C.

[g] Hi sunt qui postea duo pariter Augusti, primi rempublicam gubernaverunt. Spartian. in Hadrian. cap. 24. Vid. Eutrop lib. viii. c. 9. & Capitolin. in Marc. c. 7.

[h] Vid. Dio. lib. liii p. 507.

[i] Το τε τυ παιρος της παιριδος προσρημα παντελως διεωσατω, και το τυ Αυγυστυ υκ επεθετο μεν (υδε γαρ ψηφισθηναι ποτε ειασε) λεγομενον δ' ακυων, και γραφομενον αναγινωσκων, εφερε· και ὁσακις γε βασιλευσι τισιν επεστελλε, και εκεινο προσενεγραφε. Dio lib. lvii. p. 607. A.

[k] Ωστε παντα ὁσα ὁ Αυγυστος εν τοσυτῳ της αρχης χρονῳ μολις και καθ' ἑν ἑκαστον ψηφισθεντα οἱ εδεξατο (ὡν ενια Τιβεριος υδ' ὁλως προσηκατο) εν μιᾳ ἡμερᾳ λαβειν. κ. τ. λ. Dio lib. lix p. 641. D.

[l] Acribus namque custodiis domum & vias sepserat Livia. Tacit. Ann lib. i. cap. 5.

[m] Tacit. Ann. lib. i. cap. 33—35. Dio lib. lvii. p. 603.

was needful. It is true, he carried his dissimulation very far; but Augustus himself never renewed a fresh term of government, (which he did several times,) but with much difficulty; and not till he had been overcome by importunity, and the consideration of the necessity of affairs.

However, this dissimulation of Tiberius has afforded a new proof, that he had been colleague with Augustus: for as Tacitus and Dio intimate very plainly the fears which Tiberius had of Germanicus, so Suetonius in particular says: 'He pretended a bad state of health, that Germanicus might entertain hopes of a speedy succession, or at least[a] a partnership in the empire.' But such an expectation had been ridiculous in Germanicus, and this pretence of Tiberius could never have had the effect he designed, if no one had been partner in the empire before.

3. But the chief objection against the supposition, that St. Luke has computed the reign of Tiberius from the time of his proconsular empire, seems to be this; That it does not appear that any writers have computed the reign of those who were colleagues in the empire by the epoch of their proconsular empire, and that in particular there are no traces of this computation of Tiberius's reign.[b]

To this I answer: There is reason to think, that people did often compute according to the epoch of the proconsular empire. Pagi mentions a medal which has this inscription: 'In the 'xi. new sacred year of the emperor Titus Cæsar[c] Vespasian Augustus.' Now Titus reigned alone after his father's death but a little above two years.

It will not be expected, I should here attempt to explain the meaning of the epoch of the 'new sacred year.' All that I shall observe is, that it appears not to have been used upon the coins of any emperors beside those of Vespasian, Titus, Domitian and Nerva: and that it does not begin at any one common period, such as the building or dedication of any one particular temple, but that the numbers answer exactly to the years of the several emperors on whose coins it is found.[d] And Pagi is of opinion, that it was an epoch chiefly used by the people of Syria and Egypt, because the epithet 'sacred' is more common upon their coins than any others.[e]

And I cannot but think, that there were for some time different computations of the length of Nerva's and Trajan's reigns; and that they were owing to this, that Trajan was for some time Nerva's colleague in the empire. Mr. Dodwell[f] was of opinion, that Nerva did actually resign the empire to Trajan before his death: and so [g] Aurelius Victor, and [h] Lactantius seem to say. I think indeed that Nerva did not resign, not only because Eutropius[i] says, that Diocletian was the first of all the Roman emperors that did so, but especially because the younger Pliny, who served under Nerva and Trajan, and knew them both very well, says nothing of it, though he often mentions[k] their joint empire. But I think, that the notion which the forementioned authors had of Nerva's resigning, may be very well accounted for upon the supposition, that they had met with different computations of the time of these two princes' reigns in some ancient writers; and their mistake is not easy to be accounted for otherwise.

As for Tiberius, I take it for granted that it has been fully proved, that he was for some time partner in the empire with Augustus; and particularly that it has been made appear, that Piso was præfect of Rome twenty years, and that he was put into that post by the appoint-

[a] Simulavit & valetudinem, quo æquiore animo Germanicus celerem successionem vel certe societatem principatûs operiretur. Suet. in. Tiber. cap. 25. [b] Est autem inauditum in omni memoriâ, Titi annos ab alio initio fuisse deductos quam a morte Vespasiani. S. Basnage Annal. Pol. Eccles. A. D. 11. n. iv. [c] Sic in nummo Græco apud Occonem p. 166. legitur ΑΥΤ. ΤΙΤΟΥ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ. ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΥ. ΣΕΒ. ΕΤΟΥΣ. ΙΕΡΟΥ. ΙΑ. id est, Imperatoris Titi Cæsaris Vespasiani Augusti anno novo Sacro xi. Quo ex Titi nummo manifeste apparet, deceptos viros eruditos qui negant annos Tiberii, Titi, aliorumque imperii collegarum numeratos fuisse. Hæc porro epocha non nisi in Vespasiani, Titi, Domitiani & Nervæ nummis occurrit. Pagi Crit. in Baron. A. D. 81. n. iii.

[d] Nisi enim hoc modo in nummis Titi, Domitiani, & Nervæ, epocha hæc explicetur, impossibile est nummos inter se posse convenire; cum eorum imperii annos non excedat, sed ad amussim iis respondeat. Pagi ibid. [e] Et nullibi sacri nomen frequentius, quam in nummis in Syriâ & Egypto percussis, usurpatum. Ibid. n. 4. [f] Vid. Append. ad Dissert. Cypr. n. 39, 40. [g] Quid enim Nervâ prudentius?—Qui cum extremâ ætate apud Sequanos, quo tyranni defecit metu, imperium arbitrio legionum cepisset; ubi prospexit, nisi a superioribus robustioribusque corpore animoque geri non posse, mense sexto ac decimo semet eo abdicavit. Aurel. Vict. de Cæsar. in Nerva. [h] Simul & exemplum Nervæ proferebat, qui imperium Trajano tradidisset. De Mort. Persecut. c. 18. [i] Diocletianus privatus in villâ quæ haud procul a Salonis est, præclaro otio senuit; inusitatâ virtute usus; ut solus omnium post conditum Romanum imperium ex tanto fastigio sponte ad privatæ vitæ statum civilitatemque remearet. Eutrop. lib. ix. cap. 28.

[k] Assumptus es in laborum curarumque consortium. Plin. Paneg. c. 7. Inde *quasi* deposito imperio quâ securitate, quâ gloriâ lætus? (Nerva nempe) Nam quantulum refert, deponas an *partiaris* imperium, nisi quod difficilius *hoc* est? ib. c. 8. Magnum hoc tuæ moderationis indicium, quod non solum successor imperii, sed *particeps* etiam *sociusque* placuisti, c. 9.

ment or procurement of Tiberius. Thus much I think Basnage allows,[a] and Suetonius and Pliny both say that Tiberius was 'then prince.'

And it is highly probable that the christians had a persuasion, that there were two different epochs of the beginning of Tiberius's reign: otherwise, when they said that Jesus was crucified in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, when the two Gemini were were consuls, namely, A. D. 29. (as they did almost universally,) after he had preached above [b] two years, or a [c] whole year including two passovers, or a year and some [d] few months; they must have been sensible that they contradicted St. Luke, who says, that the "word of God came" to John the Baptist in the "fifteenth year of Tiberius;" since also they must necessarily have allowed some time for the ministry of John, distinct from that of Jesus.

That we have so few examples of this way of computing the reign of Tiberius, is not to be wondered, considering how few ancient writers who lived near his time are come down to us, and especially such as lived in the provinces where this epoch must have been chiefly used. The distinct computation of Augustus's reign to the time of his death, and of Tiberius's after him, was undoubtedly most commodious; and for this reason, probably, the computation of Tiberius's reign, from the time of his proconsular empire was soon dropped. Besides, Tiberius seems to have taken pains to obliterate this date of his government, inasmuch as he was unwilling to have it thought that he owed his greatness to the adoption of Augustus, or the intrigues of his mother Livia; but would have it ascribed solely to the free choice of the people after Augustus's death,[e] that is, to his own merit, as Dio expressly says.[f]

Tiberius then having had for some time before the death of Augustus, equal power with him in all the provinces and armies, and having been made thereby partner with him in the empire, it is not impossible, but that St. Luke might compute the reign of Tiberius by this epoch.

We should now, if possible, settle the exact time when Tiberius was made partner with Augustus: it may be concluded that he was so, A. U. 765, two years before Augustus died, because in that year Piso was made præfect of Rome, Tiberius being prince: and Archbishop Usher and Prideaux place the beginning of this government of Tiberius in this year.

There is however a considerable difficulty attending this matter, because Velleius and Suetonius differ about the time in which the law was passed by the senate, decreeing Tiberius equal power with Augustus in the provinces and armies. According to Suetonius this law was not passed till after Tiberius's triumph, which certainly happened A. U. 765. A. D. 12. But according to Velleius [g] this law was passed at the desire of Augustus, before Tiberius returned to Rome from Germany to make his triumph. Pagi [h] is inclined to prefer the testimony of Velleius Paterculus before that of Suetonius, because Velleius was contemporary with Tiberius; but yet he dares not be positive in this matter, because St. Clement's numbers are different from both. However, as Tiberius was consul in the 21st and 31st years of our Lord, he judges this piece of respect to the 10th and 20th years from the 11th year of our Lord, to [i] be a confirmation of the supposition, that Tiberius's proconsular power commenced, A. D. 11. He observes also marks of honour shewn to the Quinquennals of this epoch, such as the dedication of temples by himself, or the people of provinces, the founding of cities by dependant princes, and such other the like things, with which the Quinquennials and Decennals, that is, the fifth and tenth years of remarkable events, were wont to be celebrated.

[a] Ubi supra, A. D. 11. n. 2. [b] Tricesimo enim juxta Evangelistam Lucam anno ætatis suæ cœpit in carne Dominus Evangelium prædicare; & juxta Johannem Evangelistam, per tria paschata duos postea implevit annos: & inde sex Tiberii supputantur anni, &c. Apollinarius Laodic. apud Hieron. Com. in Dan. c. 9. Ὁ δε Ιȣδας παρα τῳ Ιησȣ ȣδε τρια διετριψεν ετη. Orig. cont. Cels. l. ii. p. 67.

[c] Και ὁτι ενιαυτον μονον εδει αυτον κηρυξαι, και τȣτο γεγραπται οὑτως—πεντεκαιδεκατῳ ȣν ετει Τιβεριȣ, και πεντεκαιδεκατω Αυγȣστȣ· οὑτω πληρȣνται τα τριακοντα ετη ἑως οὑ επαθεν. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 340. A. [d] Ενιαυτον γαρ πȣ και μηνας ολιγȣς εδιδαξεν· Orig. Phil. p. 4.

[e] Dabat & famæ, ut vocatus electusque potius a republica videretur, quam per uxorium ambitum & senilem adoptionem irrepsisse. Tacit. Ann. l. i. c. 8. [f] Ηδη μεν γαρ ηκȣσα ὁτι επειδαν ἡ Λιȣια ακοντος τȣ Αυγȣστȣ την αρχην αυτῳ περιπεποιηκεναι ελεγετο, επλαττεν ὁπως μη παρ' εκεινης, αλλα παρα της βȣλης αναγκαστος, ὡς και κατα αρετην σφων προηκων, δοξειεν αυτην ειληφεναι· Dio. l. lvii. p. 603. D.

[g] Sueton. in Tiber. c. 21, 22. Velleius Pat. l. ii. c. 121. Their words are transcribed above, p. 194. [h] Vid. Crit. A. Ch. 11. n. 10. [i] Quia tamen Tiberius anno Christi xxi. rursusque anno Christi xxxi. consul processit, existimandum, utrumque consulatum ob decennalia & vicennalia imperii proconsularis Tiberii gestum, ideque & illum anno Christi xi. imperio proconsulari donatum: quamquam uterque consulatus anno Christi xii. quo rem actam narrat Suetonius, respondere etiam possit, etiamsi quinquennalia legitimo tempore celebrata fuerint, id. ib.

As he thinks it most probable, that Tiberius's proconsular empire began, A. U. 764. A. D. 11; so he is pretty well satisfied as to the month and day of the month, which he thinks was the 28th of August, or the fifth of the Kalends of September. One reason for it is, that from the 725th year of the city, Augustus seems to have had a particular respect for the 5th of the Kalends of months. Moreover according to the second computation, which Clemens Alexandrinus mentions of the reign of Tiberius, it must have begun on the 28th of August. St. Clement says, that Tiberius reigned twenty-six years, six months, and nineteen days. Now Tiberius died the 16th of March, A. D. 37. from the 28th of August, A. D. 10, to the 16th of March, A. D. 37, are exactly, (according to Dr. Pagi's reckoning,) so many years, months, and days, as St. Clement mentions. So that though St. Clement has been in the wrong as to the year, since he begins this computation of Tiberius's reign, A. D. 10, yet he has helped us to the month and day of the month on which it commenced.[a]

I have represented Pagi's sense of this matter, as well as I can, in a few words; but I cannot say, that this reasoning is altogether convincing. I must acknowledge, I see not how any argument can be drawn from St. Clement's testimony, either for the year or month of this epoch; if his numbers have been altered, as Pagi allows they have in many places, and particularly in this very passage.

There appears to me some weight in his observation upon the Quinquennals and Decennals of this epoch; but yet it is not fully conclusive: there might be some other reason, beside that here supposed, for Tiberius's taking the consulship, A. D. 21, and 31. The 22d and 26th years of the christian æra are as remarkable as any other for the founding of cities, dedicating temples, and erecting of monuments. Though indeed, if this epoch began in the middle of any year, it is obvious at first sight, that these honours may be divided betwixt two years.

And perhaps Velleius Paterculus and Suetonius may be reconciled by supposing only, that there was some time between Augustus's proposing Tiberius's partnership with him to the senate, and the passing of the act.

Upon the whole, I think there is good reason to believe, that Tiberius was colleague in the empire with Augustus; and that this epoch of Tiberius's empire was followed for some time by some persons, in the provinces at least: but it appears to me uncertain, when this proconsular empire began, whether about two years, or about three years before Augustus died.

Let us, however, adjust the numbers in St. Luke to this computation of the reign of Tiberius, which commenced either about two years, or about three years before his empire after the death of Augustus. And we will have an eye to the two dates of our Saviour's nativity above mentioned, namely, September or October, A. U. 748, and 749.

If Tiberius's proconsular empire began about three years before Augustus died, on the 28th of Aug. A. U. 764, A. D. 11, then this 15th of Tiberius's reign (according to this computation of it,) began Aug. 28, A. U. 778, A. D. 25. Supposing that John the Baptist began his ministry November following, in the same year, and that Jesus was baptized by him the 6th of January following, in A. U. 779, A. D. 26; then upon the supposition that Jesus was born in September, A. U. 748, he would be at his baptism thirty years of age and some months over.

If Tiberius's proconsular empire commenced about two years before the death of Augustus, in A. U. 765, A. D. 12, then the fifteenth of the reign of Tiberius began in A. U. 779, A. D. 26. And supposing that John the Baptist began his ministry in November of that year, and that Jesus was baptized by him the 6th of January following, A. U. 780, A. D. 27, then, upon the supposition that Jesus was born in September, A. U. 749, he would be at the time of his baptism thirty years of age and some months over; or, if born A. U. 748, he would be somewhat more than thirty-one years of age.

We will put this matter one way more. If John the Baptist began his ministry in the fifteenth of Tiberius, A. U. 778, A. D. 25, (as in the first stating of this question,) but did not baptize Jesus till the 6th of January, A. U. 780, A. D. 27, after he had preached somewhat above a year, then Jesus would be at his baptism thirty years of age and odd months, if he was born A. U. 749; thirty-one years of age and some odd months, if born the latter end of the year 748.

[a] Quare Clemens Alexandrinus rei gestæ diem nobis conservavit: sed numeri annorum corrupti, quod in eo auctore non infrequens. Pagi. Critic. A. D. 11. n. 9.

I see not, but that we have a very good right to take those dates of these events, which appear most favourable to St. Luke; since it is not absolutely certain, when Herod died or when Tiberius's proconsular empire began: nor have any of the writers of harmonies determined, that I know of, beyond contradiction, the space of time between the commencement of John the Baptist's ministry and our Saviour's baptism. But if we allow on each head the dates the least favourable to St. Luke's numbers, namely, that Jesus was born A. U. 4 and that he was not baptised till January, A. U. 780, A. D. 27; yet even then Jesus will be [illegible] (as has been shewn,) than thirty-one years of age; at which time a person may be said [illegible] properly to be '*about* thirty years of age,' as will appear by and by.

I imagine I have now shewed, that there is nothing improbable in the supposition, that St. Luke computed the reign of Tiberius, not from his sole empire after the death of Augustus but from the time of his proconsular empire, when he had equal power with Augustus given him in all the provinces and armies; and that upon this supposition, there lies no objection against the age ascribed to Jesus at his baptism.

III. However, in order to complete this solution of this difficulty, it will be proper to consider some other notes of time, which we find in the evangelists; and to enquire, whether these likewise agree with this supposition.

St. Luke says, "Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, *Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea,*—the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias," Luke iii. 1, 2.

It has been the opinion of some learned men, that Pilate did not come into Judea so soon as the fifteenth year of Tiberius's proconsular empire, the 12th of his sole empire, A. U. 778, A. D. 25.

That every one may judge of this matter, I shall set down the account Josephus has given of Pilate's leaving Judea; from which we shall be able to conclude when he came into it.

The senate of the Samaritans sent complaints against Pilate to Vitellius, president of Syria. And Josephus says: 'Vitellius, sending his friend Marcellus to administer the affairs of Judea, 'commanded Pilate to go to Rome, to answer to the emperor for those things of which he was 'accused by the Jews. And Pilate having spent *ten years in Judea,* hastened away to Rome, in 'obedience to the commands of Vitellius, not daring to refuse. But before he got to Rome, 'Tiberius was dead.

'Moreover Vitellius came into Judea, and went up to Jerusalem. It was then a feast 'time; the feast is called the *passover.* Vitellius being received there with great mag- 'nificence, abolished entirely the tax upon vendible fruits, and granted the priests the 'right of keeping in the temple the vestment of the high priest and all its ornaments, as they 'had done formerly.—Having conferred these favours upon the nation, he also took away 'the priesthood from the high priest Joseph, who is likewise called Caiaphas, and substi- 'tuted in his room Jonathan, the son of Ananus the high priest, and then returned to Antioch."[a]

Josephus immediately after this says, that Tiberius sent orders to Vitellius, to go and make a league with the king of the Parthians; that Vitellius having had a meeting with the king at the river Euphrates, and executed his commission, returned again to Antioch."[b]

After this, Vitellius received orders from Tiberius to go and make war with Aretas king of Petra.

'Vitellius then, having got all things ready for the war with Aretas, hastened away for 'Petra with two legions, and other auxiliary forces, and was come as far as Ptolemais. But as he 'was about to march his army through Judea, the chief men met him, intreating him not to go 'through their country.——He complied with their request; and having ordered his army to 'take their rout through the great plain, he himself, with Herod the tetrarch and their friends, 'went up to Jerusalem, to worship God, a feast of the Jews being at hand.[c] He was received 'by the people of the Jews with great respect. Having been there three days, he took away

[a] Και Ουιτελλιος, Μαρκελλον τον αυτου φιλον εκπεμψας επιμελητην τοις Ιουδαιοις γενησομενον, Πιλατον εκελευσεν επι Ρωμης απιεναι, προς α καιηγοροιεν Ιουδαιοι διδαξαντα τον αυτοκρατορα· και ην ετους, δεκα εισιν διατριψας επι Ιουδαιας, εις Ρωμην επειγεται, τα· Ουιτελλιω πειθομενος ενιολαις, εκ ον ανειπειν· πριν δε η τη Ρωμη προσσχειν αυτον, φθανει Τιβεριος μελας. Ουιτελλιος δε, εις την Ιουδαιαν αφικομενος, επι Ιεροσολυμων ανηει, και ην αυτοις εορτη, Πασχα δε καλειται· δεχθεις δε μεγαλοπρεπως Ουιτελλιας, τα τελη των ωνημενων καρπων ανιησιν εις το παν τοις ταυτην κατοικουσι, και την στολην τε αρχιερεως, και τον παντα αυτου κοσμον συνεχωρησεν εν τω ιερω κειμενον υπο τοις ιερευσιν εχειν την επιμελειαν, καθοτι και προτερον ην αυτοις εξουσια· κ. τ. λ. Joseph. Ant. l. xviii. c. 5. sect. 2, 3. p. 801, 802.

[b] Id. ibid. p. 802, 803.

[c] Εορτης παντι τοις Ιουδαιοις ενεστηκυιας.

'the high priesthood from Jonathan, and gave it to his brother Theophilus: and on the fourth 'day after his arrival, receiving letters which brought him an account of the death of Tiberius, 'he took an oath of the people to Caius.'[a]

A few remarks on this account will suffice.

It is not expressed what feast of the Jews the last mentioned feast was; but there can be no doubt, but that it was the passover, A. D. 37. I think this is not contested by any learned man. Tiberius died the 16th of March, A. D. 37: the news of his death might easily reach Judea by the passover of that year, and could not be retarded to the feast of Pentecost.

The passover first mentioned in this account, must have been the passover, A. D. 36. It is evident, that the summer following, Vitellius went as far as the river Euphrates, and returned to Antioch; and the next spring he was to go and make war with Aretas: but whilst his troops marched towards Petra, he went up to Jerusalem at the passoverin the year thirty-seven, as has been observed. Nothing can be plainer, I think, than that Pilate was removed before the passover in thirty-six; and must have been out some time before: Vitellius did not go to Jerusalem immediately after he had sent away Pilate, but first ordered his friend Marcellus to take care of affairs there.

It is not said here, how long Pilate had been out, before Vitellius went up to Jerusalem; but it is probable, it was half a year. This may be concluded from hence; Josephus says, that Vitellius, when he was at Jerusalem, the first time here spoken of, put the high priest's vestment into the priest's hands, to be kept by them in the temple. Josephus is very express, that this favour was conferred by Vitellius upon the nation at this time, and that having done so, he put out Caiaphas, and returned to Antioch. Now in another place Josephus says: 'This 'vestment king Herod [b] kept here [in the castle of Antonia.] And after his death it was kept 'in the same place by the Romans till the time of Tiberius Cæsar. In his reign Vitellius pre-'sident of Syria, having come to Jerusalem, and the people receiving him in a very honour-'able manner, he being willing to make them a suitable return, since they had desired that 'the sacred vestment might be in their own custody, wrote to Tiberius Cæsar about it, and he 'granted their request.' From this passage it appears, that Vitellius did not put the high priest's vestment into the hands of the Jews without leave from Tiberius. If Vitellius actually made this grant when he was at Jerusalem at the passover, A. D. thirty-six, (as Josephus says expressly in the first passage,) it is likely the Jews had sent their request to him about the time that Pilate was removed. And considering the slowness of Tiberius in all his proceedings, it will not be thought strange, that we allow half a year between the Jews presenting their request to Vitellius in Syria, and the return of an answer from the emperor; it is rather surprising it should have come back so soon.

It is possible, that some may except against this argument, and say, that the grant was not made by Vitellius when he was at Jerusalem; but that he there received the Jews request, then wrote to Tiberius, and some time after this put the sacred vestment into their custody. But though Josephus does in this last passage seem to place things in this order, yet I should think, that since in the passage first cited, he says Vitellius bestowed this favour upon the Jews whilst at Jerusalem at that time; it may be inferred, that the petition had been presented to him whilst in Syria, and that he brought Tiberius's grant to Jerusalem with him.

However, though this argument should not be allowed me, yet since upon Pilate's removal Marcellus was sent to govern in Judea, it is plain there was some time between Vitellius's issuing his orders to Pilate to go to Rome, and his own journey to Jerusalem. This time might be the space of five or six months; and I apprehend that the probability at least of my reasoning above, that Vitellius received the Jews petition for keeping the high priest's vestment in Syria, then wrote to Tiberius, and delivered it to them when he was at Jerusalem, may very much dispose us to admit the supposition of this space.

And though it should be thought, that at the passover next after Pilate's removal, Vitellius did not give the high priest's vestment into the Jewish hands, but only received their petition for that favour; yet this does fully overthrow the opinion of those, who have thought, that

[a] Id. ibid. cap. vi. sect. 3.

[b] Ταυτην ὁ Βασιλευς Ἡρωδης εφυλαξεν εν τῳ τοπῳ, και μετα την εκεινου τελευτην ὑπο. Ῥωμαιοις ην, μεχρι των Τιβεριου Καισαρος χρονων· επι τουτου δε Ουιτελλιος ὁ της Συριας ἡγεμων, επιδημησας τοις Ἱεροσολυμοις, δεξαμενου τε πληθους αυτον λαμπροτατα πανυ, δεομενων αυτου της ευποιιας αμειψασθαι, επει παρεκαλεσαν την ἱεραν στολην ὑπ' αυτων εξεσιαν εχειν, εσταλκε περι τουτων Τιβεριῳ Καισαρι, κἀκεινος επετρεψε. Ant. lib. xv. c. 11. sect. 4.

Pilate was removed but a few weeks before the death of Tiberius. Vitellius, after the removal of Pilate, was at Jerusalem at a passover; and having been magnificently received by the Jews in requital of their civilities wrote to Tiberius, (so we will suppose at present,) that they might have the keeping of the high priest's garment, and Tiberius granted it. This passover then was not that passover at which Vitellius, being at Jerusalem, heard of the death of Tiberius. We are therefore fully assured, that the passover which followed the removal of Pilate, was not the passover, A. D. 37, before which Tiberius died, but the passover preceding, namely, that in A. D. 36.

It is certain then, that Pilate was removed before the passover, A. D. 36; and probable, that he was removed about five or six months before it; about September or October, A. D. 35, about a year and a half before the death of Tiberius.

Since Josephus says, that Pilate spent ten years in Judea, he came thither about October, A. D. 25, or at least before the passover, A. D. 26, in the twelfth year of Tiberius's sole empire, which twelfth year began the nineteenth of August, A. D. 25. This also is perfectly consistent with what Josephus says of Valerius Gratus, the first procurator of Judea under Tiberius; 'that he spent eleven years in Judea, and was then succeeded by Pontius Pilate.'[a]

So that though we should suppose that Tiberius's proconsular empire began three years before the death of Augustus, as Dr. Pagi is inclined to do, 28 August, A. U. 764, A. D. 11; yet Pontius Pilate would even then be in Judea in the fifteenth of that empire, which began Aug. 28, A. U. 778, A. D. 25.

There is one difficulty, and but one in all this matter. Josephus says that 'Pilate—hastened away to Rome in obedience to the commands of Vitellius, not daring to refuse. But 'before he got to Rome, Tiberius was dead.'

It will be best to take the objection from Mr. Whiston. 'Now it is known from Josephus, 'that Pontius Pilate was procurator of Judea but ten years; and that he was put out so little 'before the death of Tiberius, that the emperor was actually dead, before Pilate arrived at 'Rome to answer for himself. Tiberius died March 26, [b] A. D. 37; and Pilate might be out 'of his office a month, or six weeks before, suppose it February; from thence we must count 'ten years backward for the beginning of Pilate's government, which will therefore fall into 'February, A. D. 27.'[c]

This is the difficulty: but I think it would be very wrong to be determined by one single sentence against all the evidence, which arises from the whole series of a narration. It is extremely evident, that the feast time in which Vitellius, being at Jerusalem, heard of the death of Tiberius, is not the passover which followed next after Pilate's removal. I shall not repeat particulars, but content myself with referring the reader to Josephus's account, already transcribed.

And if this one sentence about the time of Pilate's arrival at Rome be inconsistent with the rest of the story, it is more reasonable to suppose, that Josephus was mistaken in this particular, than in every thing else. He might be misinformed about the time when Pilate got to Rome, but he could not well be ignorant of some of the most remarkable events in his own country; that is, when Pilate left Judea, when Caiaphas, and his successor Jonathan, were put out of the high priest's office.

But there is no reason to suppose, this particular is inconsistent with the other circumstances mentioned in this relation. Mr. Whiston indeed can allow but a month or six weeks between the time of Pilate's removal out of his office, and his arrival at Rome: but it ought to be considered, that Pilate was not sent to Rome in order to take possession of a kingdom, or some new ample province, but to answer for his conduct in his late government. Nor was he sent express; nor was he recalled by the emperor himself: but he was sent away by Vitellius, a fellow subject, though a superior officer. Josephus says, that 'Pilate hastened away to 'Rome.' I have given his words the strongest sense in the translation; but I think, the meaning is no more than that he went away out of Judea. And Josephus intimates very plainly, the reluctance with which Pilate obeyed Vitellius, when he says, that he went, 'not 'daring to refuse.'

[a] Και Γραῖος μεν ταῦτα πραξας εις Ῥωμην επανηχωρει ἐνδεκα ἐτη διατρίψας ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ· Ποντιος δε Πιλατος διαδοχος αὐτῳ ηκεν· Antiq. l. xviii. c. 2. sect. 2.

[b] I suppose, that Mr. Whiston herein follows Dio, unless it be a fault of the press: but, according to Suetonius and Tacitus, Tiberius died the 16th of March. Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. A. D. 37. n. 2.

[c] Whiston's short view of the Harmony of the Four Evangelists, p. 139.

There was, if I mistake not, some law under the commonwealth, which required the governors of provinces to be at Rome in three months time after their term of government was expired; but whether that law was in force now, I cannot say. However, it is plain it was not observed: Piso's conduct is a proof of it. Germanicus died in November, or[a] sooner; as may be inferred from a passage of Suetonius, who says, 'that the public sorrow for 'his death at Rome continued even through the holy days of December:'[b] meaning, I suppose, the Saturnalia, which were celebrated in the middle of that month. And as Germanicus died in Syria, some time must be allowed for the carrying the news of his death from thence to Rome. Piso was gone from the province of Syria before the death of Germanicus; it is most probable, that he was turned out by Germanicus;[c] and yet he was not come to Rome at the time of the Megalensian games of the next year, which were kept on the fifth of April.[d] It is true, the people of Rome were very uneasy at these delays of Piso; because they wanted to have him brought to his trial for the death of Germanicus, whom he was thought to have poisoned; but yet I do not perceive, that when[e] his trial came on, his long absence from Rome is reckoned up amongst his other crimes.

And to add no more, the slowness of Tiberius in all his proceedings may help us to account for Pilate's delays in going to Rome, though it be supposed that he made a year and a half of it.

Josephus says, that Tiberius was the most dilatory prince that ever lived.[f] His conduct toward Herod Agrippa affords a strong proof of it. A servant of Agrippa waited upon the prefect of Rome, assuring him he had some informations of great consequence to give the emperor relating to his master: the prefect sent him to Tiberius, but he, without making any particular inquiry into the matter, only keeps the man safe in custody. Agrippa lying under the emperor's displeasure, was forced to make interest to have his servant heard: and though he then informed the emperor of words spoken by Agrippa, which were little less than treason, and Agrippa was immediately thereupon confined; yet he was never called for again, though Tiberius lived six months[g] after. Tacitus has mentioned another instance well nigh, or quite as remarkable.[h] This slow way of thinking and acting was visible in Tiberius in his very youth;[i] and no historian of those times is silent about it. Pilate, who had served Tiberius ten years, could not be ignorant of what all the world knew; he might have many probable reasons to think, that if he did not come in the emperor's way, he should never be called for; if inquiry was made for him, an excuse might be found out that would serve for some time: sickness might be pretended, as a reason for his stay in Asia, Achaia, or some other place where he was got. Perhaps this was really the case. To be put out of his government by Vitellius, upon the complaints of the people of his province, must have been a very grievous mortification: Eusebius assures us, that not long after this, Pilate made away with himself, out of vexation for his many misfortunes.[k]

There is another note of time mentioned in St. John's gospel, which ought also to be considered. Chap. ii. 20, "Then said the Jews, forty and six years was this temple in building: and wilt thou rear it up in three days?"

I suppose, that the objection to be formed upon this text is to this effect: these words were spoken by the Jews at the first passover of our Saviour's public ministry, and the next after his baptism by John. The temple which the Jews spoke of, was the temple then before their eyes, and which Herod had rebuilt or repaired. But Herod did not make the proposal for

[a] Basnage [Ann. Pol. Ec. Vol. 1. p. 221.] supposes he died in July. Decimo quinto Julii Germanicum vitam cum morte commutâsse ex Tacito conjecturam facimus. Equester ordo instituit, uti turmæ idibus Juliis imaginem ejus sequerentur. Ann. l. ii. c. 83. [b] Sed ut demum fato functum palam factum est, non solatiis ullis, non edictis ullis inhiberi luctus publicus potuit, duravitque etiam per festos Decembris mensis dies. Sueton. in Calig. cap. 6. [c] Addunt plerique jussum [Pisonem] provinciâ decedere. Tacit. Ann. l. ii. c. 70.

[d] Et quia ludorum Megalensium spectaculum suberat, etiam voluptates resumerent. Tum exuto justitio, reditum ad munia; & Drusus Illyricos ad exercitus profectus est, erectis omnium animis petendæ a Pisone ultionis; & crebro questu, quod vagus interim per amœna Asiæ atque Achaiæ, arroganti & subdolâ morâ scelerum probationes subverteret. Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. cap. 6, 7. [e] Id. Ibid. c. 13.

[f] Μελλητης ει και τις ἑτερων βασιλεων η τυραννων γενομενος. Antiq. lib. xviii. p. 811. v. 3. [g] Joseph. Ant. l. xviii. c. 7. [h] Consultusque Cæsar an sepeliri sineret, (De Asinio Gallo loquitur) non erubuit permittere, ultroque incusare casus, qui reum abstulissent antequam coram convinceretur. Scilicet medio triennio defuerat tempus subeundi judicium consulari seni tot consularium parenti. Tacit. Ann. l. vi. c. 23. [i] Sæva ac lenta natura ne in puero quidem latuit. Sueton. in Tiber. c. 57. Sed mitigavit Sejanus, non Galli amore, verum ut cunctationes principis aperirentur; gnarus eum lentum in meditando. Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. c. 71.

[k] Ποντιος Πιλατος επι Γαϊου Καισαρος ποικιλαις περιπεσων συμφοραις, ὡς φασιν οἱ τα Ῥωμαιων συγγραψαμενοι, αυτοφονευτος ἑαυτου εγενετο. Euseb. Chron. p. 78.

rebuilding it till the eighteenth year of his reign, reckoning from the death of Antigonus. Therefore, if the fifteenth of Tiberius's reign, mentioned by St. Luke, be the fifteenth of his proconsular empire, and not of his sole empire after the death of Augustus, this temple could not have been so long as forty-six years in building, at the time these words were spoken.

To this I might answer, that an objection taken from Josephus's account of the time when Herod repaired the temple can be of little moment; because in one place he says, that Herod repaired the temple in the fifteenth,[a] and in another the eighteenth year[b] of his reign. As the fifteenth year from the death of Antigonus is supposed to be coincident with the eighteenth year from the time in which Herod was declared king of Judea by the senate of Rome; some may be disposed to conclude, that when Josephus says Herod's proposal to rebuild the temple was made to the Jews in the eighteenth year of his reign, he computes from the time in which Herod was declared king by the Roman senate.

But I do not insist upon this, and am willing to allow, that Herod made the proposal to the Jews of building their temple, in the eighteenth year of his reign from the death of Antigonus.

And I think it is as likely, that the Jews, in these words recorded by St. John, refer to the time of Herod's proposal, as to the time in which he began actually to repair the temple. It is most probable, that Herod made this offer to the Jewish people, when assembled together at one of their great feasts; this therefore would be the most solemn and remarkable epoch of rebuilding the temple, which work undoubtedly he set about as soon afterwards as he could.

And it is very common to say, that men do things, when they propose to do them, or begin to do them. Thus Josephus says in his War of the Jews: 'In the fifteenth year of his reign 'he [Herod] repaired the temple itself, and inclosed a spot of ground about it, of double the 'compass with that which surrounded it before: this was done at a vast expence, and is a 'proof of his uncommon magnificence.'[c] We will allow, that the fifteenth year in this place ought to be corrected by his Antiquities, where he says, that 'in the eighteenth year of his 'reign Herod projected [or undertook] the rebuilding of the temple, which was the greatest of 'all his works.'[d] But then it appears from hence, that Herod is said by Josephus in one place to do, what in another he is only said at the same same to purpose or begin.

Supposing that the Jews, in this text of St. John, refer to the time in which Herod made the proposal of rebuilding the temple, we will see how this term of forty-six years will agree with the supposition, that St. Luke's fifteenth year of Tiberius is the fifteenth of his proconsular empire.

If the fifteenth of Tiberius's proconsular empire began the 28th of August, A. U. 778. A. D. 25. (according to Dr. Pagi's opinion) and if John the Baptist began to preach in November that year, but did not baptize Jesus till after he had preached a year and some months, then the passover at which these words were spoken was the passover A. U. 780. A. D. 27.

Or if the fifteenth of Tiberius's reign began A. U. 779. A. D. 26. and John began then to preach, and Jesus was baptized by him some time before the passover next following, still these words would be spoke by the Jews at the passover A. U. 780. A. D. 27.

The eighteenth year of Herod's reign, from the death of Antigonus, is supposed to have begun some time in A. U. 734. Herod might make his offer to the Jews of rebuilding the temple at the feast of tabernacles in November that year; from November A. U. 734, to the passover, A. U. 780. A. D. 27. is almost forty-five years and a half: at this time therefore the Jews might not improperly say, the temple had been forty-six years in building. The forty-sixth year was then current, and it was to the purpose of the Jews, rather to add to than to diminish the time which had been spent in that work: so that there is no time more suitable to these words of the Jews than the passover A. D. 27. though there is no manner of inconsistence between understanding the fifteenth of Tiberius, of his proconsular empire, and supposing that these words were spoken at the passover A. D. 28. and then the temple might have been above forty six years in building.

What has been here said may be sufficient to shew, that St. Luke might compute the reign

[a] De Bell. l. i. c. 21. init. [b] Ant. l. xv. c. 11. init.

[c] Πεντεκαιδεκατῳ γεν ετει της βασιλειας, αυτον τε τον ναον κατασκευασε, και την περι αυτον ανετειχισατο χωραν, της εσης διπλασιαν, αμετροις μεν χρησαμενος τοις αναλωμασιν, ανυπερβλητῳ δε τῃ πολυτελειᾳ. De Bell. lib. i. cap. 21. init.

[d] Τυτε γεν οκτωκαιδεκατυ της Ηρωδυ βασιλειας γενονυτος ενιαυτυ,—— ερτον υ το τυχον επεβαλετο, τον νεων τυ Θευ δι' αυτυ κατασκευασασθαι. Ant. lib. xv. cap. 11. init.

of Tiberius from the epoch of his proconsular empire; that if he did, Jesus might be said, with great exactness and propriety, to be about thirty years of age at his baptism; and that there is nothing in this supposition, inconsistent with any other notes of time mentioned in the gospels.

IV. Another way of solving this difficulty is this. These words of St. Luke, "And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age," may be understood with some latitude. Jesus might be thirty[a] two years of age or more at this time; the word about, ὡσει, is often used where a precise exactness is not intended or expected, Matt. xiv. 21 "And they that had eaten were *about* five thousand, ὡσει πενταχισχίλιοι, beside women and children." And the other evangelists, in speaking of this miracle, use the same phrase, Mark vi. 44. Luke ix. 14. John vi. 10. St. Luke says, Acts ii. 41, "And the same day there were added unto them about [ὡσει] three thousand souls." And with a like latitude does this phrase seem to be used in many places, as Luke i. 56. xxii. 41, xxiii. 44. John i. 39. Acts v. 36.

It is Kepler's opinion, that round and decimal numbers may be used with great latitude; and that a person may be very truly said to be about thirty years of age, if he be above five and twenty, and under thirty-five; but that, if a person be said to be about eight and twenty, or about two and thirty years of age, it is to be supposed, he is exactly so old, or not above a month or two more or less.[b]

And indeed many examples of this use of round numbers may be found in the[c] best writers, even without the particle ὡσει, about: which of itself seems to be a hint, that the writer does intend to be understood with some latitude.

If we may take St. Luke's words in this manner, there is scarce any need that I should trouble the reader with any calculation, to shew the agreement of his numbers with the time of our Saviour's nativity.

The fifteenth of Tiberius's sole empire began A. U. 781. A. D. 28. If Jesus was baptized the 6th January, A. U. 782. A. D. 29, he would be but some months above thirty-three years of age, though he was born so soon as September A. U. 748. And if he was born A. U. 749, then, though his baptism be placed in the beginning of A. U. 783, A. D. 30. still he would be little more than thirty-three years of age.

All the other notes of time in the gospels are also very easily reconciled with this 15th of Tiberius's sole empire. Pontius Pilate came into Judea before the passover in the 12th year of Tiberius's sole empire, A. U. 779. A. D. 26. as has been shewn, and continued there ten years: therefore he was undoubtedly governor of Judea at the commencement of John the Baptist's ministry, and till after our Saviour's crucifixion.

As for those words of the Jews spoken by them at the first passover of our Saviour's ministry, "Forty-six years has this temple been in building:" it is but to suppose that they referred not to the time when Herod made the proposal of repairing the temple in the eighteenth year of his reign, but to the time when in pursuance of that proposal he actually set about the work, after he had got all things in a readiness for it, and it will be easily perceived that these words are agreeable to truth.

I do not presume to determine which of these two solutions is the justest; or whether St. Luke intended the fifteenth of Tiberius's proconsular empire, when he was made colleague with

[a] Ex nostrâ quidem Chronologiâ, sequitur Christum jam annum xxxii. evasisse cum ad baptismum accessit. Nil tamen in eâ vel absurdi, vel pugnæ aliquid cum Lucâ intelligimus, cum de viro annos duos & triginta nato, cujus ætas dubitanter profertur, non incongrue dici possit, est annorum circiter triginta.—Iterum iterumque monemus, ex phrasi Lucæ, Josephi de supremo Herodis anno chronologiâ damnari nequit. Basnage Ann. Pol. Ec. Ante Dom. 3. n. vi. vid. etiam ad A. D. 30. num. iv. [b] Hic receptus mos est linguis omnibus ut circiter 5000 dicamus quicquid est inter 4500 & 5500. Quare sic etiam in nostro exemplo quicquid est inter 25 & 35, id omne circiter 30 dici potest. Alia esset voculæ ratio, si præfixisset numero non rotundo. Ut si dixisset circiter 28 annos, vel circiter 32 annos. Quæ enim infra decem nominum exprimuntur, iis appositavocula *circiter* raro unum annum solidum in dubio ponat, sed fere menses tantum aut dies aliquot numero paucos & infra quantitatem anni solidi. Keplerus de Anno C. Natali. cap. 12. p. 140, 141. [c] Ab illo enim profectu viribus datis tantum valuit, ut in *quadraginta* deinde annos tutam pacem haberet. Livius, l. i. cap. 15. n. 7. This refers to Numa's reign, of which afterwards Livy says:—Romulus septem & triginta regnavit annos, Numa *tres et quadraginta*. Ibid. c. 21. When the city of Rome was taken by the Gauls, and the remnant of the people were entering into the Capitol, Livy uses these words: Versæ inde adhortationes ad agmen juvenum: quos in Capitolium atque in arcem prosequebantur, commendantes virtuti eorum juventæque urbis per *trecentos sexaginta* annos omnibus bellis victricis,——fortunam. Id. lib. v. cap. 40. Camillus, not long after, in the very same year, in his speech to dissuade them from removing to Veii, says, *trecentesimus sexagesimus quintus* annus urbis, Quirites, agitur. Ibid. c. 54. vid. eundem lib. vi. c. 28. n. 7. & Joan. Cleric. notas.

Augustus, or the fifteenth of his sole empire. In order to do this, it would be needful, as I apprehend, to consider the time allotted by the evangelists to the ministry of John the Baptist and our Saviour, the chronology of the acts of the apostles, compared with some passages in the epistles, and also the testimonies of the ancient christian writers. As I have not here room for all these premises, it may be best to wave the conclusion. All I shall say at present is, that the supposition that St. Luke intended the former of these two epochs, seems to be very much favoured by the first christians; who generally place the crucifixion of Jesus at the passover of the fifteenth of Tiberius's sole empire, when the two Gemini were consuls of Rome, A. D. 29: and that their testimonies are of great weight with me. I subjoin in the margin[a] a few of them, for the sake of those who may happen to be unacquainted with these matters.

I apprehend, that each of these is a very good solution of the objection stated at the beginning of this chapter, though I believe many will think, it is there stated by me in a manner very favourable to an objector. Nay, I imagine I have said what is sufficient to satisfy any reasonable person, that there does not lie any objection against any notes of time mentioned by the evangelists from the chronology of other ancient writers. This is sufficient to my present purpose.

I have nothing farther to add here beside this one observation.

It is no disparagement to the sacred historians, that we are somewhat at a loss to settle precisely the very year of some of those events which they have related. Many important facts related by the best historians are attended with chronological difficulties: I shall give but one instance, an instance, with which we are nearly concerned. Josephus was a man of a learned education, is a professed writer of history, of the civil and sacred history of his country, and is generally allowed to be an accurate writer. He has expressly mentioned two epochs of the commencement of Herod's reign, and has given us an account of his death, and the duration of his government: he has written the history of the whole reign of this prince: he has related the series of events, and the succession of the princes and governors of Judea before and after Herod: he has put down the years of the Olympiads, and the names of the consuls, when some of the most remarkable of these events happened. Nor have all Roman and Greek historians been silent about Herod or his descendants, and the Jewish affairs, near this time; not to mention Talmudical, or other Jewish authors. And yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, whether through prejudice, or want of sufficient light, it has happened, that learned men have differed widely about the time of Herod's death, and are not yet come to a full agreement.

CHAP. IV.

OF ANNAS AND CAIAPHAS.

I. *The difficulty relating to their being both high-priests at the same time considered.* II. *Of Caiaphas being high-priest that year, in which Jesus was crucified.*

I. We have another objection against the account St. Luke gives of the government Judea was under, when John the Baptist began to preach. Ch. iii. 1, 2, "Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee;—*Annas and Caiaphas being the high-priests*, the word of God came unto John.

It is objected, that it appears from the books of the Old Testament, the writings of Josephus,

[a] Hujus [*Tiberii*] quinto decimo anno imperii passus est Christus.——Quæ passio hujus exterminii intra tempora LXX. hebdomadarum perfecta est sub Tiberio Cæsare, Coss. Rubellio Gemino & Rufio Gemino, mense Martio, temporibus Paschæ. Tertul. advers. Jud. c. 8. Atque exinde usque ad annum quintum decimum Tiberii Cæsaris, quando passus est Christus, numerantur anni sexaginta. Africanus apud Hieron. Dan. C. ix. Qui fuit sub imperio Tiberii Cæsaris, consulatus quinto decimo, id est, duobus Geminis consulibus.—Judei Christum cruci affixerant. Lactant. Inst. l. [illegible] c. 10. Extremis temporibus Tiberii Cæsaris, ut scriptum legimus, Dominus noster Jesus Christus a Judæis cruciatus est, [illegible] consulibus, de Mort. Persecut. c. 2.

and other Jews, that there was but one high priest among the Jews at a time: St. Luke therefore has been mistaken in saying, that Annas and Caiaphas were both high-priests.

Much has been written upon this subject, and learned men[a] have been of divers opinions. I hope I may be excused, if in this place I depart from the method I usually take in considering these objections, and do not set down all the sentiments of writers upon this point.

I shall here therefore do little more than deliver my own sentiments concerning this matter in a few particulars; which, I hope, will contain a sufficient answer to the objection.

1. It would be extremely unreasonable to impute to St. Luke so great a mistake, as the supposing, that there were properly two high-priests among the Jews at the same time. He appears in the rest of his history well acquainted with Jewish affairs. It is plain, that he knew very well there was one who was in the office of high-priest; ch. xxii. 50. "And one of them smote the servant of the *high-priest*."—54. "Then took they him and led him, and brought him to the *high-priest's* house."

2. It is likely, that the power which the Jewish people were possessed of under the Romans, was lodged chiefly in the hands of two persons; and it may be supposed the Jews chose to have it. When they had resolved upon the war with the Romans, Josephus says: 'They 'assembled in the temple, and appointed several generals; and Joseph the son of Gorion, and 'the high-priest Ananus, were chosen to be supreme governors[b] of all things in the city.' I have not observed this passage quoted by any upon this occasion: whether it be material or not the reader will judge; but it has inclined me to suppose, that about this time there were usually among the Jews two persons, to whom the government was chiefly committed. I must however advertise the reader, that Ananus, here called high-priest, was not then in the office of the priesthood.

3. Since Caiaphas was now properly high-priest, and Annas had been so: if the latter was now in some post of authority, they might be both said very properly to be high-priests at this time. Josephus often calls Saturninus and Volumnius presidents or governors of Syria,[b] though Saturninus only was president, and Volumnius the emperor's procurator, that is, the officer that took care of the revenue.

There happened a disturbance between the Jews and the Samaritans in the reign of Claudius; Cumanus the procurator of Judea was not able to compose it; appeals were made to Quadratus president of Syria. He having punished several, 'sent two others of the most 'powerful men of the Jews, as also *the high-priests* Jonathan and Ananias, and Ananus the son 'of this last mentioned person, and some other considerable men to Cæsar.'[d] I take this passage of Josephus (which has been often cited by learned men) to be very near parallel with St. Luke's.

Jonathan had been high-priest, but had been put out long before now by[e] Vitellius: Ananias was[f] now high-priest. In like manner, in the case in question, Annas had formerly been high-priest, but Caiaphas was now in that office.

I am the more inclined to think Josephus's style here parallel with St. Luke's, because it appears from another place, where Josephus mentions this affair, that Ananus, the third person named, was then captain of the temple.[g] From whence I conclude, that the three persons here mentioned, were then in the three chief posts of the Jewish civil and sacred government. He speaks indeed of two others, whom he calls the most powerful of the Jews;' but I apprehend they were so only in respect of their influence: it is reasonable to suppose, that the persons named were in the most eminent stations.

There is another particular in which these two passages are parallel: Jonathan, who had been high-priest, is named before Ananias, then in office: the two names stand in the same order in St. Luke. I suppose, that these propositions may afford a clear solution of this difficulty.

[a] Vid. Baron. Ann. A. D. 31. num. 8.—— Casaubon in Baron. Exerc. xiii. num. 5. Selden. de Success. in Pontif. lib. i. c. 12. Hammond. Annot. cum multis aliis.

[b] Και συαθροισθεντες εις το ἱερον, στρατηγους απεδειξαν τȣ πολεμȣ πλειονας· ἡρεθη δε Ιωσηπος υἱος, Γωριωνος, και ὁ αρχιερευς Ανανος, των τε κατα την πολιν ἁπαντων αυτοκρατορες, και μαλιστα τα τειχη της πολεως ανεγειρειν. De Bell. l. ii. c. 20. sect. 3.

[c] Πολλακις μεν επι Σατȣρνινον ελθοντα και Ουολȣμνιον τȣς Συριας ἡγεμονας. Ant. l. xvi. c. 10. p. 741. v. 1, 2. Τοις Καισαρος ἡγεμοσιν Σατȣρνινω τε και Ουολȣμνιȣ—επι τε Σατȣρνινȣ και Ουολȣμνιȣ των Συριας επιστατȣντων· ib. c. 9. p. 734. v. 25. & 37.

[d] Δυο δε ἑτερȣς των συνατωτατων, και τȣς αρχιερεις Ιωναθην και Ανανιαν, τον τε τȣτȣ παιδα Ανανον,—ανεπεμψεν επι Καισαρα. De Bell. l. ii. c. xii. sect. 6.

[e] Ant. l. xviii. c. 6. sect. 3.

[f] Ib. l. xx. c. 4. p. 886. v. 41.

[g] Ant. l. xx. c. 5. p. 889. v. 36.

The learned Selden conjectures, that Annas and Caiaphas are not mentioned in this place by St. Luke, on account of any sacred function they discharged, but as they were the two persons who had then the chief authority under the Romans in the civil administration of the Jewish affairs: that Annas was now prince of the sanhedrim, and Caiaphas the father of it; and that therefore Annas is first named, as being in the more honourable station in the civil government. He supposes, that these two posts might then be annual; that Annas was prince of the sanhedrim when John the Baptist began his ministry, and that Caiaphas was prince when our Saviour was crucified. And therefore St. John says particularly, ch. xi. 49, 51, that Caiaphas was high-priest "that same year:" but that afterwards, when Peter and John were called before the council, Annas, who is first named, [Acts iv. 6.] was prince, and Caiaphas father of the sanhedrim.[a]

Selden offers these thoughts as conjectures only. I hope, therefore, it will not be deemed presumption to be of another mind, or to offer some different thoughts upon this subject.

As Caiaphas was now in the office of the priesthood, when John the Baptist began his ministry, I suppose that Caiaphas is mentioned by St. Luke on account of the high priesthood, and the civil authority joined with it; and that the Jewish government being at this time under the Romans aristocratical, Annas is mentioned together with Caiaphas, as being the other chief person in the Jewish administration: but I am of opinion, that we have not sufficient light at present to determine what post of honour Annas was in, though that of prince of the sanhedrim be as likely as any. However, I cannot easily persuade myself, that during the Jews' subjection to the Romans, the prince of the sanhedrim, or any other Jew not in the high-priesthood, was equal, much less superior to him who enjoyed that office; unless when there was some Jewish prince appointed governor of the temple by the Roman emperor. If Josephus's authority be sufficient to decide this matter, it is plain the high-priest had the chief power in the Jewish nation under the Romans: this may be concluded from hence, that he has preserved the succession of the high-priests, and of them only, to the destruction of the temple. But if there had been, after the removal of Archelaus, any person in an office of superior authority to the high-priest, he would have also given us their names: we should also, in all probability, have met with some accounts in his history, of the putting out of these officers by the Roman governors, when they did not behave to satisfaction. And indeed Josephus seems to me expressly to say, that the high-priest was the chief persons in the Jewish nation under the Romans. Having at the conclusion of his Antiquities reckoned up the Jewish high-priests, he says: 'Some of these administered affairs under Herod the king, and his son 'Archelaus: after their death the administration was aristocratical, but the presidentship of 'the nation was committed to the high priests.'[b]

Farther, I apprehend no mystery at all in the order in which these two persons are named by St. Luke. Ancient writers seem not to be very solicitous about the order in which they name persons who are near equal.[c] I suppose that Caiaphas was at this time chief in dignity and authority in the government: but that nevertheless, there is no absurdity or impro-

[a] Hinc, si conjecturæ venia detur, existimârim, Annam & Caiapham pontifices simul a D. Lucâ dictos, non quâ sacræ functionis dignitas illo nomine denotatur, sed quâ civilis eorum administratio, ut & cæterorum quibuscum conjunguntur, ad ipsum annum, de quo verba ibi fiunt, indicandum denotaretur. Scilicet Annam tunc fuisse synedrii principem, Caiapham verò ejusdem patrem.—Ita demum cur Caiaphas, quem sacram dignitatem ipsam, velut Aharonis successorem, gessisse intervallo illo ex Josepho docemur, Annæ postponatur, ratio non ineptâ reddi potest. Etenim principi synedrii pater synedrii erat semper secundarius. Sed vero nec principis nec patris synedrii munus semper perpetuum erat, sed ab alio ad alium, pro re natâ translatum. Quod ex titulo Talmudico Horaijoth, cap. iii. aliisque magistrorum commentariis elicitur. Et forsan tunc temporis annuum erat.—Atque illinc forsan altera illa quæstio de Caiaphæ pontificatu suo anno apud D. Joannem designato solvenda.——Adeo ut anno Tiberii xv. seu in loco D. Lucæ, Annas esset princeps synedrii, Caiaphas pater, anno vero passionis Annas pater, Caiaphas princeps; postmodum vero Annas, inter suos utpote eminentissimus, itidem princeps, & Caiaphas pater, ut in Actorum quarto. Selden de Suc. in Pontif. lib. 1. c. 12.

[b] Και τινες μεν αυτων επολιτευσαντο επι τε Ηρωδȣ βασιλευοντος, και επι Αρχελαȣ τȣ παιδος αυτȣ· μετα δε την τȣτων τελευτην, αριστοκρατια μεν ην ἡ πολιτεια, την δε προστασιαν τȣ εθνȣς οἱ αρχιερεις πεπιστευντο. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xx. c. 9. fin.

[c] Thus Herodotus says, that Cambyses was the son of Cyrus and Cassandana; and presently after, that he was the son of this woman and Cyrus. Παρελαβε την βασιληϊην Καμβυσης, Κυρȣ εων παις και Κασσανδανης.——ταυτης δε της γυναικος εων παις και Κυρȣ Καμβυσης· Euterp. init. Josephus says, Herod had two sons by a Samaritan woman, namely, Antipas and Archelaus. Soon after Archelaus is mentioned first, ην δε κακ τȣ Σαμαρεων εθνȣς μια, και παιδες αυτῃ Αντιπας και Αρχελαος—Αρχελαος δε και Αντιπας επι Ρωμης παρα τινι ιδιωτῃ τροφας ειχον. Antiq. l. xvii. c. 1. sect. 3. Josephus says again, that Herod called to the council at Berytus, Salome and Pheroras, De Bell. l. 1. 27. sect. 3. Afterwards Tero the old soldier complains to Herod, that he hearkened to Pheroras and Salome against his own sons, ib. sect. 4.

priety in naming Annas first, inasmuch as he was father-in-law to Caiaphas, and was past the priesthood.

II. It will perhaps be expected, I should here say somewhat to a text of St. John, which has a relation to this matter, and which does appear at first to be a very difficult place. John xi. 49—52, "And one of them named Caiaphas, being *high-priest* [a] *that same year*, said unto them, ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not. And this spake he, not of himself: but being [b] *high-priest that year, he prophesied*, that Jesus should die for that nation; and not for that nation only, but that also he should gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad."

There are here two things which need to be explained; first, why Caiaphas is said to be high-priest "that same year:" and secondly, what is meant by his "prophesying," being "high-priest."

Some have thought, that the phrase, "being high-priest that year," implies that St. John supposed the high priesthood was annual; and upon this account they have been willing to charge him with a great mistake: for Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea ten years, and Caiaphas was put into the priesthood by Valerius Gratus, Pilate's predecessor, and continued in it till after Pilate's removal. Selden thought, that by high-priest, is meant the chief man of that nation, and particularly the prince of the sanhedrim, which post might be at that time annual. For my own part, I think, "that year" (as it ought to have been rendered, and as the same phrase is rendered ver. 51, and not "that same year;") denotes no more than "at that time." It is very common to put 'years' and 'days' in the plural number, for time. Ezek. xxxviii. 8, "After many *days* thou shalt be visited: in the latter *years* thou shalt come into the land that is brought back from the sword, &c." Mal. iii. 4, "Then shall the offering of Judah be pleasant unto the Lord, as in the *days* of old, and as in the former *years*." There are other texts perhaps more apposite to our purpose. Deut. xxvi. 3, "And thou shalt go unto the priest that shall be in *those days*." Josh. xx. 6, "And he shall dwell in that city, until the death of the high priest that shall be in *those days*." Philo uses the word day in the singular number, in the same manner: speaking of the trial of jealousy, he says, the man and the woman shall go up to the temple, 'and the man standing before the altar shall declare 'the cause of his jealousy in the presence of him who is priest at that [c] day.' All that St. John says therefore is, that Caiaphas was high-priest at that time, or the high-priest of that time. And if we ought to suppose any thing emphatical in the expression, [which yet I cannot see,] I apprehend it arises from the distance between the time of the event and the writing. St. John writing his gospel a considerable time after the crucifixion of Jesus, when many might be supposed to be ignorant who was their high priest; and there having been under the Romans frequent removals made in that office; it was natural enough for him to express this circumstance with some peculiar emphasis, or to mention it more than once.

The other difficulty to be considered lies in the words, "being high-priest that year he prophesied." Here I cannot perceive the sense of this observation, supposing with Selden, high-priest to stand for prince of the Sanhedrim. By prophesying I understand in this place, declaring the event; which it was in a peculiar manner the office of the priest to do, when he was enquired of, or when God was enquired of [d] by him, concerning any important matters under deliberation. Thus Josephus says: 'But the Philistines, when they heard that the 'Hebrews had made David king, brought forth their army against him.—But the king [e] of the 'Jews (for he allowed not himself to do any thing without prophesy, and the command of 'God, and assurance of the event from him,) required the high-priest to foretel him, what was

[a] Αρχιερευς ων του ενιαυτȣ εκεινȣ. [b] Αλλα αρχιερευς ων τȣ ενιαυτȣ εκεινȣ, προεφητευσεν. [c] Και ὁ μεν ανηρ ϛας αντικρυ τȣ βωμȣ, παροντος τȣ κατ' εκεινην την ἡμεραν ἱερωμενȣ, δηλȣτω την ὑπονοιαν αμα. κ. λ. De Legibus special. p. 785. C. [d] "Then the king sent to call Abimelech the *priest* the son of Ahitub.——And Saul said unto him, Why have ye conspired against me, thou and the son of Jesse,——and hast *enquired* of God for him?" 1 Sam. xxii. 11—13. And David said to Abiathar the *priest*, Bring hither the Ephod. Then said David, O Lord God of Israel,—Will the men of Keilah deliver me into his hand? Will Saul come down, as thy servant hath heard?—And the Lord said, he will come down." 1 Sam. xxiii. 9—11. "And when Saul enquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor *by Urim*, nor by prophets," ch. xxviii. 6. [e] Ὁ δε των Ιȣδαιων βασιλευς· ȣδεν γαρ ανευ προφητειας, και τȣ κελευσαι τον Θεον, και περι των εσομενων λαβειν εγγυητην εκεινον, ἑαυτῳ ποιειν επετρεπεν· εκελευσε τον αρχιερεα, τι δοκει τῳ Θεῳ, και ποδαπον εϛαι το της μαχης τελος, προλεγειν αυτῳ· προφητευσαντος δε νικην και κρατος, εξαγει την δυναμιν επι τȣς Παλαιϛινȣς· Antiq. l. vii. c. 4. sect. 1.

'the will of God, and what would be the issue of the battle. When he had prophesied victory 'and power, he led out his forces against the Philistines.' And presently after, 'The 'king [a] of the Israelites enquiring again of God, concerning the event of the battle, the high-'priest prophesied,' that he should do so and so, and then would have a sure and easy victory: referring to the story told 2 Sam. v. 22—25.

Let us now apply these remarks in a general paraphrase of this text of St. John. Some of the council, of a different opinion from those whose words are recorded ver. 48, having, as may be supposed, from considerations taken from the dispositions of the people, the temper of the Roman governor, and other circumstances of their affairs, expressed some doubts about the success of a prosecution of Jesus, and the consequences of taking away his life: 'Caiaphas, who 'was the high-priest at that time, when it came to his turn to deliver his opinion, said, You 'have hitherto talked very weakly and ignorantly; you may proceed in the case before you 'without hesitation. The taking [b] away the life of this man will be so far from being ruinous 'to the whole nation in this country and in other parts, as some of you fear, that it will be 'much for the advantage of the people of God every where. This however he said, not 'merely of himself, but being then high-priest, he foretold the issue and event of their 'counsels, and of the death of Jesus: and that it [c] would come to pass that Jesus would die 'for that nation, and not for that nation only, but that through his death, he would gather 'together in one the children of God which were scattered abroad.

CHAP. V.

OF THE DIFFERENT NAMES GIVEN TO HERODIAS'S FIRST HUSBAND BY THE EVANGELISTS AND JOSEPHUS.

I COME now to consider the difficulty hinted above,[d] arising from the different names given by the evangelists and Josephus to the first husband of Herodias; whom they call Philip, Josephus, Herod. I need not transcribe here the passages of the gospels, Matt. xiv. 3. Mark vi. 17. Luke iii. 19. or of Josephus, relating to this affair. If the reader will be pleased to look back [e] he will find what is sufficient for the purpose.

As Josephus, speaking of this unlawful marriage of Herod the tetrarch and Herodias, calls her first husband Herod; so it is certain, that according to him, Philip, whom St. Luke, ch. iii. 1. styles "tetrarch of Iturea and the region of Trachonitis," could not be the person: for Josephus says, that Herodias's daughter Salome was married to Philip, Herod's son, the tetrarch [f] of Trachonitis. Nor is there any mention made in Josephus of any other son of Herod the Great, who was called Philip, beside the fore-mentioned tetrarch of Iturea and Trachonitis.

I have no reason to say any thing more of Philip the tetrarch, than I have done already; having shewn in another place,[g] that St. Luke has given a just account of him. But I will here give a brief history of Herod, to whom Josephus says Herodias was first married; because I apprehend it may be needful for some readers, and it will be of great use to us upon this occasion.

Herod was the son of Herod the Great by Mariamne, daughter of Simon the high priest. After Herod the Great had killed his two sons Alexander and Aristobulus, he repented of what he had done, and resolved to take special care of their children. And in particular, he contracted Herodias, daughter of Aristobulus, to the above-mentioned Herod.[h] There happened indeed afterwards some alterations in the dispositions made by Herod the Great at this time; but, however, this [i] contract remained good, as may be concluded from hence:

[a] Παλιν δε τε βασιλεως των Ισραηλιτων ερομενε τον Θεον, περι της περι την μαχην εξοδε, προφηλευει ὁ αρχιερευς, κ. λ. ibid. [b] Τμεις εκ οιδατε βδεν· βδε διαλογιζεσθε ὁτι συμφερει ὑμιν, ινα εις ανθρωπος αποθανη ὑπερ τε λαε, και μη ὁλον το εθνος απολητα. [c] Προεφηλευσεν ὁτι εμελλεν ὁ Ιησες αποθνησκειν ὑπερ τε εθνες, κ. λ. [d] P. 12. note (C). [e] P. 12——14. [f] Ἡ δε Σαλωμη Φιλιππω γαμειται. Ἡρωδε παιδι τε τετραρχε της Τραχωνιτιδος· Antiq. l. 18. c. 6. sect. 4. [g] page 11. [h] Εγγυαται δε και γαμον —— τον δε εἱσραν των Αριστοβελε Θυγατερων, ——, ταυτην δε τω βασιλει εκ της τε αρχιερεως Θυγατρος. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 1. p. 751. v. 1. vid. etiam p. 1027. v. 30. [i] Vid. Joseph. p. 751. v. 20, p. 1028. v. 36.

that this contract is not mentioned among those alterations, and because in the account Josephus gives of Herod the tetrarch's unlawful marriage with Herodias, her first husband, whom she left in his life-time, is expressly said to be Herod son of Mariamne the high-priest's daughter.

Herod the Great in one of his wills, made after this contract, appointed the said Herod his successor, in case Antipater should die before him. But afterwards, in the inquiries concerning Antipater's design to poison his father, it appeared that Mariamne, mother of Herod, had been concerned in the same design: whereupon Herod the Great put away Mariamne, altered the clause of his will relating to her son, and took away the priesthood from her father [a] Simon. After this we hear no more of Herod, till we have the accounts of Herodias's leaving him.

Here then lies our difficulty. The evangelists call Herodias's first husband Philip. It is objected, that they must mean Philip the tetrarch. But it is plain from Josephus, that Philip the tetrarch was not her first husband, but Herod, son of Herod the Great, by Mariamne the high-priest's daughter.

In answer to this: 1. It has been said by some, that Josephus was mistaken. Basnage [b] of Flottemanville, whom I have often quoted, is fully persuaded, that Philip tetrarch of Iturea and Trachonitis, was Herodias's first husband. Beside that the evangelists lived nearer the time of the event than Josephus, he says, they had more reason to be well informed in this matter than Josephus, and they are three to one. Mr. Basnage does not deny, Herod's having had a son of his own name by the high-priest's daughter; but he says, this son died before his father. And he thinks, that Josephus says as much, and has assured us, that after Antipater was dead, Herod had no sons left, besides Archelaus, Herod Antipas, and Philip, betwixt whom he divided his kingdom. And therefore Josephus is guilty of a most flagrant self-contradiction, in making the son of the high-priest's daughter Herodias's husband. Besides, there is no mention of this son in Herod the Great's last will; which would be very strange, if he was then alive, especially considering that Herod left his sister Salome a very good estate in land.

This is Basnage's solution; but, in my opinion, a very poor one. I will not be positive, that Josephus has made no mistake in the accounts of Herod's family; because where a man has issue by seven or eight wives, as Herod had, perhaps a writer had need to have a head peculiarly turned for genealogy, to be secure from all errors, in giving an account of his children and all their marriages; especially, considering how much the [c] female descendants of Herod

[a] Και δια ταδε Ἡρωδης εκεινην τε εξεβαλε, και τον υἱον αυτης εξηλειψε των διαθηκων, εις το βασιλευσαι μεμνημενων εκεινε· και τον πενθερον την αρχιερωσυνην αφειλατο Σιμωνα, τον τε Βοηθε. Ant. l. xvii. c. iv. p. 757. v. 43. vid. etiam p. 1032. v. 33.

[b] Nulla ergo excusatio Josepho parari potest. Cujus narrationi, illa Evangelistarum, missâ vel eorum *αναμαρτησια*, dubio procul est anteponenda, cum testes & plures & antiquiores fuerint, & rationes longe graviores habuerint diligentius inquirendi in causas mortis illatæ Joanni, quas ducunt ex Herodiadis, Philippo legitimo viro, contra jus & fas, ab Antipâ ereptæ odio, in Joannem, scelestas nuptias damnantem. Equidem Josephus tenetur *επ' αυτοφωρῳ* deprehensus, cum ipse docuerit. Herodi Magno post mortem Antipatri, nil filiorum fuisse, præter Archelaüm, Herodem Antipam, & Philippum, quos inter, regnum diviserat suum. Nec vero simile est, in testamento, hujus Herodis, Herodiadi, ut ait Josephus, matrimonio conjuncti, parentem non meminisse, ne expers partis esset de bonis ejus; eo magis, quo multa Salomæ sorori suæ prædia moriendo dederat Herodes. Id faciles Josepho largiemur, ex Simonis pontificis filiâ procreatum Herodi regi filium fuisse, paterno nomine donatum. Parenti [illegible] negabimus, ex alto historiæ Judaïcæ silentio [illegible] partes egisset suas.——Erravit igitur Josephus.—B. de Ant. Polit. Eccles. A. D. 29. n. 3.

[c] Besides Herodias her three nieces, daughters of her brother Herod Agrippa, would employ the attention of an historian. Drusilla, the youngest, after the death of her first husband, [illegible] married Polemon king of Cilicia, [or, as some read it, Lycaonia.] 'But this marriage lasted not long; for Bernice left Polemon.' Ου μεν επι πολυ συνεμειναν ὁ γαμος, αλλα Βερνικη δι' ακολασιαν, ὡς εφασαν, καταλειπει τον Πολεμωνα. Antiq. lib. xx. c 6. sect. 3, 'Mariamne [the 'second daughter] about the same time, having divorced Ar-'chelaus, the son of Helchias, married Demetrius the Ala-'barch of the Jews at Alexandria.' τῳ αυλῳ δε καιρῳ και Μαριαμνη, παραιλησαμενη τον Αρχελαον, συνῳκησε τῳ Δημητριῳ·—τοτε δη και την αλαβαρχιαν αυτος ειχε· ib. Drusilla, the youngest, left Azizus king of the Emesenes, and married Felix, as has been shewn already, p. 25, 26. I have put down here all these instances for the sake of a remark. Our Saviour says: "Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her. And if a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she committeth adultery," Mark x. 11, 12. It may be inferred from hence, that the Jewish women, as well as the men, did then practise divorces, and after that marry to others. These instances from Josephus confirm the inference. We may be assured these ladies were not singular: their examples would be followed by others; and, it is likely, were supported by many precedents. If the women took this licence, what would not the men do? Our historian Josephus affords us a double example of this practice. His first wife left him, vit. sect. 75. and he married another. Her he divorced, after he had had three children by her, because he was not pleased with her manners. And then he married a third, by whom also he had children: καθ' ὁν δη καιρον και την γυναικα, μη αρεσκομενος αυτης τοις ηθεσιν, απεπεμψαμην, τριων παιδων γεν[illegible] μ νην μητερα· sect. 76.

increased the task in a short time, by leaving or divorcing their husbands. But I can never persuade myself, that Josephus, a professed writer of Jewish history, could be guilty of so many mistakes, as are included in a mistake about Herodias's first husband. If he was not furnished with the events of all Herod's children, yet he must certainly know the marriages of the last princes in the land of Israel, his own country. Could he be ignorant, who was Philip the tetrarch's wife? Who was the first husband of Herod the tetrarch's second wife, and of Agrippa the Great's sister? Was not Herodias's leaving her first husband in all respects a most notorious action? Was not Josephus well acquainted with her nephew, Agrippa the younger?

Basnage says, Josephus has assured us, Herod had but three sons left after the death of Antipater. I think Josephus has never said any such thing. If he had, he would be a writer of no weight; since he has afterwards expressly said, that Herodias's first husband was Herod, the son of the high-priest's daughter. And if Josephus had assured us, that Herod the Great had but three sons left after Antipater was dead, Basnage might have spared his arguments from the omission of Herod the high-priest's daughter's son, and the large estate left to Salome, in Herod the Great's last will.

Indeed, there is no reason to conclude that Herod, son of the high-priest's daughter, died before his father; but a great deal of reason to suppose he survived him, beside the express mention made of him long afterwards, as the husband of Herodias. For in the will his father made after the inquiries into Antipater's conspiracy, and therefore in the last year of his life, this said Herod's succession was struck out, as Josephus expressly says.[a] And though there be no mention made in the account of Herod's last will, of any other sons by name, beside those to whom he left a part of his territories; yet it is very likely, there were others to whom he left presents.[b] It is not strange, that Herod should leave no towns or lordships to this son (though living) in his last will, since his mother had been lately detected in a great crime. Nay, it is not strange, that three sons only of Herod had tetrarchies, and the rest, though never so many, only sums of money or revenues. As for the towns bequeathed by Herod to his sister Salome, she had been always faithful to him, and it was fit she should have some extraordinary testimony of his affection. Josephus himself[c] assigns this as the reason of that regard shewed to her in Herod's wills.

And Philo says, that when Pilate dedicated shields, and placed them in Herod's palace at Jerusalem,[d] the Jews got[e] four of the king's sons, and other his descendants, to make use of their interest with Pilate to remove the shields. If Philo may be relied upon in this matter, and if we may understand the word sons in the most proper sense, (which it seems most reasonable to do,) and not for grandchildren, or other descendants; then Herod must have left behind him at least two sons, beside the three betwixt whom he divided his dominions; for Archelaus certainly was not one of the four sons, whom Philo speaks of, because he had been banished into Gaul long before Pilate's government. Supposing then, that Herod tetrarch of Galilee, and Philip tetrarch of Trachonitis, were two of the four, there must have been two other sons of Herod, beside them and Archelaus.

But however Philo ought to be understood, I can never think it a fair way of getting rid of this difficulty, to charge Josephus with a great many gross blunders.

2. I proceed therefore to lay before the reader another solution, which has been in the main approved of already by many learned men.

(1.) The evangelists and Josephus are in the right, and none of them have committed any mistake in this matter. I have just shewn, that there is no reason to think Josephus was mistaken: and it is as unreasonable to suppose, that the evangelists are mistaken. They all agree in calling Herodias's first husband Philip; and they appear to be fully masters of the history of Herod the Great's family. One or other of them have told us, that Archelaus succeeded his father in Judea; that Herod (who was also called Antipas,) was tetrarch of Galilee, Philip of Trachonitis. If they had not been well informed, some errors would have appeared here.

[a] See before, p. 190. [b] Josephus's account of Herod's last will is, that he gave to Herod Antipas, Galilee, &c. to Philip, Gaulonitis, &c. to Archelaus, the kingdom, to Salome his sister, Jamnia, &c. and that he took care of all the rest of his family, leaving them handsome legacies of money, or ample revenues. Προνοησε δε και των λοιπων οποσοι συγγενεις ησαν αυτῳ, χρημαλων τε δοσεσι και προσοδων αναφοραις, ἑκαςους εν ευποριᾳ καθιςαμενος. Antiq. l. xvii. c. 8. sect. 1. [c] Σαλωμην τε επι μεγα επλουτιζεν την αδελφην, ευνουν τε εν πασι προς αυτον διαμεμενηκυιαν. κ. τ. λ. Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 6. sect. 1. [d] Αναθιθησιν εν τοις κατα τ[illegible]ιεροπολιν Ἡρωδου βασιλειοις. Philo. de legat. in Cai. p. 1034. A. [e] Προςησαμενοι τους τε βασιλεως υἱεις τετταρας,——και τους αλλους απογονους· Id. ibid.

St. Luke has given the proper titles and characters to all the other descendants of Herod, whom he has mentioned afterwards; Herod the king, Agrippa, Bernice, Drusilla.

They speak of this unlawful marriage of Herodias, as a matter they were well acquainted with, and Josephus concurs with them in the main.

(2.) The evangelists do not intend Philip the tetrarch, but the same person that Josephus does. If they had intended Philip the tetrarch, when they speak of Herodias's husband, they would have given him his title: this is their constant method. St. Matthew says, that Jesus was born "in the days of Herod the king," ch. ii. 1. St. Luke, that the vision of Zacharias was "in the days of Herod the king of Judea," ch. i. 5. In the account of our Saviour's return from Egypt, St. Matthew says, that Joseph heard that "Archelaus did reign in Judea, in the room of his father Herod," ch. ii. 22. St Luke gives the proper titles to all the princes, whom he mentions at the beginning of John the Baptist's ministry. In the account of Pilate's sending our Saviour to Herod, it appears plainly, that he was the tetrarch of Galilee, to whom he was sent, Luke xxiii. 6—8. When St. Luke begins the history of Herod Agrippa, he calls him "the king," Acts xii. 1. He gives also the title of "king to Agrippa," Acts xxv. 13.

Indeed, the church at Jerusalem in their prayer to God, give Herod and Pontius Pilate no titles, Acts iv. 27; and I believe, none would have them there at length. In the account of the death of John the Baptist, and of this marriage, all the evangelists do ever give Herod his title: Matt. xiv. 1, Mark vi. 14, Luke iii. 19, ix. 7. But not one of them has given the Philip, whom they mention, any title; but that "Herod had laid hold of John, and put him in prison for Herodias' sake, his brother Philip's wife," Matt. xiv. 3, or bound him in prison "for Herodias' sake, his brother Philip's wife," Mark vi. 17. Again, "Herod the tetrarch being reproved by him for Herodias his brother Philip's wife," Luke iii. 19. I make no doubt therefore, but that Philip, Herodias's first husband, was a private person, who lived, in all probability, at Jerusalem; and that Herod the tetrarch, in his way to Rome, there fell in love with her, and made the contract. Philip then, whom the evangelists speak of, as the first husband of Herodias, was a private person, invested with no titles or dignities: so is Josephus's Herod, as appears from the history I have given of him. And it is not unlikely, that this was one reason, among others, why Herod the tetrarch's proposal of marriage was so soon accepted by Herodias, an ambitious woman.

The only difficulty therefore concerning this matter, arises from the name. Josephus calls this person Herod, the evangelists Philip: moreover, Philip was the name of the tetrarch of Iturea and Trachonitis; therefore it may be thought strange, that Herod the Great should have another son called Philip.

This difficulty will be cleared by the following considerations. It is not at all strange, that Herod the Great should have two sons called by the same name, when he had children by seven or eight wives. Even according to Josephus, the eldest son was called Antipater, and another, who was the youngest, Antipas, or Herod Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilee. These are but one and the same name, only a different termination. Josephus mentions three of Herod's sons of the name of Herod, without any addition.[a] But yet it is highly probable, they had some other names, by which they were distinguished, though Josephus has not mentioned them. Grotius[b] thinks it very probable, there was a Philip among the ancestors of Herod the Great, after whom two of his sons were named Philip; as there were two of them, who bore the name of Antipater or Antipas from his father.

Though there was another brother by the same father, namely Philip the tetrarch, called by the same name with Herodias's husband; yet it was not necessary for the evangelists to take notice of it. When writers relate a well-known fact, near the time in which it happened, whilst there is no danger of persons making a mistake, this precaution is often neglected. Dio's account of Archelaus's removal is thus: 'Herod of Palestine being accused by his 'brothers, was banished to the other[c] side the Alps.' Herod was the name, by which the tetrarch of Galilee was usually called; and he also was afterwards banished to the other side the Alps: yet I believe no one ever charged Dio with a mistake here, as to the person he speaks of, or suspected, that he thought the tetrarch of Galilee was banished from his dominions A. U. 759.

[a] Vid. Jos. Ant. l. xvii. c. 1. l. xviii. c. 6. sect. 4. De Bell. l. 1. c. 28. & Geneal. Herod. in Reland. Palest. Illustr.

[b] In Matt. xix. 3.

[c] Ὁ τε Ἡρωδης ὁ Παλαιστινος, αἰτιαν τινα απο των αδελφων λαβων, ὑπο τας Αλπεις ὑπερωρισθη. Lib. lv. p. 767. B.

I will transcribe here an observation of the learned and judicious [a] Prideaux. 'He [Ptolemy 'Lathyrus] was succeeded by Cleopatra his daughter, and only legitimate child. Her proper 'name was Berenice, and so Pausanias calls her. For it is to be noted, that as all the males of 'this family had the common name of Ptolemy, so all the females of it had the name of Cleo-'patra, and besides had other proper names to distinguish them from each other. Thus Selene 'was called Cleopatra, and so were also two other of her sisters. And in like manner, this 'daughter Lathyrus, whose proper name was Berenice, bore also that of Cleopatra, according to 'the usage of her family. The observing of this will remove many obscurities and difficulties 'in the Egyptian history.'

The evangelists do all agree in calling Herodias's first husband Philip, and they appear fully masters of their story: it is therefore highly reasonable to suppose, he was called Philip as well as Herod. I shall put a case resembling this: Josephus always calls Livia, Augustus's wife,[b] Julia, though that was the proper name of Augustus's daughter, without ever giving the least hint of his reason for it. It is true, that though the Roman historians do generally call her Livia, yet they have told us, that she had also the name of Julia, and have informed us of the reason for it: which was, that Augustus in his last will adopted his wife into the Julian family, and appointed that she should bear the name of Julia.[c] And there are medals on which she bears this name. But if nothing of this had appeared in any of the Roman authors, or inscriptions that are extant, yet since Josephus appears to be well acquainted with the Roman affairs from Julius Cæsar down to his own time; I believe most men would have allowed, that he had some good reason for calling the wife of Augustus, Julia. For the same reason, a like supposition ought to be made in behalf of the evangelists, in the case before us.

It was exceeding common among the ancients, Jews and others, for persons to have two names, and to be called sometimes by the one, and sometimes by the other. There are several instances in the New Testament: "Simon, who is called Peter; Lebbeus, whose surname was Thaddeus," Matt. x. 2, 3. "Thomas, which is called Dydimus," John xi. 16. "Simeon, that was called Niger." Acts xiii. 1, "Saul, who was also called Paul."

Josephus calls Caiaphas, the high-priest, Joseph. He has indeed told us, that he was also called Caiaphas.[d] If mankind would have been as equitable to the writers of the New Testament, as they usually are to other authors, to some who are far from giving equal tokens of skill or probity with them; this would have created no difficulty, though Josephus had never subjoined the name of Caiaphas to that of Joseph. But if any had been disposed to give the evangelists unfair and unequal treatment, it is likely they would have pretended, that here was a notorious blunder: and that Caiaphas was so far from being high-priest when John Baptist began his ministry, and when Jesus was crucified, that there never was any such person high-priest among the Jews.

I hope what is already said, may be sufficient to convince all reasonable men, there is no just ground to suspect the evangelists of any mistake in the name of Herodias's first husband. However, there is somewhat farther to be offered: there are other writings extant, in which he is called Philip. I shall transcribe here the account of it in Whitby's words: 'Gorionides 'saith, Herodias was first married to Philip, and then taken away from him by Herod Antipas. 'The old Hebrew chronicle saith, "Uxorem fratris sui Philippi ipso vivente junxit sibi matri-"monio, quæ liberos ex fratre ejus susceperat, & tamen is eam duxit uxorem," (chap. 36.) And 'an old chronicle of the second temple saith, "Antipas Philippi fratris sui uxorem accepit, ex "qua ille liberos ante genuerat." (F. 54. c. 4.) i. e. "Antipas married the wife of his brother "Philip, he being yet living, and having had children by her."[e]

[a] Con. Part II. year before Christ 81. p. 396.

[b] Vid. Jos. p. 1026. not. h.

[c] Tiberium & Liviam hæredes habuit. Livia in familiam Juliam nomenque Augustæ adsumebatur. Tacit. lib. i. c. 8. vid. etiam Sueton. Aug. c. 101. Dion. p. 600. A.

[d] p. 793. v. 23. p. 803. v. 28.

[e] Whitby on Matt. xiv. 3.

CHAP. VI.

OF ZACHARIAS, THE SON OF BARACHIAS.

THERE are some difficulties attending the prophetical representation, given by our Lord, of those judgments, which he foresaw would soon befall the Jewish nation. This we have in two of the evangelists, in St. Matthew and St. Luke. One account will illustrate the other, and we may have some occasion to refer to each of them: therefore I shall set them both down here at once.

The account of this matter, as it stands in St. Matthew, is thus: ch. xxiii. 29—36, "Woe unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites, because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous: and say, if we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets. Wherefore ye be witnesses unto yourselves, that ye be the children of them that killed the prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell? Wherefore, behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes, and some of them ye shall kill and crucify, and some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city: that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel, unto the blood of *Zacharias, son of Barachias,* whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily, I say unto you, all things shall come upon this generation."

The parallel place in St. Luke, ch. xi. 47—51, is in these words: "Woe unto you, for ye build the sepulchres of the prophets, and your fathers killed them. Truly ye bear witness, that ye allow the deeds of your fathers; for they indeed killed them, and ye build their sepulchres. Therefore also said the wisdom of God, I will send them prophets and apostles, and some of them they shall slay and persecute; that the blood of all the prophets, which was shed from the foundation of the world, may be required of this generation; from the blood of Abel, unto the *blood of Zacharias,* which perished between the altar and the temple; verily, I say unto you, it shall be required of this generation."

Here the evangelists may be charged with a mistake several ways. They who would suppose, that Zacharias here referred to is Zacharias, one of the twelve lesser Jewish prophets, will say, they must have been mistaken, because in the time of this Zacharias, the temple is supposed to have been in ruins: and therefore it is impossible he should have been killed between the temple and the altar. And others, who suppose Zacharias, here intended, is Zacharias, whose death is related in 2 Chron. xxiv. may say, that St. Matthew mistook the name of his father; for his name was Jehoiada, and not Barachias.

There is another Zacharias, whose death is related by Josephus; but that happened not till long after the time in which our Saviour is supposed to have spoken these words. This seems to afford the most formidable objection: I shall therefore state and consider it particularly: and in answering this, I hope to answer also the other two.

Before I state this objection, I shall here transcribe the passage of Josephus on which it is founded. I must abridge it indeed, but I shall omit nothing that is material to the point before us.

'The zealots,' says Josephus, 'were exceedingly enraged against Zacharias,[a] the son of 'Baruch: for he was a man who detested all wickedness, was a lover of liberty, and moreover 'was very rich. They call[b] together therefore by a decree seventy of the chief of the people, 'and form a kind of council, destitute of all authority. They then brought Zacharias before 'them, and accused him of a conspiracy with the Romans: and in particular charged him with 'sending messengers to Vespasian, the better to concert measures for betraying them into his 'hands.' But they had no witnesses. The facts were not proved. Zacharias, in a speech he delivered before the council, confuted all the calumnies of the zealots, and warmly reproved them for their wickedness. 'The seventy then acquitted him, choosing rather to die with him

[a] Ζαχαριαν υἱον Βαρεχε. [b] Συγκαλεσιν εξ επιταγματος ἑβδομηκοντα των εν τελει δημοτων.

'than to bring upon themselves the imputation of his death. He being thus absolved, the 'zealots raised a loud clamour against those judges, as not understanding the design, for which 'they had been invested with authority. And two of the most daring of the zealots, falling 'upon Zacharias in the middle of the temple, slew him there.'[a]

It may be said then: from hence it appears, that the writers of these books were not acquainted with the affairs of those times: these writings therefore do not come from St. Matthew or St. Luke: at least the authors of them did not live at the time they are supposed to have lived; possibly not till long afterwards. How else could they have committed such a blunder, as to make Jesus tell the Jews of his time, in the reign of Tiberius, that they had killed Zacharias the son of Barachias, or Baruch? when Josephus informs us, that he was not killed till the latter end of Nero's reign, above thirty years after these words are said to have been spoken by Christ.

I. To this I answer, in the first place, that the fact related by Josephus does not suit the words of Christ in the evangelists.

For (1.) the name of the father of Zacharias seems to be different. Whitby[b] observes, 'that as Baruch in Jeremiah, and the Apocrypha is always called by the Septuagint Βαρυχ, 'Baruch, so ברכיה, Barachiah, is rendered by them Βαραχιας, Barachiah, Isa. viii. 2. Zech. i. 1. 7. 'And in Neh. iii. we find Βαραχιας, Barachias, v. 4. and Βαρυχ, Baruch, v. 20, which shews they 'were not the same name.'

(2.) Their characters are not the same. The design of our Saviour's discourse obliges us to suppose, that Zacharias, whom he mentioned, was a prophet: whereas Zacharias in Josephus has not that character from him.

(3.) The place in which they are said to have been slain, is not the same. Zacharias, in the gospels, perished "between the temple and the altar," according to both St. Matthew and St. Luke: but there is no reason to suppose, that Josephus's Zacharias was slain in the inner court, in which the altar stood. The council was not held within that court: and Zacharias seems to have been slain immediately after his absolution by the council. If he was slain in any part of the ἱερου, temple, that is perfectly agreeable to the words of Josephus; for under that name were comprehended the temple, and all the courts and buildings belonging to it.

These several instances of disagreement, I should think, must incline most persons to conclude, that the same Zacharias was not intended by the evangelists and Josephus.

But perhaps this is more than is reasonable to expect should be allowed by an objector. He can easily believe of writers, who are in little credit with him, that they may run far wide of the truth, and really intend a fact that has but a small resemblance with their relation. With such, what hath been said hitherto will have little weight.

I proceed therefore to some other considerations.

II. I say then, that our Lord, in the words we are now considering, instanceth in facts supposed to have been done a considerable time before. The whole tenor and design of his discourse assures us of it.

The Zacharias he mentions is not one, whom they of that age had themselves slain, but rather one of those prophets whose tombs they built.

The sum of what our Saviour says (if I mistake not) is this: Ye say, "If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets." This you say; but, as hereby you own, that you "are the children of them that killed the prophets; so by your conduct, by your malice, your pride, your hypocrisy, your obstinate disobedience to God, you make it appear, that you allow the deeds of your fathers, and are their genuine offspring: you even exceed them in wickedness; you are now filling up, and will still go on to fill up the measure of their iniquity. I am come among you in my Father's name, and have done works, which no man ever did, but you do not hearken to me: my words you do not receive, and me you will crucify. God will send among you, as he did to your fathers, prophets and wise men, to instruct you in the most excellent doctrine, to admonish and reclaim you; but ye will kill and crucify them, scourge them in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city. Hereby you will make the wicked deeds of your fathers your own, and bring the guilt of them upon yourselves; you will hereby deserve, that all the righteous blood shed

[a] Δυο δε των τολιμηροτατων, προσπεσοντες εν μεσω τω ἱερω, διαφθειρουσι τον Ζαχαριαν. De Bell. l. iv. c. 5. sect. 4.

[b] On Matt. xxiii. 35.

from the foundation of the world, from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zacharias, should be required of you: and verily I say unto you, "it shall be required of this generation."

Our Lord seems to me to remind them of instances of disobedience and cruelty, which they were well acquainted with, which they avowedly condemned, and pretended to see the evil of, but yet did, and would imitate in a most notorious manner; and hereby would bring the guilt of them upon themselves. And the conclusion of all obliges us to suppose, that the death of the Zacharias he had mentioned, was an act of cruelty committed by their fathers. This is the sense of the words in both the evangelists.

This appears to me so evident, that if there had been no event recorded in any of their ancient writings, which answered to the death of Zacharias here described; yet I should have supposed, that there was some such event that had happened some time before, and which they were then well acquainted with.

III. However, we have[a] a fact recorded in the old Testament, which exactly answers the words of our Saviour. It is in 2 Chron. xxiv. 17—22. "Now after the death of Jehoiada—they left the house of the Lord God of their fathers,—and wrath came upon Judah and Jerusalem; yet he sent prophets unto them to bring them again unto the Lord, and they testified against them: but they would not give ear. And the spirit of God came upon Zachariah, the son of Jehoiada the priest, which stood above the people, and said unto them, Thus saith God, Why transgress ye the commandment of the Lord? And they conspired against him, and stoned him with stones at the commandment of the king in the court of the house of the Lord. Thus Joash the king remembered not the kindness which Jehoiada his father had done to him, but slew his son: and when he died, he said, the Lord look upon it, and require it."

This fact is exactly parallel with that described by our Lord. (1.) This Zachariah spoke in the name of the Lord, 'the spirit of God came upon him.' It was suitable to our Lord's design to instance in the death of a 'prophet.' "Ye say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the death of the *prophets*.—I send unto you *prophets*, and wise men and scribes." Abel was a 'righteous man,' and this Zacharias a 'prophet.'

(2.) The place, in which this Zacharias is said to have been killed, answers the description in the evangelists: he was slain in the 'court of the house of the Lord,' that is, in the court of the priests, the inner court of the temple. In both the evangelists the same place is specified, 'between the temple and the altar.' This particular circumstance of so remarkable an event was, doubtless, handed down to them by tradition. According to the account in the Chronicles, he was in the inner court, when he delivered his message from God to them: 'He stood above the people.' The ground of the inner court was raised above the rest; he stood at the extremity of that, and spoke to the people standing in the next court below him: 'at the commandment of the king' they rushed in upon Zachariah: he retired, they pursued him, and 'stoned him with stones,' so that he fell down in the space between the altar of burnt-offerings and the temple.

(3.) Our Lord subjoins, 'whom *ye slew*.' The death of Zacharias, in the Chronicles, was the act of the nation, of king and people: this particular is added to this instance with the highest propriety. The death of Abel was the death of a 'righteous man,' but not committed by them: the death of Zacharias was the act of their ancestors, that is, of that people to whom our Lord was speaking; for a nation is in all ages reckoned the same people. "And he answered and said unto them, what did Moses command *you?*" Mark x. 3. "Verily I say unto you, Moses gave *you* not that bread from heaven," John vi. 32. "Did not Moses give *you* the law?" Ch. vii. 19. See 22.

(4.) Expressions made use of in the history of Zacharias in the Chronicles, and by our Saviour in his discourse to the Jews, put it past doubt, that he intended this fact, and alluded to this very account in that book. "Behold I send unto you prophets and wise men and scribes." The history in the Chronicles begins thus: "Yet he sent unto them prophets to bring them again unto the Lord, and they testified against them," &c. It concludes: "And when he died, he said, the Lord look upon it, and require it." Our Saviour tells the Jews, 'that the blood of all the prophets would be required of that generation.'

[a] See Whitby, Matt. xxiii. 36.

(5.) As the fact related in the Chronicles does in all its circumstances answer that described by our Lord, so there is a suitableness in the order in which it stands in our Lord's discourse. Abel is the first 'righteous man' slain, and the death of Zacharias is the last act of cruelty to a 'prophet' related in the Jewish sacred writings.

IV. It ought to be observed, that there is an exact harmony between the evangelists, in the account they have given of this discourse of our Saviour, though there is no reason to think, that one has copied the other. This ought to satisfy us, that no mistake has been made.

In one particular indeed there is a difference. In St. Matthew Zacharias is styled the son of Barachias, whereas in St. Luke's account it is not said who was his father.

And in this particular the person, whom our Saviour speaks of, seems not to answer to him mentioned in the Chronicles; for there he is called the son of Jehoiada.[a]

There is therefore but one objection against supposing, that our Saviour meant the Zacharias in the Chronicles: but it is such an objection as deserves consideration.

It has been observed by [a] divers learned men, that many persons among the Jews were called by two names, especially when their true name happened to have some of the letters of the word Jehovah in it. For this reason Barachias may have been used for Jehoiada, since likewise these two names have much the same meaning.

Other learned men suppose, that Barachias was very early inserted into St. Matthew's gospel by some transcriber. There is the more reason for this supposition, because it is wanting in St. Luke. Or else Jehoiada might have been originally in St. Matthew, but some Christian transcriber, not well acquainted with the Jewish history, nor knowing who Jehoiada was, and therefore suspecting that to be a mistake, might pretend to correct it, by putting Barachias in the room of Jehoiada. Zachariah, the son of Barachias, whose prophecies form one of the books of the Old Testament, was certainly better known among the christians, than Zacharias the son of Jehoiada. It is not at all unlikely therefore, that our not having this name in St. Matthew, may be owing to the ignorance and rashness of some transcriber. This supposition seems to be favoured by what St. Jerom says, who informs us, that in the gospel of the Nazarenes, Zachariah is called the son [b] of Jehoiada.

Some have thought, that there is a like instance in Matt. xiii. 35, where we have these words, "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, I will open my mouth in parables," &c. The words of this quotation are in Ps. lxxviii. 2, the title of which is 'Maschil of Asaph.' St. Jerom [c] says, that in some copies of St. Matthew it was written, 'That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet Esaias.' He thinks it was originally 'which was spoken by the prophet Asaph:' but some transcriber, not knowing Asaph to be a prophet, put Esaias in his room. Afterwards others, perceiving there were no such words as those which follow here to be found in Esaias, left out his name; and from thence forward in most copies it was written, "which was spoken by the prophet, saying," &c.

I crave leave to mention an observation, that may support the former of these two suppositions, viz. that originally 'the son of Barachias' was wanting in St. Matthew, as well as in St. Luke. The ancient christians seem to have been very much divided in their opinion, who was the Zacharias here spoken of. Many christians in St. Jerom's time thought he was Zacharias the father of John the Baptist; borrowing this notion (as he [d] adds,) from some apocryphal books of no authority. In the copies of St. Matthew's gospel in his time, he was styled the son of Barachias, as in ours; but the Nazarene christians, being Jews by birth, and understanding the history of their own nation, had it in their gospel, 'Zacharias the son of Jehoiada.' This indeed was the truth, but it seems to have been an insertion.

But this is left to the reader, to judge of as he thinks fit. It is highly probable, that one of these may be the case; either that Jehoiada, not being well known, Barachias was put in his room; or else, that 'the son of Barachias,' was added.

There being so probable an account of this reading, I hope there remains no farther scruple about this text.

There is another interpretation of these words, which some have inclined to, namely, that

[a] Vid. Grot. & Whitb. in loc.

[b] In evangelio quo utuntur Nazareni, pro filio Barachiæ, filium Joiadæ reperimus scriptum. S. Hieron. comment. Matt. xxiii. 36.

[c] In loc.

[d] Comm. in Matt. xxiii. 36.

Zacharias here mentioned is Zacharias, whose death Josephus has given us the history of, and that our Saviour spoke of him by way of prophecy. But as there can be no objection, which I am concerned with, formed against the evangelists from this sense of the words, I have taken no notice of it.

Besides, I think it is by no means the true sense of the place. Whitby observes very well 'that Christ speaks here of the prophets, whom they had slain, not of one who was to be 'slain a little before the destruction of Jerusalem; for then none of the people could have understood his meaning.'

By the whole tenor of our Saviour's discourse, the Zacharias he speaks of is excluded from the number of those that were to be slain. If Zacharias, whom Josephus speaks of, was as good a man as he represents him, and did faithfully reprove the wickedness of the prevailing party of his nation, he might be one of those 'holy and wise men,' whom our Saviour foresaw would be slain by the Jews: but he can never be the Zacharias whom our Saviour mentioned by name; for he is one of those prophets which had been slain before, and whose blood would be required of them.

CHAP. VII.

OF THEUDAS.

It will be proper in the next place to consider the objection relating to Theudas. The apostles were brought before the council at Jerusalem, Acts v. 34—36. "And when they took council to slay them, Gamaliel commanded to put the Apostles forth a little space; and said unto them, Ye men of Israel, take heed to yourselves, what ye intend to do as touching these men. *For before these days rose up Theudas*, boasting himself to be somebody, to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves: who was slain, and all as many as obeyed him, were scattered and brought to nought. *After this man* rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him: and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed."

This speech of Gamaliel was made not long after our Saviour's ascension: Ludovicus Cappellus places it in the beginning of Caligula's [a] reign; Whitby [b] and others, three or four years sooner, in the 20th of Tiberius, A. D. 34. And Gamaliel here speaks of Theudas, as having given disturbance before Judas of Galilee, who in the days of the taxing drew away much people. This refers doubtless to the assessment made by Cyrenius after Archelaus was deposed, when Judea was reduced to a Roman [c] province: which happened in the sixth or seventh year of the christian æra. It was at this time that Judas, whom Josephus calls Judas Gaulanites, and likewise Judas the Galilean, raised disturbances in that country.

But Josephus gives us an account of an impostor called Theudas, when Cuspius Fadus was procurator in Judea; and therefore not before the fourth year of Claudius the Roman emperor, A. D. 44, that is, seven years after Gamaliel's speech was made, according to Cappellus's computation, and ten years after it, according to Whitby's.

Josephus's words are these: 'Whilst Fadus was procurator of Judea, a certain impostor 'called Theudas, persuaded a very great multitude, taking their effects along with them, to 'follow him to the river Jordan: for he said he was a prophet, and that causing the river to 'divide at his command, he would give them an easy passage over. By these speeches he 'deceived many: but Fadus was far from suffering them to go on in their madness; for he 'sent out a troop of horse, who, coming upon them unexpectedly, slew many, and took many 'prisoners. Theudas himself was among the latter; they cut off his head, and brought it to 'Jerusalem. These things happened in Judea, while Cuspius Fadus was procurator.' [d]

[a] Spicileg. in Act. v. 36. [b] Whitby Par. on this text. [c] Jos. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. ult. l. xviii. cap. 1. De B. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 8 sect 1.

[d] Φαδε δε της Ιεδαιας επιτροπευοντος, γοης τις ανηρ, Θευδας ονομαζι, πειθει τον πλειστον οχλον, αναλαβοντα τας κτησεις επεσθαι προς τον Ιορδανην ποταμον αυτω· προφητης γαρ ελεγεν ειναι, και προσταξαι τον ποταμον σχισας, διοδον εφη παρεξειν αυτοις ραδιαν· και ταυτα λεγων πολλους ηπατησεν· ου μην εασεν αυτους της αφροσυνης ονασθαι Φαδος, αλλ' εξεπεμψεν ιλην ιππεων επ' αυτους, ητις, απροσδοκητος επιπεσουσα, πολλους μεν ανειλε,

It may therefore be pretended, that St. Luke has made a mistake. The Theudas whom Josephus mentions, appeared not till several years after Gamaliel's speech was made: nor has Josephus said any thing of any other. The person Gamaliel speaks of, is of the same name; he likewise 'boasted himself to be somebody,' that is, a prophet: he was slain, and his followers were scattered. In these particulars Gamaliel and Josephus agree, therefore they mean the same person, but they differ most widely about the time; for which reason St. Luke must have been mistaken.

Divers solutions have been offered of this difficulty.

1. Some say, St. Luke might put the affair of Theudas into Gamaliel's speech by way of anticipation. He knew very well, that Theudas did not appear till after this time: but this being a very proper instance, and suitable to the main scope and design of the speech which Gamaliel made, he inserted it himself. But this is not at all agreeable to the simplicity of St. Luke's narration, especially considering how particular he is as to the number of Theudas's followers: to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves. And one would think Valesius was at a loss for examples of anticipation, when the only one he produces is out of a poet, and that has scarce any resemblance with this before us.[a]

2. Some think that Josephus has been mistaken, and has misplaced Theudas's insurrection. This solution Valesius prefers before the former, and it is approved likewise by [b] Le Clerc. They understand Gamaliel to say, 'Before these days,'[c] that is, a little while ago, 'rose up Theudas, boasting himself to be somebody.' And if you look farther back,[d] 'before this man (not "after this man," as we render it,) rose up Judas of Galilee.'——Thus, according to Valesius, Josephus has not misplaced this event of Theudas above twelve years; but according to Mr. Le Clerc, the error is greater, for he supposes he 'rose up' A. D. 28.

But this kind of solutions appears to me perfectly arbitrary, and not to be untying, but cutting the knot; and I freely own I have no right to them. It is very unlikely, that Josephus should have been mistaken about the time of that Theudas's insurrection which he gives an account of: he may have made mistakes in chronology; but Josephus is very express here, that this affair happened in the time of Fadus, when he himself must have been seven years of age.

And in my opinion these learned men give a wrong meaning to two expressions in Gamaliel's speech. It is not necessary to understand those words, 'Before these days rose up Theudas,' of a 'little while ago,' two or three years before: these common phrases are loose and undetermined in all languages, and signify sometimes a shorter, at others, a longer space of time; and the subject matter of the discourse, or the coherence of things, or some light from abroad, can alone determine what the space of time intended is. It is said, Acts ix. 22, 23, "But Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which were at Damascus. —*And after that many days* were fulfilled, the Jews took council to kill him." By these 'many days' can be meant but a short space of time, as appears from Gal. i. 17, 18. St. Paul tells Felix, Acts xxiv. 10, "Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been of many years a judge unto this nation, I do the more cheerfully answer for myself:" though it is likely, Felix had not then been in Judea above five years. And yet it might be said very properly, that he had been there 'many years;' since in five years time, a governor may be supposed to gain a good insight into the laws and customs of his province, and the temper of the people; as also, because very often governors were removed in a shorter space of time. When Pilate's soldiers had marched into Jerusalem with ensigns, the Jews went from thence in a great body to Pilate at Cæsarea, and there made 'supplications,' Josephus[e] says, 'many days.' But it appears presently after-

πολλȣς δε ζωντας ελαβεν· αυτον τε τον Θευδαν ζωγρησαντες αποτεμνȣσι την κεφαλην, και κομιζȣσιν εις Ἱεροσολυμα· τα μεν ȣν συμβαντα τοις Ιȣδαιοις κατα τȣς Κυσπιȣ Φαδȣ της επιτροπης χρονȣς, ταυτα εγενετο. Ant. l. xx. c. 4. sect. 1.

[a] Alia quoque conciliandi ratio excogitari potest; si dicamus B. Lucam in eo loco κατα προληψιν locutum esse. Quæ quidem figura occurrit interdum apud antiquos scriptores, exempli causâ apud Virgilium, cum dicit:

———portusque require Velinos.

Atqui, cum hæc dicerentur Æneæ, nondum condita erat Velia. Vales. Annot. in Euseb. H. E. l. ii. c. 11.

[b] Clerici Histor. Eccl. A. D. 28. n. 60.

[c] Προ γαρ τȣτων των ἡμερων ανεστη Θευδας. Quæ verba rem nuper ac novissime factam demonstrant. Vales. ubi supra

[d] Sed quoniam Casaubonus negat Græcos unquam ita locutos fuisse, producendus est testis omni exceptione major. Is est Clemens Alexandrinus, qui, in lib. vii. Stromat. sub finem, eodem prorsus modo locutus est quo B. Lucas:———Nam Marcion iisdem quidem temporibus vixit quibus Basilides & Valentinus. Verum tanquam senior cum illis adhuc junioribus versatus est. Addit. deinde, μεθ' ὁν Σιμων επ' ολιγον κηρυσσοντος τȣ Πετρȣ ὑπηκȣσεν. 'Post quem Simon prædicantem Petrum audivit aliquamdiu.' Quis non videt in hoc Clementis loco post hunc idem valere atque ante hunc,—sed & geographiæ scriptores, quoties terrarum situm & populorum nomina describunt, eodem loquuntur modo. Dicunt enim μετα τȣτȣς εισιν εκεινοι. Id. ibid.

[e] Ἱκετειαν ποιȣμενοι επι πολλας ἡμερας. Ant. l. xviii. cap. 4. sect. 1.

wards, that on the [a] sixth day from their arrival, Pilate seated himself on his tribunal and granted their petition. So Josephus relates this in his Antiquities: in his War these earnest supplications continued 'five whole days [b] and nights.'

Thus these phrases, that seem to import a long duration, are much limited by the connexion of a discourse, or by the nature of the things spoken of: and other phrases, that denote ordinarily a shorter duration, must be understood sometimes with great latitude. There is an example in Jeremiah, chap. xxxi. 31, "Behold *the days come*, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel." Ver. 33, "*After those days*, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts." I suppose no one thinks these promises or predictions were to be accomplished presently. Porphyry says, 'that many of the ancients had been 'supposed to understand the sounds of birds and other animals, and Apollonius [c] of Tyana not 'long ago.' Apollonius died before the end of the first century of the christian æra: Porphyry was not born till the 232d or 233d year [d] of the same æra Every one must be sensible, with what latitude Porphyry's 'not long ago' is to be understood. I place another remarkable example from Cicero in the margin [e]

I see no necessity therefore of restraining the sense of the phrase, 'before these days' to two or three years; it may as well intend twenty or thirty years: it is plain it does so here, since it was not till after Theudas that Judas rose up.

Which brings me to the other phrase misunderstood by these learned men: After this man, μετα τουτον. The instances of the use of this preposition by geographers for a remoter distance are not to the point, because here it imports time: and as for Valesius's quotation from St. Clement; I think it not worth while to consider here, whether he understands it right or not. At the best, St Clement's passage is very obscure and perplexed. St. Luke's phrase is one of the most common phrases in all the Greek language, and is ever understood as it is rendered in this place by our translators. It would be unreasonable to affix a new meaning to a very common phrase, upon the single authority of one obscure passage: this is said upon the supposition, that the phrase in St. Clement was the same with that in St. Luke, and that the sense assigned by Valesius to St. Clement's passage was the most likely sense of any. But indeed the phrase in St. Clement is not the same, and for that reason is of the less weight here.

I suppose then that our translation is just, and that the substance of this part of Gamaliel's speech is this: Not long since rose up Theudas. It might be thirty years or more. The persons he spoke to knew very well how long. And after this man, in the time of the celebrated assessment, when Judea was made a Roman province, rose up Judas of Galilee. Both these men perished, and their adherents were scattered.

3. And the solution, already offered by divers learned [f] men, of the difficulty under consideration, appears to me perfectly just. There were two Theudas's in Judea that were impostors, one before Judas of Galilee, and another in the reign of Claudius. There is no mistake upon this head in Josephus, nor in St. Luke, who has given us an exact and true account of Gamaliel's speech.

It is not at all unlikely, that there should be two impostors in Judea of the same name in the compass of about forty [g] years, and that they should both come to the same end. These are the two chief difficulties in this matter, and they may be both cleared up.

1. It is not at all strange, that there should be two impostors in Judea of the name Theudas in the space of forty years. There were several impostors named Simon. Beside Simon Magus, mentioned in the New Testament, and often spoken of by the first Christian writers, there was one Simon a servant of Herod; who after his master's death, had the impudence to set himself up for king, and put [h] on a diadem. After a long and obstinate engagement with Gratus, he was defeated, and his men were dispersed; he was taken prisoner, and by Gratus's order his head was cut [i] off. There was another Simon, son of Judas of Galilee, who was cru-

[a] Καλα εκλην ἡμεραν——αυτος επι το βημα ηκε. ib.

[b] Επι πενθε ἡμερας και νυκτας ισας ακινητοι διεκαρτερουν. l. ii. c. 9. sect. 2.

[c] Ὡς επι μεν των παλαιων ὁ Μελαμπους, —και οἱ τοιουτοι, α προ πολλα δε Απολλωνιος ὁ Τυανευς. Porphyr. de Abst. l. iii. c. 3.

[d] Vid. Luc. Holsten. de Vit. & Script. Porphyr. cap. 2.

[e] Quid ea, quæ *nuper*, id est paucis ante seculis, medicorum ingeniis reperta sunt? De Nat Deor l. ii. c. 50.

[f] Casaub. Exerc. in Baron. ii. n. 18. Grot. & Hamm. in Act. v. 36. Basnage Hist. des Juifs, l. vi. c. 9. sect. 7. edit. 1706.

[g] The interval cannot be shorter. Josephus's Theudas could not appear before the year 44. Gamaliel's Theudas rose up before Judas of Galilee, who made his disturbance in the 6th or 7th year of the Christian æra.

[h] Ην δε και Σιμων δουλος μεν Ἡρωδε τε βασιλεως— εὐρωστος, αρθεις τη ακρασια των πραγματων, διαδημα τε εἰολμησε περιθεσθαι. Ant. l xvii. c. 12. sect. 6.

[i] Γραιος ενιυχων την κεφαλην αποτεμνει· Ibid.

cified in the [a] reign of Claudius by Tiberius Alexander, governor of Judea after Fadus. There was in the time of Felix one Simon of Cyprus, who pretended to magic; I have already mentioned him in another place.[b]

There were likewise several Judas's who gave disturbance to this country in a very short time. Judas of Galilee was a noted person, mentioned by Gamaliel, and oftentimes by Josephus; he rose up in the time of the taxing presently after the removal of Archelaus. There was [c] another Judas, [d] son of Ezechias, who soon after Herod's death affected regal authority, and did a great deal of mischief. There was one Judas, son of Sepphoræus, a man in great reputation for his skill in the law, who with some others raised a sedition during Herod's last sickness: he and some of his confederates [e] were burnt alive. So that there were three men of the same name, who in the space of about ten years raised commotions in Judea.

(2.) Nor is the agreement of character and circumstances mentioned by Gamaliel and Josephus, a proof they speak of one and the same person. There are but two particulars of this sort: that they pretended to be extraordinary persons, and that they were slain, and their followers scattered or brought to nought. But in this there is nothing extraordinary; though there had been yet more circumstances in which they had agreed, this would have been no proof that one and the same person is spoken of.

Gamaliel says, 'Theudas boasted himself to be somebody,' and he 'was slain;' Josephus, that 'Theudas said he was a prophet,' and 'his head was cut off.'

Josephus has informed us, concerning the Theudas he speaks of, that he got a good number of people to follow him to Jordan. Though Gamaliel and Josephus had concurred in so particular a circumstance as this, (which they do not,) yet it would not have been a sufficient reason for our supposing that they intended the same person.

I shall give an instance. Of Simon [f] above-mentioned, servant of Herod, Josephus says, that he plundered and burnt the palace at Jericho; and that he burnt several royal houses in divers parts, having first given them to be plundered by his followers. He says also, that the people with Simon were chiefly [g] Peræans, or people that lived on the other side of Jordan. Afterwards, even while he is speaking of affairs that passed in Judea, soon after the death of Herod, he says, that 'at Amatha near Jordan, a royal palace was burnt down by a number of 'men very much like those who were with [h] Simon.'

If Josephus had omitted this last fact, and some other historian had related it, together with the name of the leader of this body of men, and given them their character; which, if true, must have resembled that of the men with Simon; unless the reputation of this historian had been very well established, it would have been thought that he was mistaken, and that the person he meant was Simon, though he called him by another name. A palace burnt down at Amatha by Jordan; who could these be but Simon's people? who, Josephus, says, were mostly Peræans. Then the time agrees exactly; both facts in the absence of Archelaus from Judea after his father's death. This writer therefore must have been grossly mistaken, in the name of the person to whom he ascribes the conduct of this action.

Or, it is not unlikely, that critics might have been divided; some would have vindicated Josephus, and some the other writer; and yet they would have been all mistaken, unless they had allowed two different bodies of men, and two different matters to be spoken of, and that both the historians were in the right.

It is certain, that these impostors about this time had a resemblance in their pretensions, and their fates: one boasted he would give his followers a passage over Jordan, as Josephus's Theudas; another promised his people they should see the walls of Jerusalem fall down before them, as the Egyptian impostor. The great scene of expectation was the [i] wilderness. But in this they agreed universally, the company was routed and dispersed, and usually the leaders executed. This, we may be certain, was the case, or else the government had been overturned.

[a] Ibid. l. xx. c. 4. sect. 2. [b] Book I. p. 26.

[c] Ιουδας δε ην Εζεκια υιος, κ. λ. Antiq. l. xvii. cap. 12. sect. 5. [d] Archbishop Usher thinks, this Judas to be Gamaliel's Theudas. 'For whereas Jehudah of the Hebrews 'is the same with Theudah of the Syrians, from whence Judas 'and Thaddeus [compare Luke vi. 16. with Mark iii. 18. 'and much rather Theudas, the same name plainly comes

'This Judas seems to be no other than Theudas, of whom 'Gamaliel speaks, Acts v. 36. Annals, p. 797.

[e] De Bell. l. i. c. 33. sect. 2—4. [f] Το εν Ιεριχουντι βασιλειον πιμπρησι δι' αρπαλης αλων τα εκαλαλελειμμενα. Ant. l. xvii. c. 12. sect. 6. [g] Το τε πολυ των Περαιων· ibid.

[h] Κἀπεπρησθη δε και τα επι τῳ Ιορδανῃ πολαμῳ εν Αμαθοις βασιλεια ὑπο τινων συςανλων ανδρων Σιμωνι παραπλησιων· ibid.

[i] Matt. xxiv. 26. Jos. Ant. l. xx. c. 7. sect. 6. 10. & alibi.

These few circumstances then, in which Gamaliel's Theudas resembles him mentioned by Josephus, are no good argument, that one and the same person is intended.

Besides, there is one material circumstance in which they differ. Gamaliel says; "Before these days rose up Theudas—to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves." But Josephus says of his Theudas, that he 'persuaded a very great multitude to follow him;' and that 'many were slain, and many taken prisoners.' Josephus's Theudas must have had with him a much larger company than the former.

(3.) It has been very well observed by Whitby,[a] that the ancients generally agreed there was a Theudas before the coming of our Lord, though Josephus has taken no notice of him. Beza[b] was of opinion, that the Theudas of whom Gamaliel speaks, did not arise before our Saviour's nativity, but soon after Herod's death, in that sort of interregnum, which there was in Judea, whilst Archelaus was at Rome. Which was also archbishop Usher's opinion, as I have shewn above.

It is certain, that this was a time of the utmost confusion. Josephus has mentioned several by name, who then gave disturbance in that country; and hinted at mischiefs done by others, whose names he has not put down. It is plain, he has past by many more than he has mentioned: for he says, 'At that time[c] there were innumerable disturbances in Judea.'

Considering all these things, that there had been before this many pretenders in Judea; that Josephus has been far from mentioning all that rose up in the latter end of Herod's reign, and in that remarkable time of confusion which succeeded his death; since there had been in this country, in a very short time, divers adventurers for power and authority of one and the same name; and since Theudas[d] was no uncommon name among the Jews; and since these leaders of parties and factions very much resembled each other, and that sometimes in more particulars than those specified by Gamaliel; it is not at all unlikely, that there were two Theudases who were impostors. We may depend upon it there were: Gamaliel speaks of one who was before Judas of Galilee, and Josephus of another in the time of Claudius.

Indeed I am somewhat surprised, that any learned man should find it hard to believe, that there were two impostors in Judea of the name of Theudas in the compass of forty years.[e]

Batricides, patriarch of Alexandria, about the middle of the eighth century, supposed that the high-priest Simon, surnamed the Just, and who according to other historians[f] died about 290 years before the christian æra, and Simeon, who took our Saviour into his arms when he was presented at the temple, were one and the same person, and that he was then 350 years of age.[g] I do not say that these two mistakes are equal, but the pretence for thus confounding two persons is just the same in both these cases, which is the agreement in name and character. For the high-priest's name is sometimes written Simeon: he was called the Just; and the evangelist says, that Simeon was "*Just* and devout."

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE EGYPTIAN IMPOSTOR.

THERE is yet another particular, in which it has been thought by some that Josephus contradicts St. Luke. In ch. xxi. of the Acts of the Apostles, is the account of the uproar at Jerusalem, when the Jews apprehended Paul, and would have "killed him." When the chief captain

[a] Ερωμεν ὁτι Θευδας προ της γενεσεως Ιησυ γεγονε τις παρα Ιουδαιοις, μεγαν τινα εαυτον λεγων. Orig. cont. Cels. p. 44. See more citations in Whitby upon the place. [b] In loc.

[c] Εν τουτῳ δε και ἑτερα μυρια δογυδων εχομενα την Ιουδαιαν κατελαμβανε. Ant. l. xvii. c. 12. sect. 4. vid. & de B. l. ii. c. 4.

[d] Frequens erat id nomen apud Hebræos. Itaque non mirum est diversis temporibus plures extitisse factiosos homines ejusdem nominis. Grot. in loc. [e] Duos enim Theudas fuisse, qui se prophetas esse mentiti, alter post alterum Judæos ad spem rerum novarum concitaverint, nunquam adduci possim ut credam. Vales. ubi supra. [f] See Prideaux Conn. Part i. Book 8. year before Christ. 292.

[g] In septuaginta autem fuit vir, qui nuncupatus est Simeon Justus; is qui excepit ulnis Dominum nostrum Christum e Templo.——Produxit autem Deus ei vitæ terminum, adeo ut viveret CCCL annos, & videret Dominum nostrum Christum. Quem cum vidisset, dixit, Nunc. dimitte servum tuum, O Domine, &c. apud Selden. De Succ. Pontif. l. i. c. vii.

had taken him from the Jews, and had got him in his own custody, it is said, he put this question to him; "Art not thou that Egpptian, which before these days madest an uproar, and leddest out into the wilderness *four thousand* men that were murderers?" Acts xxi. 38.

The objection lies against the number here mentioned. For Josephus, speaking of this same Egyptian, says, 'he gathered together thirty thousand men.'

We have the story twice told in Josephus, in his Antiquities, and in his History of the Jewish War. I shall set down Josephus's words, and leave it to the reader to judge, whether an objection of any weight can be formed against St. Luke from the account we have of this affair in Josephus. I shall in the first place transcribe the account in the Jewish War, because that was first written.

'But the Egyptian false prophet brought a yet heavier disaster upon the Jews. For this 'impostor coming into the country, and gaining the reputation of a prophet, gathered 'together thirty thousand men, who were deceived[a] by him. Having brought them round 'out of the wilderness up to the mount of Olives, he intended from thence to make his attack 'upon Jerusalem, and having beaten the Roman guard, to bring the people into subjection to 'him, and govern them by the help of his armed associates. But Felix coming suddenly upon 'him with the Roman soldiers, prevented the attack; and all the people joined with him in 'their own defence, so that when they came to engage, the Egyptian fled, followed by a few 'only. A great number [or, the greatest part,] of those that were with him were either slain, 'or taken prisoners. The rest of the multitude being scattered, shifted for themselves as they 'could.'

The account he gives of this affair in the Antiquities is thus: 'About the same time [he 'had been speaking of some other events in the beginning of Nero's reign,] there came[b] a 'person out of Egypt to Jerusalem, who pretended to be a prophet, and having persuaded a 'good number of the meaner sort of people to follow him to the mount of Olives, he told 'them, that from thence he would let them see the walls of Jerusalem fall down at his 'command, and promised through them to give them entrance into the city. But Felix 'being informed of these things, ordered his soldiers to their arms, and marching out of Jeru-'salem with a large body of horse and foot, fell upon those who were with the Egyptian, 'killed four hundred of them, and took two hundred prisoners; but the Egyptian getting out 'of the fight, escaped.'

The reader, if he thinks it needful, may consult the commentators, and other writers, who[c] have considered this difficulty. Grotius supposes, that they were at first four thousand, but that at length they increased to the number of thirty thousand. Valesius reckons there were four thousand only that were murderers, or sacarii; though the whole company amounted to the number which Josephus mentions. Whitby thinks, that it is likely the number in Josephus was originally three thousand. And certainly none of these solutions are contemptible. But, for my own part, I think there is more need of reconciling Josephus with himself, or at least one of these accounts with the other, than to reconcile St. Luke with Josephus.

If indeed we had any good reason to think, that the number in Josephus was originally three thousand, the disagreement would be small. The number of a multitude got together in a short time, and soon dispersed, might not be exactly known: the chief captain at Jerusalem might compute them at four thousand, and Josephus think they were but three thousand.

Aldrich has proposed another very ingenious conjecture; that originally the number of the

[a] Μειζονι δε ταυτης πληγη Ιουδαιους εκακωσεν ὁ Αιγυπτιος ψευδοπροφητης· παραγενομενος γαρ εις την χωραν, ανθρωπος γοης, και προφητης πιστιν επιθεις εαυτῳ, περι τρισμυριους μεν αθροιζει των ηπατημενων· περιαγαγων δε αυτους εκ της ερημιας εις το Ελαιων καλουμενον ορος, εκειθεν οιος τε ην εις Ιεροσολυμα παρελθειν βιαζεσθαι, και κρατησας της τε Ρωμαικης φρουρας και τω δημω τυραννειν, χρωμενος τοις συνεισπεσουσι δορυφοροις· φθανει δε αυτω την ὁρμην Φηλιξ υπαντιασας μετα των Ρωμαικων ὁπλιτων, και πας ὁ δημος συνεφηψατο της αμυνης· ὡστε συμβολης γενομενης, τον μεν Αιγυπτιον φυγειν μετ' ολιγων, διαφθαρηναι δε και χωρισθηναι πλειστους των συν αυτῳ· το δε λοιπον πληθος σκεδασθεν επι την εαυτων εκαστον διαλαθειν· De Bell. l. ii. c. 13. sect. 5.

[b] Αφικνειται δε τις εξ Αιγυπτου καθ' ὁν καιρον εις τα Ιεροσολυμα, προφητης ειναι λεγων, και συμβουλευων τῳ δημοτικῳ πληθει συν ὁπλοις προς ορος το προσαγορευομενον Ελαιων ερχεσθαι —θελειν γαρ εφασκεν αυτοις εκειθεν επιδειξαι, ὡς, κελευσαντος αυτου, πιπτοι τα των Ιεροσολυμων τειχη, δι' ὡν την εισοδον αυτοις παρεξειν επηγγελλετο· Φηλιξ δε, ὡς επυθετο ταυτα, κελευει τους στρατιωτας αναλαβειν τα ὁπλα, και μετα πολλων ἱππεων τε και πεζων ὁρμησας απο των Ιεροσολυμων προσβαλλει τοις περι τον Αιγυπτιον· και τετρακοσιους μεν αυτων ανειλε, διακοσιους δε ζωντας ελαβεν· ὁ δε Αιγυπτιος αυτος διαδρασας εκ της μαχης αφανης εγενετο. Ant. l. xx. c. 7. sect. 6.

[c] Grot. Whitby in loc. Joseph. p. 1075. not. p. Vales. Euseb. Hist. l. ii. c. 21.

whole company in Josephus's War of the Jews was four thousand; and that the number of two hundred said in the Antiquities to be taken prisoners, was originally two thousand: both which errors might happen only by a very small alteration.[a]

But I choose not to insist upon any of these solutions, which rely on emendations, made without the authority of any manuscripts. The numbers in Josephus are at present plainly faulty. In the first account he says, they were thirty thousand in all, and that a great number of these were either slain or taken prisoners. I might have rendered the words, the most of them, or, the greatest part of them. But though I have not given them that sense, yet certainly the four thousand slain, and two hundred taken prisoners, in the other account, cannot be reckoned a great number, or a large part of thirty thousand.

But then, as I do not insist on these conjectural emendations for reconciling Josephus with St. Luke; so, on the other hand, it would be very unfair, first to take it for granted, that the number of thirty thousand in Josephus is right, and then arbitrarily to reform all the other numbers in him, in order to form an objection against the New Testament.

I think therefore, there can be no objection brought against the numbers in St. Luke, from what Josephus has said of this affair, because his two accounts are not consistent one with another in this point: and that is sufficient.

These were my thoughts concerning this difficulty formerly. But I have now an observation to offer to the reader, which I think will not only reconcile St. Luke with Josephus, but likewise Josephus with himself; and that, without making any alterations in his numbers. This observation has been communicated to me by the truly learned and accurate Mr. John Ward, professor of rhetoric at Gresham college.

The history of this impostor seems to lie thus. He came first to Jerusalem, went from thence into the country, and taking a circuit by the wilderness, returned again to mount Olivet. In the Antiquities (which contain the shorter account of this affair,) Josephus mentions only the beginning and end of the story, that is, the impostor's coming at first to Jerusalem, and at last to the mount of Olives; and drops the middle part, of which he had given a sufficient account in the books of the War. The chief captain's 'four thousand,' therefore, were the men carried out of Jerusalem, who were afterwards [b] joined by others in the country to the number of thirty thousand, as related by Josephus. It is likely also, that before he left the city, he had so concerted matters with some friends, whom he left behind him, as to entertain hopes, that upon his return his design would be favoured by great numbers of Jews in Jerusalem, and that he should have no opposition from any but the Romans. But upon his arrival at mount Olivet, finding the Romans drawn out to attack him, and the citizens in general prepared to oppose him, he did not dare to venture an engagement, but presently fled with a body of his most trusty friends, as is usual in such cases. With these in particular the Roman soldiers were ordered to engage, neglecting the rest who were only a confused multitude, and immediately made off as they could by different ways. When therefore, Josephus says, the Egyptian fled accompanied by a few [c] only, he is to be understood of that body which at first fled away with the impostor, and were but a few, with respect to the whole thirty thousand. When he says, the greatest [d] part, or most of those that were with him were slain, or taken prisoners, which in the Antiquities are said to be four hundred killed, and two hundred taken, he means the greatest part of those few that fled with him: Nor need it be thought strange, that the number of the slain and the prisoners is no greater; since, as it seems, Josephus speaks only of that body of men who fled with the impostor. It is possible, some of the rest of the multitude might be killed likewise, though Josephus takes no notice of them; but it is most likely not many. For it seems by Josephus, as if only the Roman soldiers marched out against them, while the Jewish people in Jerusalem stood upon their own defence, if any onset had been made upon them.

Thus then, though there were but four thousand of these men at first, they might be joined by others afterwards to the number of thirty thousand. So St. Luke is reconciled with Josephus. And the number, said by Josephus to be slain, or taken prisoners, might be a great

[a] Suspicamur interim pro διακοσιες scriptum olim δισχιλιες, permutatis λ & δ, vel etiam Λ. & Δ. ex τετρακισχιλιες factum esse τρισμυριες ne dubitamus quidem. Aldr. in Joseph. p. 1075. not. p.

[b] The words εξαλαιων in St. Luke, and αθροιζει in Josephus, seem very well adapted to this distinction.

[c] Τον μεν Αιγυπτιον φυγειν μετ' ολιγων.

[d] Διαφθαρηναι δε και ζωγρηθηναι πλειστους των συν αυτω.

number, or the greatest part, of that body which fled with the Egyptian upon the attack made by Felix and his soldiers. Thus Josephus is reconciled with himself.

But yet I cannot leave the history Josephus has given us of this Egyptian, without making two or three observations.

1. The chief captain here asks St. Paul, "Art not thou that Egyptian, which [a] *leddest out* into the wilderness?"—which seems to imply, since the question was asked in Jerusalem, that these men, or a good number of them at least, were drawn out of Jerusalem: and Josephus says expressly in the latter account, that this impostor came 'out of Egypt to 'Jerusalem; and persuaded a good number of the meaner sort of people, (i. e. who were 'there,) to follow him.'

2. The chief captain speaks of their being "led out into the *wilderness*." This circumstance Josephus has mentioned in the first account, where he more particularly relates their march, and the compass they took, than in the other.

3. This Egyptian escaped. Josephus has put down this in both places, and undoubtedly this is supposed in the question put to St. Paul by the chief captain. The agreement in this particular deserves to be taken notice of, because it was the common fate of these impostors to perish themselves, with a good number of their followers.

4. This Egyptian caused this disturbance, according to Josephus, when Felix was governor of Judea. This impostor therefore did not arise any long time before the seizure of St. Paul at Jerusalem. He might be still living therefore; in this respect there was no absurdity in this question of the chief captain.

5. Another particular, which we are obliged to Josephus for, is, that all the people (at Jerusalem) favoured, or joined with Felix, upon this occasion, in their own defence: that is, all but some very mean people. If Josephus had not mentioned this, perhaps it would have been said, since considerable numbers usually joined these impostors, and it is likely more favoured them, how was it possible, that the chief captain should ask Paul, when he saw the whole city was in an uproar, and the people were ready to tear him to pieces, "Art not thou that Egyptian?" that pretended prophet, that "before these days madest an uproar?" a man of a favourite character at this time among the Jews!

I think indeed, that if Josephus had omitted this circumstance, it would have been a very good reply, to say, that the chief captain did not yet know what was the matter: and though there was a loud cry in a multitude, of "away with him;" yet the confusion was such, "some saying one thing," and "some another," that the chief captain had yet no notion what the case was. However, we have no occasion to have recourse to this reply. Josephus has told us, that all the people favoured Felix in his enterprize against this man: whether it was because he came from Egypt, or what was the reason, is of no importance.

6. There is a remarkable agreement between the chief captain in the Acts and Josephus, in the description they give of this man. The chief captain says, "Art not thou that Egyptian?" And it is observable, that Josephus has not mentioned this man's name in either of the accounts. In the first he calls him the Egyptian false prophet, and the Egyptian: in the other he says, there came one (or a certain person,) out of Egypt: and again, Felix fell upon those who were with the Egyptian; but the Egyptian escaped.

We have then in the Acts the exact manner in which the Jews about this time spoke of this impostor. This is with me a proof, that St. Luke lived and wrote about this time: that is, at the time he is supposed to write. We have here undoubtedly the chief captain's question in the very words in which it was put. St. Luke must have received this account from St. Paul, or some one else who was present, if he was not by himself.

I hope, therefore, that the account which Josephus has given of this impostor, will be no longer reckoned an objection against St. Luke, but a confirmation of his history.

[a] Ὁ ἐξαγαγών.

THE CONCLUSION.

I HAVE now performed what I undertook, and have shewn, that the account given by the sacred writers, of persons and things, is confirmed by other ancient authors of the best note. There is nothing in the books of the New Testament unsuitable to the age in which they are supposed to have been written. There appears in these writers a knowledge of the affairs of those times not to be found in authors of later ages. We are hereby assured, that the books of the New Testament are genuine, and that they were written by persons, who lived at or near the time of those events, of which they have given the history.

Any one may be sensible, how hard it is for the most learned, acute, and cautious man, to write a book in the character of some person of an earlier age, and not betray his own time by some mistake about the affairs of the age in which he pretends to place himself, or by allusions to customs or principles since sprung up, or by some phrase or expression not then in use. It is no easy thing to escape all these dangers in the smallest performance, though it be a treatise of theory or speculation: these hazards are greatly increased when the work is of any length, and especially if it be historical, and be concerned with characters and customs. It is yet more difficult to carry on such a design in a work consisting of several pieces, written to all appearance by several persons. Many indeed are desirous to deceive, but all hate to be deceived: and therefore, though attempts have been made to impose upon the world in this way, they have never or very rarely succeeded, but have been detected and exposed by the skill and vigilance of those who have been concerned for the truth.

The volume of the New Testament consists of several pieces; these are ascribed to eight several persons; and there are the strongest appearances, that they were not all written by any one hand, but by as many persons as they are ascribed to. There are lesser differences in the relations of some facts, and such seeming contradictions, as would never have happened, if these books had been all the work of one person, or of several who wrote in concert. There are as many peculiarities of temper and style, as there are names of writers; divers of which shew no depth of genius or compass of knowledge. Here are representations of titles, posts, behaviour of persons of higher and lower rank in many parts of the world; persons are introduced, and their characters are set in a full light; here is a history of things done in several cities and countries; and there are allusions to a vast variety of customs and tenets of persons of several nations, sects, and religions. The whole is written without affectation, with the greatest simplicity and plainness, and is confirmed by other ancient writers of unquestioned authority.

If it be difficult for a person of learning and experience, to compose a small treatise concerning matters of speculation, with the characters of a more early age than that in which he writes; it is next to impossible, that such a work of considerable length, consisting of several pieces, with a great variety of historical facts, representations of characters, principles, and customs of several nations, and distant countries, of persons of all ranks and degrees, of many interests and parties, should be performed by eight several persons, the most of them unlearned, without any appearance of concert.

I might perhaps have called this argument a demonstration, if that term had not been often misapplied by men of warm imaginations, and been bestowed upon reasonings that have but a small degree of probability. But though it should not be a strict demonstration that these writings are genuine; or though it be not absolutely impossible in the nature of the thing, that the books of the New Testament should have been composed in a later age, than that to which they are assigned, and of which they have innumerable characters; yet, I think, it is in the highest degree improbable, and altogether incredible.

If the books of the New Testament were written by persons, who lived before the destruction of Jerusalem; that is, if they were written at the time, in which they are said to have been written, the things related in them are true. If they had not been matter of fact, they would not have been credited by any persons near that time, and in those parts of the world

in which they are said to have been done, but would have been treated as the most notorious lies and falsehoods. Suppose three or four books should now appear amongst us in the language most generally understood, giving an account of many remarkable and extraordinary events, which had happened in some kingdom of Europe, and in the most noted cities of the countries next adjoining to it; some of them said to have happened between sixty and seventy years ago, others between twenty and thirty, others nearer our own time: would not they be looked upon as the most manifest and ridiculous forgeries and impostures that ever were contrived? Would great numbers of persons, in those very places, change their religious principles and practices upon the credit of things reported to be publicly done, which no man had ever heard of before? Or rather, is it possible, that such a design as this should be conceived by any sober and serious persons, or even the most wild and extravagant?

If the history of the New Testament be credible, the Christian Religion is true. If the things here related to have been done by Jesus, and by his followers, by virtue of powers derived from him, do not prove a person to come from God, and that his doctrine is true and divine, nothing can. And as Jesus does here in the circumstances of his birth, life, sufferings, and after exaltation, and in the success of his doctrine, answer the description of the great person promised and foretold in the Old Testament, he is at the same time shewed to be the Messiah.

From the agreement of the writers of the New Testament with other ancient writers, we are not only assured that these books are genuine, but also that they are come down to us pure and uncorrupted, without any considerable interpolations or alterations. If such had been made in them, there would have appeared some smaller differences at least between them and other ancient writings.

There has been in all ages a wicked propensity in mankind, to advance their own notions and fancies by deceits and forgeries: they have been practised by heathens, Jews, and christians, in support of imaginary historical facts, religious schemes and practices, and political interests. With these views some whole books have been forged, and passages inserted into others of undoubted authority. Many of the christian writers of the second and third centuries, and of the following ages appear to have had false notions, concerning the state of Judea between the nativity of Jesus and the destruction of Jerusalem, and concerning many other things occasionally mentioned in the New Testament. The consent of the best ancient writers with those of the New Testament is a proof, that these books are still untouched, and that they have not been new modelled and altered by christians of later times in conformity to their own peculiar sentiments.

This may be reckoned an argument, that the generality of christians have had a very high veneration for these books; or else, that the several sects among them have had an eye upon each other, that no alterations might be made in those writings, to which they have all appealed. It is also an argument, that the Divine providence has all along watched over and guarded these best of books, (a very fit object of an especial care,) which contain the best of principles, were apparently written with the best views, and have in them inimitable characters of truth and simplicity.

AN

APPENDIX

CONCERNING THE TIME OF HEROD'S DEATH.

In all inquiries concerning the chronology of the New Testament, and particularly concerning the true time of our Saviour's nativity, and the commencement of his ministry, it is very needful to take into consideration the time of Herod the Great's death. Indeed it is very desirable, in the first place, to settle exactly the date of this event, but to do this is a very hard task: nor has any one yet been so happy, as to remove all difficulties, and give universal satisfaction upon this head.

That none may be quite at a loss in judging of the difficulty considered in the third chapter of this book, I shall here give a brief account of this matter.

The chief opinions at present concerning the time of Herod's death are these three. Some think he died a little before the passover of A. U. 750. Julian year 42; others, on November 25 that same year; others, a short time before the passover, A. U. 751.

I. The English reader may see all, in a manner, that can be said for the second opinion, in Mr. Whiston's 'Short View of the Harmony of the four Evangelists,' Prop. 12. But, though several very learned men have embraced this opinion, it appears to me a mere hypothesis, without foundation: the only ground of it is a Jewish account of their feasts and fasts, in which that day is noted as a feast, because on it Herod died; but that[a] book appears to be of no authority.

II. That Herod died but a short time before some one of the Jewish passovers, is evident from Josephus.[b] If we reject entirely his authority, it is in vain to talk about the time of Herod's death. Archelaus kept a passover in Judea after his father's death, before he went to Rome; which he would not have done if it had not been near. He had good reason to hasten to Rome; he had many enemies: Herod Antipas had been appointed his father's successor in a former will, and he pretended that will ought to take place. When the Jews at the temple made their demands of Archelaus, he gave them fair words, that they might not make any disturbance and retard his journey,[c] he being in haste to go to Rome; this haste is expressed by Josephus in the War, and in the Antiquities, in very strong terms. Archelaus, in his way to Rome, at Cæsarea met Sabinus, the emperor's procurator in Syria, who was going[d] in all haste to Jerusalem to secure Herod's treasure for Augustus. By help of the intercession of Varus, president of Syria, (who was then likewise at Cæsarea,) Archelaus prevailed upon Sabinus to promise, that he would not proceed any farther. But notwithstanding that, when Archelaus was gone away he went up to Jerusalem, and there ordered all things according to his own will and pleasure. This was all managed without any orders from Rome. If Herod has been dead

[a] See Whitby Annotat. Matt. ii. 23. Lamy Apparat. Chronol. Par. i. cap. 9. sect. 5. [b] De Bell. lib. ii. c. 1. Antiq l. xvii. c 9. [c] Προς ἁ παρωξυνετο μεν Αρχελαος, απειχετο δε την αμυναν ὑπο της περι την εξοδον επειξεως, κ. λ. De Bell. l. ii. c. 1. sect. 3. Τουτοις Αρχελαος, καιπερ δεινως φερων την ὁρμην αυτων, επενευε, εχων την επι Ῥωμης ὁδον ανυεσθαι προκειμενην αυτῳ ταχος, επι περισκοπησει των δοξαντων τω Καισαρι. Ant. l. xvii. c. 9. sect. 1. [d] Ὑπαντιαζει δ' εν Καισαρειᾳ Αρχελαον Σαβινος, Καισαρος επιτροπος των εν Συρια πραγματων, εις Ιουδαιαν ὡρμημενος επι φυλακη των Ἡρωδου χρηματων. Antiq. ibid. sect. 3. vid. etiam De Bell. ibid. c. 2. sect. 2.

two or three months, they would have had directions from thence upon this matter; nay, if Herod had been dead one month, this vigilant procurator would have been at Jerusalem, before now. I take this to be a kind of demonstration, that, according to Josephus, Herod's death happened but a very short space before some passover.

III. That Herod died a little before the passover A. U. 750. Julian year 42, is argued in this manner. His distemper had made great progress before the pulling down the golden eagle at the temple. The Jewish rabbies excited their scholars to this action, 'news being brought 'that Herod[a] was *dying*,' as it is in the War;[b] *dead*, as it is in the Antiquities. These rabbies were taken up, and carried to Jericho, where Herod was; a council was called, and they were tried. Herod was so ill that he could not stand, and notwithstanding the new strength[c] which rage gave him upon the occasion, he was carried[d] to the council in a chair. Soon after this these rabbies were burnt to death, and that very night[e] there was an eclipse of the moon; this eclipse, according to astronomical computations, happened[f] the 13th of March, A. U. 750. After this, Herod grew worse and worse: it is plain, he could not live long. The passover[g] of this year happened the 11th of April. From the 13th of March to the 11th of April, is a sufficient space of time for all that Josephus has related concerning Herod's illness, his settling his affairs, the execution of Antipater, Herod's death and funeral; which are the things placed between the eclipse and Archelaus's coming to Jerusalem at the passover.

In the War,[h] Josephus says, that Archelaus was banished in the ninth year of his reign: in the Antiquities, that he was accused before Augustus by the Jews and Samaritans in the[i] tenth year of his government. In his Own Life, Josephus says, that his father was born in the[k] tenth year of Archelaus's reign. From whence one would be apt to conclude, that Archelaus reigned nine years complete, and that the tenth year was current when he was banished. Dio[l] places Archelaus's banishment in the 759th year of Rome. If Herod did not die till the beginning of A. U. 751, the ninth year of Archelaus's reign could not be completed in the 759th year of Rome. But if Herod be supposed to have died the beginning of A. U. 750, Josephus and Dio agree. Moreover, Josephus says, that Cyrenius[m] seized Archelaus's estate, and finished the assessment in Judea in the thirty-seventh year after the defeat of Antony at Actium by Cæsar Augustus. The victory at Actium was obtained on September 2, A. U. 723; therefore the 37th year from it begins Sept. 2, A. U. 759, and ends Sept. 2, 760. Supposing then, that Herod died the beginning of A. U. 750, there is in this particular also a very good harmony between Josephus and Dio.

There is, however, one great difficulty attending this opinion. For Josephus has said in two places, that Herod reigned thirty-four years after the death of[n] Antigonus, and thirty-seven years after he was declared king by the Roman senate. And he placeth this declaration[o] of the senate in A. U. 714, the death of[p] Antigonus in the year 717. If indeed at the beginning of A. U. 750, Herod had reigned thirty-six years complete from the first date of his reign, and thirty-three from the latter; so that the 37th of the one epoch, and the 34th of the other, were to be current at the time of his death; then Herod might be said not improperly to have reigned, with respect to the one, thirty-seven years, and to the other thirty-four. It is supposed by some learned men, that Herod was declared king by the senate,[q] toward the very end of the year 714; by others[r] at the latter end of October, or beginning of November; by others[s] in

[a] Διεφημισθη και Συνησκειν ὁ βασιλευς. De Bell. l. i. c. 33. sect. 1. [b] Και οἱ μεν τοιαυτοις λογοις εξηραν τας νεας· αφικνειται και λογος εις αυτας τεθναναι φραζων τον βασιλεα, και συνεπισπασθαι τοις σοφισταις. Ant. l. xvii. c. 6. sect. 3.

[c] Επι τελει δ βασιλευς, δι ὑπερβολην της οργης κρειττων της νοσου γενομενος, προεισιν εις εκκλησιαν, κ. λ. De Bell. l. i. c. 33. sect. 4. [d] Και παραληφθεντων, εξεκκλησιασας εις το αυτο θεατρον επι κλινιδιου κειμενος αδυναμια τε σχηναι. Antiq. ibid. [e] Και ἡ σεληνη δε τη αυτη νυκτι εξελιπεν. ibid. sect. 4. [f] Petav. Doctrin. Temp. l. xi. c. 1.

[g] Vid. Lamy App. Chron. p. 58. [h] Ειτε της αρχης ενναλω φυλαξευσαι μεν εις Βιεννην. De Bell. l. ii. c. 7. sect 3.

[i] Δεκαλω δε ειτε της αρχης Αρχελαος, οἱ πρωτοι —— καθηγησαντο αυτου επι Καισαρος. L. xvii. c. 15. sect. 2.

[k] Και [γινεται] Ματθιας βασιλευοντος Αρχελαου το δεκαλον. sect. 1. [l] Ὁ τε Ἡρωδης ὁ Παλαιστινος,— ὑπο τας Αλπεις ὑπερωρισθη· και το μερος της αρχης αυτου εδημοσιωθη· l. lv. p. 567. B [m] Κυρηνιος δε τα Αρχελαου χρηματα αποδομενος ηδη, και των απολιμψεων περας εχουσων, αἱ ειεννοντο τριακοστω και εξδομω ἑτει μετα την Αντωνιου εν Ακτιω ἡτταν ὑπο Καισαρος. Ant. l. xviii. c. 2. sect. 1. [n] ——Τελευτα βασιλευσας ἀ ἑ μεν αποκτεινας Αντιγονον εκρατησε των πραγματων, ἑτη τεσσαρα και τριακοντα, αφ ἑ δε ὑπο Ρωμαιων απεδειχθη βασιλευς, ἑπτα και τριακοντα· de B. J. l. i. c. ult. sect. 8. vid. etiam Ant. l. xvii. c. 8. sect. 1. [o] Ant. l. xiv. c. sect. 5. De B. l. i. c. 14. sect. 4. [p] Ant. l. xiv. c. ult. sect. 4. [q] Alix. de J. C. Anno & mense natali. p. 75. [r] Basnage Ann. Polit. E. Vol. i. p. 17. n. 16. [s] Noris. Cenot. Pis. p. 139. Pagi Appar. p. 80.

September or October; by others[a] about the middle of July that year. But then, at the beginning of the year 750, Herod could not have reigned from this date thirty-six years complete, nor was the 37th year current. Herod took Jerusalem, as some[b] think, in September, A. U. 717; others, about[c] the end of June; archbishop Usher[d] on the first of January this year. If the archbishop's supposition could be allowed, we should have here no difficulty. But if any of the others are followed, then from this date, of Herod's reign, the taking of Jerusalem, or the death of Antigonus, (which are all one;) to the beginning of the year 750, we have not quite thirty-three years complete, nor is the thirty-fourth current.

In answer to this difficulty it is said[e] by learned men, that the years of the Jewish kings were computed from the beginning of the month Nisan, which usually answers pretty near to our March. Insomuch, that if a king began to reign in any part of the year before, even in February, another year of his reign would begin with Nisan, that is, March. So Josephus relates, that Jerusalem was taken[f] by Pompey, when Antony and Cicero were consuls; by Herod, when M. Agrippa and Caninius Gallus were consuls, 'on the very anniversary of the 'same calamity from Pompey, it having been taken by him on the same[g] day twenty-seven 'years before:' though there were but twenty-six years complete between these two events. And from the taking of Jerusalem by Herod to its destruction by Titus, Josephus computes[h] one hundred and seven years, though it was but one hundred and six complete. But, in my opinion, these instances are not home to the point. For in them the year named is current; whereas, in the case before us it is not so. If Herod died in the beginning of the year 750, the thirty-third and thirty-sixth years of his reign were not complete.

IV. Other[i] learned men suppose, that Herod died a short time before the passover A. U. 751. This they argue from the number of years assigned to Herod's reign in the places abovementioned. They do not allow the truth of the Talmudical account of computing the reigns of the Jewish kings from the beginning of Nisan, or from the passover. If Josephus had followed such a kind of computation, he would have given some hint of it, in his books written in the Greek language and for the instruction of strangers. They say also, that Herod's was a slow lingering distemper, and that it is not likely he should die so soon after the execution of the rabbies and their accomplices, as is supposed by the patrons of the former opinion. Lastly, they observe the[k] agreement of all the other numbers in Josephus, concerning the dates of the reign of Archelaus and other sons of Herod.

This opinion, however, labours under several very great difficulties. Dio's account of the removal of Archelaus is entirely rejected. But to do this[l] is not very reasonable. Farther, the supporters of this opinion must allow of the eclipse abovementioned; or they must say, it was no real eclipse, but only some obscurity that was taken for an eclipse. If they allow the eclipse, then Herod must have lived a year after the execution of the rabbies, provided he[m] died but a few days before the passover, A. U. 751. But it is incredible, that Herod should live so long, considering the description Josephus gives of his distemper. Besides, it is evident, that the mourning of the Jewish people for the rabbies, at the passover next after Herod's death, was[n] very fresh, which it could not have been, if the rabbies had been dead above a year before. Moreover, it is evident, that Herod's ambassadors were sent away to Rome, to know Augustus's pleasure concerning Antipater, some[o] time before the disturbance at the temple, when the golden eagle was taken down. And it is very plain, that Herod lived not[p] many days after the arrival of the ambassadors. So that, accord-

[a] Whiston's Short View, p. 150. [b] Alix ubi supra, p. 117. [c] Whiston, ibid. p. 152. Basnage, ibid. p. 30. n. 9. [d] Annals, P. J. 4677. [e] Inde etiam anni regum Hebræorum supputabantur, ita ut si quis rex in Adar regnaret, a Nisan alter annus imperii ejus inciperet. Reland. Antiq. Heb. de Temporib. sacris, c. 1. init. vid. etiam Kepler. de ann. natal. J. C. cap. 7. p. 46.

[f] Ant. l. xiv. c. 4. sect. 3. [g] Ibid. c. 16. sect. 4.

[h] Ibid. l. xx. c. 9. vid. Kepler ibid. [i] Vid. Lamy Appar. Chron. Par. i. c. 9. Basnage Annal. Pol. Eccl. Vol. i. p. 156. n. v. [k] Note; the learned men, who espouse the former opinion, suppose also that Josephus's numbers in all other places agree with them. [l] Vid. Noris. Cenot. Pis. p. 147. [m] Quæ aptis temporibus tribui non possunt, nisi hæc mors contigerit jam aliquibus mensibus promoto anno U. C. 751, in quo comprobavimus mortuum fuisse Herodem. Quoquo autem anno mortuus sit, *non multis ante pascha diebus* mors illa obtigit, ut testatur Josephus, cui fidem adhibemus. Lamy ubi supra, sect. [n] Ην δε το πενθος ουκ επεσταλμενον, αλλ' οιμωξαι διαπρυσιοι, και θρηνος εξηκελευστος, κοπετοι τε περιηχουντες ολην την πολιν. De B. l. ii. c. 1. sect. 2. vid. & Ant. l. xvii. c. 9. sect. 1.

[o] De B. l. i. c. 32. fin. Ant. l. xvii. c. 5. fin.

[p] De B. ibid. c. 33. sect. 7, 8. Ant. ibid. c. 7. &c. 8. sect. 1.

ing to this opinion, these ambassadors must have spent above a year in their journey from Judea to Rome and back again, though they were sent upon very pressing business, which is also incredible. Or they must reject the account of the eclipse, and say, as Lamy[a] does, that it was only a paleness or obscurity, which was no real eclipse of the moon; which, I believe, will appear very unreasonable to all astronomers.

These are the three principal opinions concerning the time of Herod's death: and these the main arguments for, and objections against them. I presume it appears to the reader, from particulars alleged from Josephus and Dio, that Herod did not die before the year 750, nor survive the year 751: and that he died a short time before the Jewish passover of one of these years. It follows, that if Herod died in 750, he died three years and nine months before the vulgar christian æra, which commences January 1, A. U. 754: if at the time abovementioned in the year 751, then he died about two years and nine months before the said æra. Which is the truth, I am not able to determine.

[a] Ubi supra, sect. 6.

THE END OF THE FIRST PART.

THE

CASE OF THE DÆMONIACS

MENTIONED IN THE

NEW TESTAMENT:

FOUR DISCOURSES UPON MARK V. 19

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

FOR FARTHER ILLUSTRATING THE SUBJECT.

[FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1758.]

PREFACE.

THESE Discourses were preached to a small, but attentive audience, in 1742. In the year 1737, were published by a learned author, 'An Enquiry, and a further Enquiry into the Meaning of Dæmoniacs in the New Testament.' But as the subject had much employed my thoughts, and the plan had been drawn up a good while before, I did not discern any sufficient reason for laying it aside.

The publication of these discourses has been often desired by divers of those that heard them, and by others. They who know how I have been engaged, need not be told the reason of the delay. They might have been put into one continued dissertation, but then the practical observations must have been struck out; which I was unwilling to have done. And in their present form they must remain, for a while at least, a monument, that any subject, tending to illustrate the scriptures, may be treated in christian assemblies, if it be done with modesty and discretion.

These Discourses, with the Appendix, may be reckoned a Supplement to the first part of the Credibility of the Gospel History.

MARCH 15, 1758.

DISCOURSE I.

MARK V. 19.

Howbeit Jesus suffered him not, but saith unto him, Go home to thy friends, and tell them, how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had compassion on thee.

It is now some years since I explained and improved, as I was able, the history of our Lord's miracles, recorded in the gospel. I think that very few were entirely omitted, which are particularly related, except this in the country of the Gadarenes. And I always intended to consider this likewise, though it has been long deferred. As life, through the Divine goodness, is still preserved, I propose now to consider this history, which, with some few differences only, is found in three several evangelists, Matt. viii. 28—34; Mark v. 1—20; Luke viii. 26—39.

I. In the first place, I shall consider distinctly this whole narration, comparing together the several evangelists, as we go along.

II. After which I intend to make some remarks upon this miracle, and the history of it.

I. In the first place, I shall distinctly consider the whole of this narration, comparing the several evangelists, as we go along.

The time of this miracle may be in some measure perceived by the connexion: in all the three evangelists, it is preceded by an account of our Lord's crossing the sea of Galilee, with his disciples, and laying a tempest, which they had met with in their passage.

St. Luke had before given an account of divers of our Lord's discourses, ch. viii. 19, 22, 26. "Then came unto him his mother and his brethren, and could not come at him for the press — Now it came to pass on a certain day, that he went into a ship with the disciples. And he said unto them, Let us go unto the other side of the lake.—And they arrived at the country of the Gadarenes, which is over against Galilee."

St. Mark also, having related divers of our Lord's discourses, says, "And the same day, when even was come, he saith unto them, Let us pass over unto the other side. And when they had sent away the multitude, they took him even as he was in the ship. And there were also with him other little ships. And there arose a great storm of wind, and the waves beat into the ship, so that it was now full. And he was in the hinder part of the ship asleep on a pillow; and they awake him,—And he arose and rebuked the wind. And the wind ceased, and there was a great calm.—And they feared exceedingly, and said one to another, What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him? And they came over unto the other side of the sea, into the country of the Gadarenes." That is, our Lord passed from the western to the eastern side of the sea of Galilee, or of Tiberias, as it is called at other times.

St. Matthew calls the place where our Lord arrived, "the country of the Gergesenes:" whereas the two other evangelists, as we have just seen, call it "the country of the Gadarenes." Some learned men think, that this last is the right reading in St. Matthew's gospel also.

It follows in St. Mark, whose history we shall for the most part take for our text, and cite in the first place: "And when he was come out of the ship, immediately there met him out of the tombs a man with an unclean spirit." From which words, I think, it may be concluded, that this man's abode, and the burial-place, where he chiefly was, lay near the shore or upon the sea-side. St. Luke's words confirm this supposition, which are these: "And when he went forth to land, there met him out of the city a certain man, which had devils long time."

But here is a difference between St. Matthew and the two other evangelists. St. Mark says, "Immediately there met him a man with an unclean spirit." St. Luke, "A certain man, which had devils." But St. Matthew says, "There met him two possessed with devils, coming out of the tombs." Of this difficulty several solutions have been offered by learned interpreters of scripture. The most likely seems to be this, that one of these men was upon

divers accounts more remarkable than the other: he, especially may have been "exceeding fierce," and his distemper of the longest standing. Perhaps, he was best known in those parts, being an inhabitant of the city, not far off. He likewise was the person, with whom our Lord discoursed chiefly, asking him his name, and receiving for answer, that he was called Legion. It is likely, that one only desired to accompany the Lord Jesus when cured: and possibly, he only of the two had a grateful sense of the benefit conferred, and afterwards declared, "how great things the Lord had done for him." There being therefore several things peculiar to one, two of the evangelists speak of him only, omitting the other, for the sake of brevity: but there is no contradiction between them and the third evangelist. There were two, as St. Matthew says: which is not denied by St. Mark or St. Luke, though they confine their relation to one only.

Says St. Mark, "Immediately there met him out of the tombs a man with an unclean spirit, who had his dwelling among the tombs." St. Luke, "Neither abode in any house, but in the tombs." St. Matthew, "There met him two possessed with devils, coming out of the tombs."

This circumstance therefore is mentioned by all the three evangelists; that this man, or these two men, had their abode in tombs, or among tombs. It was not then usual to bury within the walls of cities, but at some distance without them, more or less. By tombs may be meant in general a burying-place, where were many sepulchres; or by tombs may be meant sepulchres. And indeed many of the sepulchres of the eastern countries at that time were large, capable of containing divers persons. And to this day, travellers, when overtaken by storms and bad weather, take shelter in them.

These men then being fierce and melancholy, shunning company, and being shunned, abode at a distance from all cities, and particularly 'among' or 'in sepulchres.' This place suited their gloomy apprehensions, and here in the night season, and in bad weather, they had shelter. Moreover, there might be another reason of this. For some are of opinion, that the dæmons, or unclean spirits, by which these persons were possessed, were not supposed to be fallen angels, but the souls or departed spirits of bad men. If so, a lunatic, acted by such spirits, or thinking himself acted by them, might be much disposed to be chiefly among the dead, or in burial-places. But whether there be any ground for that opinion or not, it is likely, the two reasons before mentioned ought not to be disregarded: these places suited their melancholy apprehensions, and here at some seasons they had shelter and relief from rain and cold.

There follows in the evangelists a description of the unhappy circumstances of one or both these persons. Says St. Mark, who is most particular: "And no man could bind him, no not with chains: because that he had been often bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been plucked asunder by him, and the fetters broken in pieces. And always night and day he was on the mountains, and in the tombs, crying, and cutting himself with stones." St. Luke's account is: "There met him out of the city a certain man, which had devils long time, and wore no clothes, neither abode in any house, but in the tombs." And afterwards: "For oftentimes it had caught him. And he was kept bound with chains, and in fetters. And he brake the bands, and was driven of the devil into the wilderness," or the desert mountainous country, where the tombs were situated. St. Matthew more briefly says, "There met him two possessed with devils, coming out of the tombs, exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass that way."

The sum is, that this was a deplorable case. One of these men especially, had been in this condition, of a discomposed mind, for a long season. He was exceeding fierce, and dangerous at some times. He had been fast bound, but he had broken his bands, escaped out of his confinement, and had been for some while in desert, mountainous places, lodging in sepulchres only, not in any house. All which are evident symptons of lunacy or distraction. That is the unhappy case before us.

Possibly it may be here inquired by some, how came the evangelists, especially Mark and Luke, who are most particular, to be so well acquainted with the history of this man's case in time past, to be able to say, "he had been so long time," and that he had been "often bound with chains, and that they had been broken asunder by him?" His present circumstances and actions, his nakedness, his fierceness, his cutting himself with flints, his crying, or raving, as he did, were discerned immediately. These things the disciples were eye or ear-witnesses of, upon the man's approaching them, when they came out of the ship. But how came they to

know the circumstances of his indisposition in time past, and the treatment that had been given him?

To which I answer, that it is easy to suppose divers things, which are not mentioned in relations of this kind: which therefore are omitted, because all intelligent and attentive persons are able to supply them. It is not unlikely, that the man himself, when cured by our Lord, gave some account of his former condition. Moreover, here were the keepers of the swine, who might be able to relate several things concerning him. Possibly too it was a well known case, and the people who came over with Jesus from the other side of the lake, might be able to give the disciples some information concerning him.

Finally, before our Lord went away, great multitudes of that country had come to the place where Jesus was. And it is reasonable for us to conclude, that some of those persons were able and disposed to give an account of both these men, especially of one of them: which indeed, as before hinted, I take to be a main reason, why the evangelists Mark and Luke confined their history to one, though there were two of these men, as said by St. Matthew: even because they had received more particular intelligence concerning one than the other.

It follows in St Mark: "But when he saw Jesus afar off, he ran and worshipped him. And cried with a loud voice, and said, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the most high God. I adjure thee by God, that thou torment me not. (For he had said unto him, Come out of the man, thou unclean spirit.) And he asked him, What is thy name? And he answered, saying, My name is Legion, for we are many. And he besought him much, that he would not send them away out of the country." St. Luke likewise says: "When he saw Jesus, he cried out, and fell down before him, and with a loud voice said, What have I do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God most high. I beseech thee torment me not. (For he had commanded the unclean spirit to come out of the man.) And Jesus asked him, saying, What is thy name? And he said, Legion, because many devils were entered into him. And they besought him, that he would not command them to go out into the deep." St. Matthew, though briefer than the other, says: "And behold, they cried out, saying, What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God! Art thou come hither to torment us before the time?"

By all the evangelists we are assured, that one, or both these men, either they, or the evil spirits in them, owned our Lord's character, as the Messiah, or the Son of God; and they intreat him not to send them away. But I think it appears, both from St. Mark and St. Luke, that these things are not said by them until our Lord had signified his will that the man, or men, should be delivered from this unhappy circumstance: then they own the character of Jesus, that he was the Christ, and his power, as such, to command and send them whither he pleased. But they intreat him, not to punish them for having taken possession of these persons, and made them miserable. Yea, they are represented complaining of his command as unreasonable: "What have we to do with thee?" Why should you concern yourself with us? Leave us to act as we think fit, until the last day, the time of the full punishment allotted to us.

The unclean spirits speaking in this manner, Jesus asked one of the men, what was his name, and he answered Legion, because there were in him many unclean spirits.

As these spirits desired, that they might not be 'tormented before the time;' so in particular, they petitioned our Lord, that he would 'not send them away out of the country,' as it is expressed in St. Mark: or, that he would 'not command them to go out into the deep,' as in St. Luke.

Evil spirits delight in mischief, and are afraid of punishment. They therefore make it their request to Jesus, if he would be obeyed with regard to the commandment he had given them, to come out of the men whom they had so long tormented, that yet he would not require them quite to leave that country, but permit them to act as they pleased toward some other persons in those parts. At least they intreat him, however, that he would not order them away into the deep, or the abyss, that is, the place of torment.

As the full punishment[a] of fallen angels, as well as of bad men, was deferred to the great day of the general judgment; it was the opinion of many at that time, that some of those evil angels and spirits were allowed, (though subject to controul,) to visit the region of our air, and this earth, and to inflict diseases and other calamities upon men. Of this number are these

[a] See 2 Pet. ii. 4. and Jude ver. 6.

unclean spirits, and they earnestly intreat not to be sent to their prison, and confined in the abyss, or place of torment, as yet.

I proceed to what remains, now first reading St. Matthew: "And there was a good way off from them an herd of many swine feeding. So the devils besought him, saying, If thou cast us out, suffer us to go into the herd of swine. And he said unto them, Go. And when they were come out, they went into the herd of swine. And behold, the whole herd of swine ran violently down a steep place into the sea, and perished in the waters. And they that kept them fled, and went their ways into the city, and told every thing, and what was befallen to the possessed of the devils. And behold, the whole city came out to meet Jesus. And when they saw him, they besought him, that he would depart out of their coasts. And he entered into a ship, and passed over, and came into his own city."

Here I would observe, that this great work of our Lord was performed with deliberation. There was some time between his intimation, that these evil spirits should remove, and their actual departure; or, in other words, the men were not healed at once, immediately upon his commanding the evil spirits to come out of the men: but he allowed a petition to be presented to him, which was in part granted.

St. Mark's account is after this manner: "Now there was there nigh unto the mountains a great herd of swine feeding. And all the devils besought him, saying, Send us into the swine, that we may enter into them. And forthwith Jesus gave them leave. And the unclean spirits went out and entered into the swine. And the herd ran violently down a steep place into the sea (they were about two thousand) and were choaked in the sea. And they that fed the swine fled, and told it in the city, and in the country. And they went out to see what it was that was done. And they came to Jesus, and see him that was possessed with the devil, and had the legion, sitting, and clothed, and in his right mind, and they were afraid. And they that saw it, told them, how it befel to him that was possessed with the devils, and also concerning the swine. And they began to pray him to depart out of their coasts."

St. Luke's relation is to the like purpose: "And there was there an herd of many swine feeding on the mountain. And they besought him, that he would suffer them to enter into them. And he suffered them. Then went the devils out of the men and entered into the swine. And the herd ran violently down a steep place into the lake, and were choaked. When they that fed them saw what was done, they fled, and went and told it in the city, and in the country. Then they went out to see what was done, and came to Jesus, and found the man, out of whom the devils departed, sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed, and in his right mind: and they were afraid. They also which saw it, told them by what means he that was possessed of the devils was healed. Then the whole multitude of the country of the Gadarenes round about besought him to depart from them, for they were taken with great fear. And he went up into the ship, and returned back again."

As this country was a part of the land of Israel, and the Jews were forbidden by the law of Moses to eat swine's flesh; it may seem strange to some, that there should have been in this place so large a number of those animals. But there is reason to think, that this country was then chiefly inhabited by Gentiles, though there were Jews likewise: and it may be supposed, that the herd belonged to the Gentile inhabitants. However, possibly some Jews might have a property in them, and might trade in those creatures, selling them to heathens, without partaking of them as food.

The evangelists do all agree in this part of the history. But two inquiries may be here put. 1. By what means was this herd of swine hurried down the precipice, and drowned in the waters? 2. For what reasons did our Lord suffer this to be done?

First, How, or by what means was this herd hurried down the precipice, and drowned in the waters? And there are several ways of accounting for this. They who suppose that there was here only a distemper, and are unwilling to admit the agency of any bad spirits in this case, say; these men, or one of them, might with the permission of Jesus, go and drive the swine off the precipice into the sea, where they were drowned. Or else, our Lord was pleased to transfer the lunacy, or distraction, from this man, or their men, to the swine; and the distemper having seized them, they took their way down a steep road, and perished in the sea.

Others, who readily admit the agency of evil spirits in this affair, say, that with our Lord's

permission, when these spirits were removed out of the men, they took possession of the swine and hurried them into the waters, where they were drowned.

Every one is at liberty to judge for himself. But I readily own, that I do not approve of that solution, which supposeth, that the lunacy was transferred from the men to the swine; for this implies, that the drowning of the swine was owing to our Lord's agency or interposition: whereas I do not perceive, that our Lord wrought any miracles that were hurtful. The only instance of this kind which I recollect, is the withering a barren useless fig-tree in the way between Bethany and Jerusalem. As then there is no clear evidence of our Lord's interposing in this matter, I presume it ought not to be admitted.

Secondly, it is inquired: why, or for what reasons did our Lord suffer this to be done; by the men themselves before they were quite cured; or by the evil spirits when they were departed from the men? For according to the accounts given by the evangelists, it was not, and could not be done without his permission: his leave was asked and granted.

Some think, that our Lord permitted this to be done, as a proof of the real agency of evil spirits, in this case.

But whether that was a reason or not, there are, I think, other uses which this event would answer, and therefore probably were intended herein. For the loss of the swine tended to make the cure of the man public. It had this effect: "They that fed the swine fled, and told it in the city, and in the country;" that is, they hasted to noise it abroad every where: and many were brought to Jesus, and came to see the man who was healed, and stayed with him, sitting at his feet. Hereby therefore, and by means of the immediate publication of the miracle, the people of the neighbouring town and country were [a] proved. Jesus, by his presence with them, and by the great miracle performed among them, with which they were presently acquainted, made them a tender of divine knowledge, and other spiritual blessings. But though a great and evident miracle had been wrought among them, one of the most desirable works that can be thought of, delivering a man from distraction, restoring him to the use of reason and understanding; these people were so carnal, and so apprehensive of suffering in their worldly interests, that instead of intreating Jesus to stay with them, a while at least, that they might partake in some other like benefits of his great power, and be instructed by him in things of religion, that they joined together with much unanimity in beseeching him to depart out of their coasts: which he did, and went back again to the other side of the lake.

There remains yet one article in this history, omitted indeed by St. Matthew, but related by both the other evangelists. Says St. Mark: "And when he was come into the ship, he that had been possessed with the devils, prayed him, that he might be with him: Howbeit, Jesus suffered him not, but saith unto him, Go home to thy friends, and tell them, how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had compassion on thee. And he departed, and began to publish in Decapolis, how great things Jesus had done for him, and all men did marvel." St. Luke's words are these: "Now the man out of whom the devils were departed, besought him, that he might be with him. But Jesus sent him away, saying, Return to thy own house, and shew how great things God hath done unto thee. And he went his way, and published throughout the whole city, how great things Jesus had done unto him."

It is likely, that this person requested to be with Jesus for his own security, fearing that those evil spirits would again take possession of him and torment him. But Jesus suffered him not to be with him. For our Lord to have allowed the man to accompany him in his journeys would have looked like ostentation, and might have been esteemed vain-glorious: besides, the power of Jesus was more conspicuous in the man's safety at a distance. And it was fit likewise, that this person should now increase in faith, and live without fear, trusting in God every where, and at all times.

His request not being granted, "he went his way, and published throughout the whole city, how great thing Jesus had done unto him." He was an honest and grateful man; and in the place where he dwelt, and every where, and to all men, as he had opportunity, he declared the great work which Jesus had done for him.

Perhaps some may here inquire: How shall we reconcile the direction given by Christ

[a] Non quod concesserit Salvator dæmonibus quod petebant, dixit, Ite: sed ut per interfectionem porcorum hominibus salutis occasio præberetur. Pastores enim, ista cernentes, statim nuntiant civitati. Hieron. in Matt. Tom. 4. p. 29. m.

upon this occasion with what we find elsewhere? Sometimes he commanded silence, and charged men not to speak of the miracles he had wrought. Here he directs this man to tell others what 'God had done for him.' To which I answer: Our Lord never desired, that any miracles wrought by him should be denied or disowned by any: nor did he intend that men, on whom they were performed, should conceal them from their friends and relatives, or their own family; though he did forbid a general and open publication of some of his mighty works. And what he says to this man is no more than this: "Return to thy own house: or, go home to thy friends: and tell them, how great things the Lord has done for thee, and has had compassion on thee."

II. Having gone over this history, I would now add some remarks and observations.

1. We hence perceive that St. Mark's gospel is not an abridgment of St. Matthew's, as some have thought. St. Mark entirely omits divers things recorded by St. Matthew, and he has some histories quite wanting in that other evangelist. This history, which we have now considered, affords a good argument against that opinion: St. Matthew speaks of two in this country of the Gergesenes possessed with devils, St. Mark mentions one only. If he had seen St. Matthew's gospel, he would not have so written this history, without assigning some reason for the difference, or inserting a hint for reconciling it. St. Mark says, "the number of the swine was about two thousand," which is not mentioned by either of the other evangelists. St. Mark is, besides, in several parts of his relation of this miracle, more full and copious than St. Matthew, who has nothing of the discourse which our Lord held with the man called Legion; and also entirely omits the man's request, when cured, to be with Jesus, and our Lord's refusal, and the publication which the man afterwards made every where, of the great cure which had been wrought upon him.

In a word, the first three evangelists are all distinct and independent witnesses of our Lord's life and miracles; they did not write by concert: nor had any one of them, when he wrote, seen either of the other two gospels. The case however is somewhat different with regard to St. John: he perused the other three gospels before he wrote, and he has both confirmed their history, and made additions of his own.

2. The distemper, with which these men were afflicted, was lunacy or distraction: I say, the distemper of this man, or these two men, (whatever influence evil spirits might have,) was lunacy or distraction. This is evident from particulars mentioned by all the evangelists. St. Matthew says, that the two men which met Jesus upon his coming on shore, were "exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass that way." The particulars related by the other evangelists, concerning one of those men, are indications of the same thing: his having been bound and fettered, and his breaking his bands, living in the tombs, without clothing, cutting himself with flints; as also the whimsical answer which he made, when our Lord asked what was his name. And the cure is represented by his recovering his reason and understanding, and a composed temper and behaviour: for it is observed, that when the people came out of the city, they saw him "sitting, and clothed, and in his right mind."

3. This is the only miracle of this kind which is particularly recorded in the gospels. There might be many others; but I do not recollect any other particularly related by the evangelists. There are divers instances of persons who had evil spirits, and were lunatic; but their distemper was not the same with that of these men. The young man brought to the disciples, when our Lord was in the mount, was lunatic and sore vexed; but his distemper was the epilepsy, or falling sickness: "Oft-times," it is said, Matt. xvii. 15, "he falleth into the fire, and oft into the water:" and other symptoms of that distemper are to be found in the history of his case.

Of Mary Magdalene it is said, that "out of her went seven devils," Mark xvi. 9; and I am not unwilling to allow her case to have been much the same with that of the two men at the tombs: though it is not quite certain. But her cure, or the miracle wrought upon her, is no where particularly related: all that is said of her case is no more than this, Luke viii. 1, 2; "And the twelve were with him, and certain women, which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities: Mary Magdalene, out of whom went seven devils, Joanna, and many others."

4. The miracle, which we have now considered, was the effect of our Lord's benevolence. It does not appear, that he had any invitation to come into the country of the Gadarenes; but he went thither of his own accord, with a view of healing the two men at the tombs: knowing

their sad case from some occasional informations that had been given him, or by the perfect comprehensive knowledge which he had of things remote, as well as near at hand.

The context which was read before assures us, that compassion and benevolence, without any particular invitation, brought our Lord hither: his words therefore are extremely proper, when he says to the man: "Go home to thy friends, and tell them, how great things the Lord has done for thee, and has had compassion on thee." Unasked, unsought by friends, or any one else, he crossed the sea, and came on shore, conversed with these unhappy persons, relieved them in their deplorable and disconsolate condition, and then went back again to the other side.

How conspicuous is the benevolence! how great and amiable is the benignity of the Lord Jesus! He is entitled to the esteem and love of all. He came to seek and to save those who were lost. And by mighty works of goodness on the bodies of men, or for rectifying and putting in order the human frame, as constituted of soul and body; he demonstrated the truth of his prophetical character and mission, and invited men to embrace and obey that doctrine, which directs them in the way to the possession of eternal life.

"That word ye know," says St. Peter at the house of Cornelius, "how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth, with the Holy Ghost, and with power: who went about doing good," Acts x. 37. They who were afflicted, as these men were, could not be easily brought to Jesus: and it is likely, that few had faith enough to ask such a cure of him, especially at a distance. Our Lord therefore, as when Lazarus was dead, now also of his own good-will left the place where he was, took shipping, and went over the sea of Galilee, for the sake of these men in the country of the Gadarenes, whose case was extremely deplorable, and above all human relief.

5. I would observe, that this miracle was very public, at least well known. Our Lord went to this place attended by his disciples; as he came out of the ship the two men met him. Some of the mariners therefore belonging to that ship, in all probability, were present at the miracle, for the appearance of such miserable objects could not but excite their curiosity. It is probable that divers others were spectators of this great cure. St. Mark proceeding to this matter says, ch. iv. 35, 36, "And the same day, when the even was come, he saith unto them, Let us pass over unto the other side. And when they had sent away the multitude, they took him, as he was, in the ship. And there were also with him several other little ships." All these, it is likely, followed Jesus, and came on shore with him on the other side. Moreover, as before observed, our Lord performed this miracle deliberately: he discoursed with one of the men, who, by the answer he made, as well as by his outward form, manifested the great disorder of his mind. And this part of that country must have been extremely desolate and unpeopled, if some passing by, and others, did not in this space of time join our Lord's company. There is therefore reason to conclude, that a good number of persons were gathered together from the ships, and from elsewhere, and were spectators of this great work. So much is intimated in those words of St. Mark: "And they that saw it told them, how it had befallen him that was possessed with the devils."

Then indeed it was very public: for upon the cure, and the loss of the swine, they who fed them went into the neighbouring city: and the people came out to Jesus, and beheld the man calm and composed. And as St. Mark says in the words just cited, they who saw it, then related to them particularly how the thing had been done. And as the case of one of these men was well known, he having been often bound ineffectually, and a long time afflicted with this disorder, and having been often terrible to such as passed that way: many, who afterwards saw him enjoying a composed mind, and the right exercise of reason, must have been fully apprized of his miraculous cure, if they were attentive.

As our Lord performed this miracle with deliberation, so I think he stayed in the same place some time afterwards: by which means many had an opportunity of seeing him with the man at his feet. We do not know exactly how long our Saviour was here: but we may form a conjecture. It was even, when he took shipping: in the passage there was a storm. It is very likely, he did not arrive at the other side until morning: and probably he stayed there the greatest part of that day before he embarked again.

6. We learn by this history to trust in Divine providence, and not to live in fear of evil spirits, and their influence, or any accident whatever. They are under strict confinement; or, if they are permitted at all to visit our region and orb, they are under restraint and controul.

They shall not be allowed to inflict on us any evil, nor shall any accident whatever befall us, but what shall be over-ruled and sanctified for our benefit, if we choose the thing that is good, and cast our care upon God.

7. We learn the reasonableness of gratitude for benefits bestowed upon us, especially if we receive any signal deliverance from great and uncommon afflictions. Our blessed Lord did not choose that this person should attend him: however, he "bid him go home, and tell his friends there, how great things God had done for him, and had compassion on him." Though our Lord was meek and humble, and was far from seeking honour from men; he could not but be pleased with a thankful mind, sensible of benefits. Once, as he was travelling, and preaching the doctrine of the kingdom of heaven, "he met ten lepers, and they lifted up their voices, and said: Jesus, master, have mercy upon us," Luke xvii. 13. He had mercy upon them, and bade them go and shew themselves to the priest. "As they went they were cleansed. And one of them, when he saw that he was healed, turned back, and with a loud voice glorified God, and fell down on his face at his feet, giving him thanks; and he was a Samaritan. And Jesus answering said, Were there not ten cleansed? But where are the nine? There are not found that returned to give glory to God, save this stranger. And he said unto him, Arise, go thy way, thy faith hath made thee whole."

8. Finally, from this history we may learn to bear meekly rebukes and discouragements in the prosecution of good designs. Jesus came into this country with a good intention; he here wrought a miracle, a work of the greatest kindness, restoring a man, who had been long under the sorest of afflictions, whose cure was beyond all human skill, to the full use of reason and understanding. Nor was the neighbourhood altogether unconcerned in this benefit: the man, who before was disagreeable and terrible, was composed, and might be useful among them. But because this happy event was attended with temporal loss to some of them, they intreat the compassionate author of that great benefit, in whom was so much wisdom, and so much goodness, and so much power, "to depart out of their coasts." And he acquiesced, not choosing to obtrude himself upon them, as the evangelists inform us; "And he went up into the ship, and returned back again." However it is added; "And it came to pass, that when Jesus was returned, the people gladly received him, for they were all waiting for him." These things are written for the direction and support of wise and good men.

DISCOURSE II.

MARK V. 19.

Howbeit Jesus suffered him not, but saith unto him, Go home to thy friends, and tell them how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had compassion on thee.

HAVING formerly explained and improved the history of most of our Lord's miracles, and lately that of the cure of the two men at the tombs, in the country of the Gadarenes; I have thought it not improper, to consider in general the case of those, who in the New Testament are spoken of as having evil, or unclean spirits.

The subject is not immediately practical; and it is most agreeable to insist upon the general principles of true religion, which are universally acknowledged, or are controverted by a few only; together with the virtues of a good life, which are of the greatest importance, and of absolute necessity, without which no man shall see the Lord; and those helps and means, which, in their own nature, or by Divine appointment, are fitted to promote faith in God, good works and an heavenly frame of mind. These are the most excellent, the most delightful subjects of meditation and discourse. Upon no considerations, by no means whatever, would one be called off from these points, or cease to make them the usual topics of discourse in christian assemblies.

Nevertheless, it may not be altogether unprofitable, to treat on the subject I am now entering upon; it being what frequently occurs in the history of our Saviour's miracles, as recorded

in the gospels. It is likely therefore, that by considering the several texts, wherein these unhappy cases and their cure are mentioned, some light may be cast upon the holy scriptures, and some parts of the evangelical history may be better read with understanding.

In treating this subject I propose to observe the following method.

I. I would shew what are the opinions of men of the present, and late times, concerning this matter.

II. I would observe, what was the general opinion in the time of our Saviour, and his apostles, and what notions men then formed of these cases.

III. I will endeavour to discover the truth, and what idea we ought to have of those unhappy persons, who are spoken of as possessed of devils.

IV. I intend to consider objections and difficulties, relating to that opinion, which may appear to be most probable.

I. In the first place I would shew, what are the opinions of men of the present, or late times, concerning this matter. For there are two different opinions: one general and common, the other less general, and somewhat uncommon.

The opinion which I take to be most common, is this; that these persons were possessed, and inhabited, acted, governed and influenced by some evil spirit, or spirits; there having been in some of these persons one, in others many of these evil spirits.

And I reckon, that most in our times suppose these evil spirits to have been bad, or fallen angels, some of the companions, instruments, and agents of him, who is the chief of fallen angels, and called Satan, or Beelzebub, or the Devil, by way of eminence.

This I take to be the opinion of the vulgar: it obtains also very much among the learned. We have these words of a great and eminent writer in a late defence and vindication of our blessed Saviour's miracles against modern cavils and objections. He is speaking of the two men at the tombs, and the drowning of the herd of swine. 'So[a] that even this permission of 'Jesus to the evil spirits was amply compensated, by casting a whole legion of devils out of 'one person, that is, by suffering about three of them to enter into each hog, instead of about 'six thousand of them keeping possession of one man. And this dispossession of those evil 'spirits, and permission given them in consequence of it, were arguments of great force, to 'shew the power of Jesus over so numerous a regiment of them.' So that great author.

The number of the spirits that had taken possession of the unhappy man, is here inferred and concluded from his calling himself Legion. A Roman legion at that time usually consisted of six thousand soldiers or more. That learned writer therefore supposeth, that there were about so many evil spirits in that man. And when those spirits were cast out of the man, there being about two thousand swine that were drowned in the sea, the same writer supposeth, that each swine became possessed, and was hurried down the precipice by three devils.

Every one perhaps, does not judge it needful to conclude, that there were exactly such a number of spirits in the man, because he called himself Legion: but it is generally supposed, that there were in him very many evil[b] spirits.

It being thought, that these persons were possessed and tormented by one or more evil spirits, whereas such cases are now very uncommon among us, if there are any at all: it has been supposed, that[c] it might be wisely allowed of and suffered by the Divine being at that time. Satan and his instruments were then loosed, and permitted to possess and torment many persons in the land of Judea, and the adjoining countries. Hereby the power of Jesus, the Messiah, was rendered the more conspicuous, by delivering men from those possessions, and all the infirmities consequent upon them. Since which time, and especially since the power of miracles has ceased in the church, Satan has not been permitted to torment men in this world in that extraordinary and remarkable manner.

[a] See Bp. Smallbrook's Vindication of our Saviour's Miracles, Vol. I. p. 203. [b] Jesus asked him saying, What is thy name? Which question was not asked to gratify his own, or others' curiosity; but for this good end, that the Gadarenes might see what a miserable condition their countryman was in, and be more sensible of the mercy of his cure, and their own great danger amidst such vast numbers of evil spirits as then swarmed amongst them: since so many had taken possession of that one unhappy man, as to deserve the name of Legion, (above six thousand.) as one of them told our Lord in the name of the rest, in answer to his question: My name is Legion, for we are many. Fr. Bragge on our Saviour's Miracles. Vol. I. p. 75. [c] He cast out evil spirits, who by the Divine Providence were permitted to exert themselves at that time, and to possess many persons. Dr. Jortin's Remarks upon Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 17. See the same, Vol. I. p. 14.

This I take to be the prevailing sentiment of learned and unlearned, and the scheme that that has been formed concerning this point.

The other opinion, less common, is, that these cases were distempers only, which the human frame is subject to in this state of mortality; through its weakness and imperfection, and the accidents it is exposed to, and the temper of particular constitutions, and the influences of diet, and the circumambient air, and other natural causes.

These are the two principal sentiments of moderns upon this head.

II. In the second place I am to shew, what was the general opinion in the time of our Saviour and his apostles, and what notions men then formed of those cases, which are so frequently mentioned in the gospels.

I shall endeavour to shew the ancient sentiment in several propositions and observations.

1. In the first place it is fit to observe the style, or the several phrases and expressions made use of in the New Testament in speaking of this matter. For there can be no doubt, but the evangelists have used the expressions, which obtained at that time.

One expression, which frequently occurs, is "possessed with devils." So in St. Matthew, chap. iv. 24. "And his fame went throughout all Syria. And they brought unto him all sick people, that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and those which were possessed with devils." Again, ch. viii. 16. "When the even was come, they brought unto him many that were possessed with devils. And he cast out the spirits with his word, and healed all that were sick." The same evangelist, speaking of the men in the country of the Gadarenes, says, ver. 28, "There met him two possessed with devils."

Another phrase very frequent in speaking of this matter is that of persons having 'unclean spirits.' When our Lord sent forth the disciples, "he gave them power against unclean spirits, and to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness." Matt. x. 1. And St. Mark, v. 13, in the account of the man called Legion, says: "And forthwith Jesus gave them leave, and the unclean spirits went out, and entered into the swine." It is in the Acts likewise, v. 16, "There came also a multitude out of the cities round about unto Jerusalem, bringing sick folks, and them which were vexed with unclean spirits." And at Samaria, Acts viii. 7, when Philip, the deacon and evangelist, was there, "unclean spirits, crying with a loud voice, came out of many."

Sometimes the phrase is unclean spirit in the singular number; Mark i. 23. "And there was in the synagogue a man with an unclean spirit." And St. Mark useth also this same expression, ver. 2 of this chapter, speaking of the man called Legion; "When he was come out of the ship, there met him a man with an unclean spirit." And at ver. 8 our Lord says, "Come out of the man, thou unclean spirit."

There is another form of expression somewhat different from this in Luke iv. 33. "And in the synagogue there was a man which had a spirit of an unclean devil."

Sometimes they are called 'evil' or wicked spirits; Luke vii. 21. "In that same hour he cured many of their infirmities, and plagues, and of evil spirits." See also viii. 2, and elsewhere.

2. Give me leave to observe in the second place, that in speaking of this matter, particularly of persons possessed with devils, our translation is not exact; and instead of devils, the word dæmons would be much more proper: for that is the word which we have in the Greek original, and in the ancient Latin version, and in many modern translations.

If any will be pleased to observe carefully, I believe they will find, that throughout the New Testament there is but one evil spirit called devil: who is supposed to be the chief or prince of the fallen angels, and is often called Satan and Beelzebub. Nor is that word once used in the plural number, in the New Testament, where Satan, or the fallen angels are spoken of.

That the scripture supposes but one evil being, or spirit, called the devil, may be easily perceived by every one from some plain texts. Matt. xxv. 41, "Then shall he say unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." Rev. xii. 9. "The great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the devil and Satan." Again, Acts xiii. 10, St. Paul says to Elymas, the sorcerer: "Thou child of the devil," or of Satan, that wicked one, prince of evil spirits. James iv. 7. "Resist the devil, and he will flee from you." 1 Pet. v. 8. "Be sober, be vigilant, because your adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour." Here the original word

is rightly rendered. And every one may perceive, that hereby is meant, that one great tempter and seducer of mankind, called Satan, and the prince of evil spirits. This is that evil being, by whom our Lord is said to have been tempted in the wilderness; Matt. iv. 1. "Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit, to be tempted of the devil." Mark i. 13. "And he was there in the wilderness forty days tempted of Satan."

There is therefore but one evil spirit, meant by that word in scripture; and wherever we have it in our translation in the plural number, the original word is dæmons. For instance, 1 Cor. x. 20. "Now I say, that the things, which the gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, not to God." The original word is dæmons [Δαιμονιοις]. And so throughout that context the word dæmons should be put in the translation, in the room of that which we have. "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of dæmons. Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and the table of dæmons." This is the exact and literal version of that place.

For settling this matter, and for giving full satisfaction to such as are not able to consult the original language of the New Testament, I would take notice of a few more places. Matt. x. 8. Our Lord said to the disciples, when he sent them forth from him: "Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils." In the Greek it is, "Cast out dæmons." Matt. xii. 27. "If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out?" It should be rendered dæmons. As also ver. 28. "But if I cast out devils," rather dæmons, "by the finger of God, then is the kingdom of God come unto you." And what is said of Mary Magdalen, Luke viii. should be thus rendered: "Out of whom went seven dæmons." And James ii. 19. "Thou believest that there is one God. The devils also believe and tremble." In the original it is dæmons.

It is somewhat difficult to determine, what ought to be understood by the word dæmon, as used in the New Testament.

It is likely, that many now by dæmons understand fallen angels. But at present our inquiry is, what was the meaning of the evangelical writers; in what sense this word was used by them, and was used and understood by their contemporaries, or those who lived in the times of Christ and his apostles. And though it may be difficult to determine this point with full and absolute certainty; yet there are some reasons, which may dispose us to think, that thereby they meant the souls of bad men.

The word dæmon, used in the gospels, and in other parts of the New Testament, is very frequent in Greek authors. And in those profane authors, as we call them, the word has various senses. It sometimes denotes [a] God himself, or the supreme deity; sometimes an inferior deity, and sometimes those genii, or lower orders of spirits, of which some were reputed good, others bad.

In the New Testament the word is almost always used in a bad sense, to denote an evil, or impute spirit. Nevertheless in one place we may allow it to be taken in a good sense. Acts xvii. 18, when St. Paul was at Athens, some said of him, "He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods:" in the original, 'strange dæmons;' ξενων δαιμονιων. Those persons imagined, that St. Paul designed to recommend to them, and introduce among them, the worship of some foreign dæmons, or gods of another city and country, not received in their city. As they were heathens, they may be supposed to have used the word in a good sense. But generally, for certain, in the New Testament, and ever since, among all Christian writers, the word has been used to denote an evil spirit.

And there are remaining some passages of ancient authors, which may be of no small service for assuring us, what was meant by this word among Jewish people, and by the writers of the New Testament. One is a passage of Josephus, the celebrated Jewish historian, who

[a] Επει δε ἡ τε δαιμονιε προνοια, ὑφ' ἡς αει σωζομεθα, κ. λ. Ap. Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Roman. l. x. cap. 10. p. 607. ed. Hudson. And see Cudworth's Intellectual System. B. i. ch. 4. p. 26—263. edit. 1678.

I shall transcribe here an article of an ancient lexicographer; whereby it appears, that, in ancient heathen writers, god and dæmon are often used as equivalent: and that Plato, once at least, called the supreme governor of the world, the chief dæmon. Θεος, και θεοι, και δαιμονες· ουτω γαρ Ὁμηρῳ δοκει, δαιμονας καλειν θεους. Και Πλατων δε τον τε παντος κυβερνητην, μεγιστον δαιμονα ωνομασεν. Εχει δη της αυτης χρειας το θειον, και το δαιμονιον. J. Polluc. Onom. l. i. sect. 1. Conf. Platon. Politic. T. 2. p. 272. E. Serran.

And what is sometimes called the dæmon, is at other times called the god of Socrates. Μανθανω, ω Σοκρατης, ὁτι δη συ το δαιμονιον φης σαυτῳ ἑκαστοτε γιγνεσθαι. Platon. Euthyph. T. i. p. 3. β. Vid. & Apol. Socr. p. 40. & alibi. Maximus Tyrius has two chapters, entited in this manner: Τι το δαιμονιον Σωκρατους. Ετι περι του Σωκρατους δαιμονιου. The chapter of Apuleius upon the same subject is intitled, De Deo Socratis.

was contemporary with Christ's apostles. He says, 'that [a] dæmons are the spirits of wicked 'men, who enter into living men, and destroy them, unless they are so happy as to meet with 'speedy relief.' Another is a passage of Justin Martyr, a Christian writer, born of Greek parents, in the country of Samaria, who flourished about the middle of the second century. He is arguing for a future state, and among other things he there speaks 'of [b] those who 'are seized and tormented by the souls of the dead, whom all call dæmoniacs and madmen.' And there are many other [c] authors, to whom I might refer, as contenancing the opinion.

This sense of the word may also be argued from divers texts of the New Testament, some of which have been already quoted. 1 Cor. x. 20, "The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to dæmons, not to God." Now the heathen deities, or dæmons, to whom they offered sacrifices, were not angels good or bad; of whom it does not appear, that the ancient Greeks and Romans had any notion; but departed heroes, or the souls of men whom they respected, but whom the Jews, the worshippers and servants of the one God, always considered as evil beings.

Moreover, heathen deities are often spoken of in the Old Testament, as dead men, or dæmons. Among directions given to the Israelites, it is said, Levit. xvii. 7, "And they shall no more offer their sacrifices to devils," or dæmons; which is the word in the ancient Greek translation, made from the Hebrew before the time of our Saviour. And Psal. xcvi. 5, "For all the gods of the nations are idols." The same ancient Greek version, called that of the Seventy Jewish elders, render it, "All the gods of the nations are dæmons," meaning dead men, or the souls of such. Psal. cvi. 37. Among the offences of the people of Israel this is reckoned up, when they forsook God, and turned idolators, in imitation of the heathens, "They sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils." It should rather be rendered dæmons. And that thereby is meant dead men, or their departed spirits, is manifest from the same Psalm, ver. 28: "They joined themselves to Baal-Peor, and ate the sacrifices of the dead." And herein is shewn the absurdity of the Jewish people, when, instead of inquiring of God, they applied to heathen idols, who were dead men, and incapable of given any counsel. Isa. viii. 19, "Should not a people seek unto their God! For the living to the dead!" How strange is that conduct! what infatuation! Deut. xxxii. 15, "But Jeshurun waxed fat, and provoked the Lord to anger. They sacrificed to dæmons, not to God."

The word dæmon, therefore, being used not only by heathens themselves, for their deities, but also, and that not seldom, in the sacred scriptures: and heathen deities being generally supposed to be dead men, or departed spirits; there is some reason to think, this is what is meant, when any are spoken of as under their influence.

However, notwithstanding the speciousness of this argument, I choose to leave the point undecided, and to submit it to every one's judgment, to think as he pleaseth.

4. I would observe, that among the Jews it was a general opinion, that neither the punishment of fallen angels, nor of bad men, was to be completed, till the great day of the general judgment.

Concerning the fallen angels, I before referred [d] to places in the second epistle of St. Peter, and the epistle of St. Jude: where they are spoken of, as "reserved unto judgment," or "unto the judgment of the great day." It is the same with regard to men. Therefore St. Peter says, 2 Ep. iii. 7, "The heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire, against the day of judgment, and perdition of ungodly men."

[a] Τα γαρ καλεμενα δαιμονια, ταυτα δε πονηρων εστιν ανθρωπων πνευματα τοις ζωσιν εισδυομενα, και κλεινοντα τας βοηθειας μη τυγχανοντας. De Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 25. al. cap. 6. sect. 3.

[b] Και οι ψυχαις αποθανουσιν λαμβανομενοι και ριπτουμενοι ανθρωποι, ους δαιμονολημπτους και μαινομενους καλουσι παντες. Justin. Ap. I. i. al. 2. p. 65. Par. 1620. p. 54. ed. Bened.

[c] ——— ειναι τε παντα τον αερα ψυχων εμπλεων· και τουτους δαιμονας τε και ηρωας νομιζεσθαι· και υπο τουτων πεμπεσθαι ανθρωποις τας τε ονειρους, και τα σημεια νοσους τε και υγιειας. κ. λ. Pythagoras, Ap. Diog. Laert. in vita Pythagoræ, n. 32. p. 514.

Plerique tamen, ex Platonis magisterio, dæmones putant animas corporeo munere liberatas; laudabilium quoque virorum æthereos dæmones, improborum vero nocentes. Chalcid. in Platon. Tim. cap. 135. p. 330.

In Chrysostom's time, some dæmoniacs would say, that they were possessed by the soul of such, or such, a monk; which must have been owing to a common opinion, that dæmons were the souls of dead men. Τι εν, ὁτι οι δαιμονες λεγουσι, τον μοναχον τον δεινος ἡ ψυχη ειμι, φησι. Chrys. de Lazaro. Conc. 2. Tom. i. p. 728.

Αυτοι, φησιν, οι δαιμονωντες βοασιν, ὁτι ψυχη τις δεινος εστω. In Matt. hom. 28. al. 29. Tom. 7. p. 336. C.

He mentions it as the common opinion of meaner people in his time, that the souls of all who died a violent death, became dæmons. Και γαρ πολλοι των αφελεστερων νομιζουσι τας ψυχας των βιαιω θανατω τελευτωντων δαιμονας γινεσθαι. De Laz. Serm. 2. Tom. i. p. 727. E. Vid. & Tertullian. De Anima. cap. 57. p. 355.

[d] P. 238.

Their punishment therefore not being yet full and complete, it was the opinion of many, that for serving the wise ends of Providence, some of these beings, both fallen angels, and the departed souls of men, were permitted to come abroad, out of Hades, the receptacle of spirits.

It was certainly the common opinion, (whether there was any ground for it or not,) that [a] the region of our air was filled with invisible beings. Chrysostom reckons it among the favours of Providence, that [b] when the air is full dæmons and adverse powers, we do not discern them; for the sight of them might frighten us out of our wits, if not to death. Cassian [c] speaks to the like purpose. The great Eusebius of Cæsarea supposed these spirits, or at least many of them, to be fallen angels. 'He says, that [d] when they had sinned, and 'for their transgression were expelled the heavenly abodes; a large part of them were thrust 'into hell, called the abyss, and confined there: others of them were suffered to dwell near the 'moon, and in the region of the air, below the moon, and near our earth.'

This also was a common opinion of the heathen people concerning their inferior deities, that they were in the air near the earth. And [e] they were supposed by many to subsist in part by fumes of incense, and the steams of slain beasts offered to them in sacrifice.

To these, whether fallen angels, or spirits of another kind, St. Paul [f] is thought to refer, when he says, Eph. vi. 11, 12, "Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood:" we contend not with men only, "but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places:" that is, against wicked spirits, that are in the upper regions above, or in the air, as he plainly expresseth it, ch. ii. 2, "Wherein, in time past, ye walked, according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air."

5. All these evil spirits, in general, (whether fallen angels, or others,) were supposed to be in subjection to Satan, or the Devil, who is their head and prince: at least this was the opinion of the Jewish people, as will be shewn presently. However, it was fit to be mentioned here; and it appears from the texts of St. Paul just cited. He desires, that the Ephesians might be "able to stand against the wiles of the devil:" and then adds, "For we wrestle against principalities, and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places." They therefore were under him. And in the other place he speaks expressly of "the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience:" undoubtedly meaning Satan, even him, who is the evil one by way of distinction, and the great tempter and seducer of mankind.

6. These evil spirits, or dæmons, (whether fallen angels or souls of bad men,) were supposed to be, under Satan their head, the instruments of many afflictions and inconveniences to men in this mortal frame.

This is evident from many places in the gospels, where those unhappy persons are mentioned, who are said to have "an unclean spirit," or to be "possessed of devils," as we sometimes

[a] Οὗτοι τοινυν οἱ ἀγγελοι οἱ ἐκπεσοντες των ἀρανων, περι τον ἀερα ἐχοντες και την γην, ἐκει εις τα ὑπερἀρανια ὑπερκυψαι δυναμενοι, και αἱ των γιγαντων ψυχαι, οἱ περι τον κοσμον εισι πλανωμενοι δαιμονες. Athenag. Apol. p. 28. B.

[b] Ποσοι δαιμονες εις τον ἀερα φερονται τοτον; ποσαι ἐναντιαι δυναμεις; ει μονον ἐπετρεψεν αὐτοις την ὀψιν την ἑαυτων δειξαι την φοβεραν ἐκεινην και ἀερπη, ἐκ αν ἐξεστημεν; ἐκ αν ἀπολωμεθα; ἐκ αν διεφθαρημεν. Chr. in. Ps. xli. Tom. v. p. 137.

[c] Tantâ vero spirituum densitate comstipatus est aër iste, qui inter cœlum terranque diffunditur, in quo non quieti, non otiosi pervolitant: ut satis utiliter humanis aspectibus eos providentia divina absconderit, & subtraxerit, &c. Cassian. Coll. 8. cap. xii. Ap. Bib. PP. Tom. 7. Vid. & Euseb. Dem. Ev. l. x. p. 502. C. D.

[d] —— τον ἐφαρμοζοντα τοις δυσσεβεσι χωρον, κρισει δικαια, και ἀποφασει τε μεγαλε θεε ταρταρον οἰκειν, ὀν ἀβυσσον οἱ θειοι λογοι προσαγορευουσι, και σκοτος —— ὡν βραχυ τι και μικρον ἀποσπασμα, γυμνασιε χαριν των εὐσεβιας ἀθλητων, ἀμφι γην, και ὑπο σεληνην ἀερα καταλειφθεν. Euseb. Pr. Ev. l. vii. c. 16. p. 329.

[e] Οἱ δε γε περιττοι τινες ὀντες και καταχθονιοι —— ταφοις νεκρων και μνημασι—αἱμασι τε και λυθροις, και πανοιων ζωων σωμασι, τη τε ἐκ των ἀναθυμιωμενων, και ἀπο της γης ἐξαιμιζομενων ἀναδυσει χαιροντες. Præp. Ev. l. v. p. 181. B.

Τοιουτος γαρ ὁ των δαιμονων τροπος, ὅτ' ἀν μεν τη κνισση, και τω καπνω, και τοις αἱμασιν αὐτων θεραπευωσι, καθαπερ κυνες αἱμοβοροι και λιχνοι παραπινονται λαφυγοντες· ὁτ' ἀν δε μηδεις ο ταυτα παρεχων ἡ, καθαπερ τινι λιμω διαφθειρονται. Chr. de S. Babyla. Contr. Julian. & Gentiles. Tom. 2. p. 558.

Nisi forte hostiarum deus animas devorat, aut ex aris ardentibus nidorem consectatur & fumos, &c. Arnob. l. vii. in. p. 212.

Ὁρω δε ὑμας μαλιστα χαιροντας τω καπνω, και την ευωχιαν ταυτην ἡδιστην οιομενους, ὁποιαν εις τον ἀρανον ἡ κνισσα γινηται ἐλισσομενη περι καπνω. Lucian. Prometh. T. i. p. 183. ed. Græv.

Vid. & idem de Sacrificiis. ib. p. 366. & Porphyr. de Abst. l. ii. cap. 42. p. 86. ed. Cantabr. & Aristoph. Aves. ver. 183. & seqq. & ver. 1515. & seqq. ed. Kust.

[f] Vid. Euseb. Pr. Ev. l. vii. p. 329. D.

render the word, but who would be more properly said to be 'dæmoniacs,' that is, affected by one or more dæmons. I shall remind you of several instances.

Madness, or distraction, is one evil often ascribed to them. This was the case of the two men at the tombs, who were exceeding fierce, and one of them at least had been thus afflicted for a long season, and when confined and chained, had broken his bands. This was one of the opprobrious reflections cast upon our Saviour. John x. 20, 21, "Many [a] of them said, he has a dæmon, and is mad. Why hear ye him? Others said, These are not the words of a dæmoniac. Can a dæmon open the eyes of the blind?"

There are several other indispositions which are ascribed to them, Matt. ix. 32, 33. "And as they went out, they brought unto him a dumb man possessed with a devil:" literally, 'a dumb man, a dæmoniac:' ανθρωπον κωφον δαιμονιζομενον. "And when the dæmon was gone out, the dumb man spake, and the multitude marvelled."

In the xiith chapter of the same gospel, ver. 22, and therefore certainly another case: "Then was brought unto him one possessed with a devil, or a dæmoniac," δαιμονιζομενος, "blind and dumb. And he healed him: insomuch that the blind and dumb both spake and saw." In St. Luke xi. 14, the same miracle is thus related: "And he was casting out a dæmon. And it came to pass, when the dæmon was gone out, the dumb spake, and the people wondered."

Mark ix. 25, "When Jesus saw that the people came running together, he rebuked the unclean spirit, saying unto him, Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him." That is the young man was brought to the disciples when our Lord was on the mount, and they could not cure him: he was plainly epileptical; and besides, either constantly, or at least under the paroxysms of his distemper, was deaf and dumb.

Mark i. 23, 26, "And there was in their synagogue a man with an unclean spirit. And he cried out, saying, Let us alone, what have we to do with thee thou Jesus of Nazareth? And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And when the unclean spirit had torn him, and cried with a loud voice, he came out of him." This person, as I suppose every one may allow, had the epilepsy, or falling sickness, and it is ascribed to an unclean spirit. The same history is in Luke iv. 33—35.

Once more, Luke xiii. 11—16. "And behold, there was a woman, which had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, and was bowed down, and could in no wise lift up herself. And when Jesus saw her, he called her to him, and said unto her, Woman, thou art loosed from thy infirmity." The ruler of the synagogue pretending to take offence, because it was the sabbath day, our Lord, beside other things, said: "Ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan has bound, lo, these eighteen years, to be loosed from this bond on the sabbath day?"

Here Satan himself is considered as the cause of this infirmity; though, very frequently, these cases are spoken of as effects of the malicious influences of dæmons. The reason is, that Satan is their prince and ruler, and what is done by instruments, or subjects, with the approbation of a ruler, or principal agent, is fitly ascribed to him.

And, not to mention any more particular instances, it seems, that the Jewish people supposed Satan and his instruments, that is, dæmons, evil spirits, to be capable of inflicting almost all sorts of diseases. St. Peter therefore, at the house of Cornelius, as his discourse is summarily rehearsed, Acts x. 38. says: "You know, how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost, and with power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil. For God was with him."

7. I must proceed to observe farther, for shewing the sentiment of the Jewish people in our Saviour's time, that they supposed, the distempers or torments inflicted by evil spirits might be removed or cured.

So Josephus said in a passage cited above, that these evils were mortal, unless speedy relief was obtained.

Doubtless the Jews believed, that these inconveniences might be removed by the divine disposal, and by a prophet, speaking in the name of God, who had power of working miracles. Therefore many, who believed Jesus to be a prophet, and the Messiah, brought such cases to him for cure.

They likewise supposed, that dæmons might be exorcised or adjured out of the bodies of

[a] Ελεγον δε πολλοι εξ αυτων· Δαιμονιον εχει, και μαινεται· κ. λ.

men, of which they had taken possession. St. Luke informs us, that at Ephesus, "certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists, took upon them to call over them that had evil spirits in the name of the Lord Jesus, saying: We adjure you by Jesus, whom Paul preacheth," Acts xix. 13.

It is likely, that from the miracles which they had seen wrought by Paul, those exorcists hoped for better success by making use of the name of Jesus, than by their common forms and methods of exorcism.

That exorcisms were used by the Jews, we are expressly assured[a] by Josephus. He speaks as if Solomon had left some prescriptions for these cases, and directed to the use of herbs and roots, that would be of great advantage.

I have now shewn, what were the Jewish sentiments upon this head in the time of our Saviour and his apostles, and when the books of the New Testament were written.

8. It is fit I should add, that there were dæmoniacs likewise among the heathens about the same time; that is, there were many among them who had indispositions, which were reputed to be owing to the influence of dæmons.

Some learned men have denied, or overlooked this: they have gone upon a supposition, that such cases were to be found among the Jews only, and in their own country; but that is manifestly a mistake, as may be shewn from the New Testament itself. Matt. xv. 21, 22, "Then Jesus went thence, and departed into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon. And behold, a woman of Canaan came out of the same coasts, and cried unto him, saying, Have mercy on me, O Lord, thou son of David. My daughter is grievously vexed with a dæmon:" St. Mark has the same history, ch. vii. 24—26. "And thence he arose, and went into the borders of Tyre and Sidon. And a certain woman, whose daughter had an unclean spirit, heard of him, and came, and fell at his feet: [the woman was a Greek, a Syrophenician by nation:] and she besought him, that he would cast forth the dæmon out of her daughter." And ver. 29, 30, "And he said unto her, The dæmon is gone out of thy daughter. And when she was come to her house, she found the dæmon was gone out, and her daughter laid upon the bed."

The affair at Ephesus, just taken notice of, is another proof. The young maiden at Philippi, who had a 'spirit of divination,' is a third instance, Acts xvi. 16, 18.

Many proofs of this might be alleged from heathen[b] writers. But I forbear to take notice of them.

Undoubtedly there was a difference between the Jews and them in some respects. The Jews thought all dæmons in general to be evil and unclean: but the heathens esteemed many dæmons to be good, for they were among their deities; and therefore in some cases they might the more respect some people for having a dæmon, though the patient himself was unhappy. However, it is certain, that there were among the heathens at this time many people, who had indispositions which are ascribed to dæmons.

We have now made good progress in this argument. The next thing to be inquired into is, what is the most reasonable opinion concerning these cases. But that must be reserved for another season.

In the mean time we may hence take occasion, as some of old did who were witnesses of our Saviour's miracles, "to praise God, who had given such power unto men." Matt. ix. 8, says the evangelist: "When the even was come, they brought unto him many demoniacs: and he cast out the spirits with his word, and healed all that were sick. That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying: Himself took our infirmities, and bare our sicknesses," Matt. viii. 16, 17.

The like gift did Jesus confer upon his disciples. "He gave them power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease," Matt. x. 1. Which power they displayed in the most honourable manner after his ascension; and it was a great benefit to the men of that age to have their diseases so cured. But the principal use, and the greatest benefit of these wonderful works, both to the men of that time, and to us, is, that they ascertained and confirmed the excellent and important doctrine of the gospel; which is so suited to improve and exalt our minds, and cure evil affections, and deliver us from the malignant influence of all the snares and temptations of Satan, and this evil world. Which if

[a] Antiq. Jud l. viii. cap. 2. section. 5. [b] See an Enquiry, and a farther Enquiry into the Meaning of Dæmoniacs in the New Testament. See likewise Mr. W. Weston's Enquiry into the rejection of the Christian Miracles by the Heathens, p. 231, 233. and elsewhere.

we overcome, we shall in the end attain to a world, where there are no sicknesses nor sorrows: where no evil men nor evil spirits shall enter: where good men of all ages shall be united in one happy and glorious society, and shall be for ever with the Lord.

DISCOURSE III.

MARK V. 19.

Howbeit Jesus suffered him not, but saith unto him, Go home to thy friends, and tell them, how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had compassion on thee.

We now proceed to the third head of discourse, under which we are to consider what is really the truth, or what idea we ought to form of those unhappy persons, who in the New Testament are spoken of as having 'an unclean spirit.'

Here I certainly intend to speak my mind freely, and to shew plainly what appears to me to be the truth. Nevertheless, I am under little or no apprehension of giving offence: partly, because I think I can rely upon the candour of those who hear me; partly, because I do not desire to impose a particular sentiment upon any. All are at liberty to judge for themselves, when they have heard and considered what may be said on one side or another. For no one opinion concerning these cases is like those articles of faith: that Jesus is the Christ, that he lived and died in Judea, and rose again, and ascended into heaven, and will come again to judge men according to their works: or, that he and his apostles wrought many wonderful works of an extraordinary nature.

Whether the indispositions that these persons laboured under were owing to the influence of evil spirits or not, the cure of them was miraculous. Nor is the miracle at all lessened, by supposing them to be only grievous and long continued bodily distempers. The[a] rectifying the human frame, all on a sudden, which had been before greatly disordered, is at least as great a work, as commanding an evil spirit to leave the body, or any other particular place.

Were I to attempt to represent the displays of the Divine perfections in the works of nature and the more conspicuous parts of the visible creation, and to observe the greatness, the number, the wonderful disposition, and regular order and motions of the heavenly bodies; should I do this upon the ground of the now prevailing scheme of modern philosophy, it is likely, it would give no offence to any; though the present scheme is very different from the sentiment of the ancients; and though there are divers texts of scripture which suppose, or countenance the opinion that prevailed in ancient times.

"The sun," says the Psalmist, "is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race. His going forth is from the end of the heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it," Psal. xix. 5, 6. Again; "He appointeth the moon for seasons; the sun knoweth his going down," Psal. civ. 19. And in ver. 5 of the same Psalm, it is spoken of as one of the wonderful works of God, "that he has laid the foundations of the earth, so that it should not be removed for ever."

Yet it is now generally supposed, that the sun is the fixed centre of our grand system, and that the earth, beside its diurnal rotation upon its own axis, makes an annual revolution about the sun.

[a] 'Now which is an instance of the greatest power, to 'command an inferior to depart one's presence, which if he 'refuses to do, one can turn him out, whether he will or not? 'or to correct the juices and solids of a disordered body, and 'regulate its motions by a word? There seems to be no com-'parison in the instances of power. And therefore I think it 'more to the credit of the miracle, and more to our Saviour's 'glory, to have cured the unhappy people in the manner by 'me contended for, than in the other.' Further Enquiry into the meaning of Dæmoniacs in the N. T. p. 107.

Ils penchent à croire, que leurs maladies étoient naturelles, mais que les causes en étoient inconnues. Cette opinion ne me scandaliseroint point. La raison en est, que les miracles de N. S. qui les guérissoit n'en sont que plus grands Car que des êtres intelligens obéissent au commandement de J. C. cela n' est pas si miraculeux que de commander à des maladies et de les faire cesser par un simple ordre. Beausobre, Remarques sur le N. T. p. 14.

The ancient christians, and others, almost universally supposed, that our earth is a flat, with here and there rising hills and mountains; and could by no means allow, that there were any inhabitants in that part of the earth which was opposite to themselves. We think the earth to be globose, and find no difficulty to believe, that it is inhabited all round, on every side.

Nor do we judge those to have been enemies to mankind, or to the sacred scriptures, who have taken pains to confute and overthrow the once established opinions; and to shew, that the scriptures, without deciding any thing in those points, only use the common way of speaking.

If the like should be attempted by any with regard to some ancient opinions, concerning the supposed agency of evil spirits; I presume there would be no reason to be offended, provided their sentiment be modestly proposed, and with a view to promote knowledge among christians.

The opinions of modern interpreters, and other christians, concerning the case of those who are spoken of as having unclean spirits, you may remember were these two; one, more generally received, which allows, that they were real possessions: the other less common, that they were mere bodily diseases and indispositions; though it was then the prevailing opinion, that those disorders were caused by evil spirits. And those persons, and their friends, attributing these disorders to Satan, and dæmons under him, our Saviour often adapts his expressions to that opinion, without countenancing or approving it.

That this last mentioned is the more just and probable account of these cases, may appear from several considerations, which I shall now propound to you.

1. It having been in those times a very common opinion, that there were many evil spirits in the region of the air, it is not at all strange, that many people should live under apprehensions of suffering from them.

And many might be induced to subscribe to such spirits, and to their power and influence, several indispositions, and other calamities that befell them. Moreover, some persons of a speculative and philosophical temper might think it best to cherish this opinion among the people, with a view to subserve divers ends and purposes, which they deemed innocent and useful: one of which might be promoting the belief of the existence of spirits or invisible beings. Some there were, as the sadducees among the Jews, who denied the existence of angels, and the souls of men after death. The pharisees therefore, and some others, might lay hold of and encourage the notion, that many bodily disorders were owing to evil spirits, the better to secure the persuasion of their real existence. For effects cannot be without causes. If such affecting disorders proceeded from spirits, they have a being, though they are not visible.

This therefore may in some measure help us to account for the prevalence of this opinion, though it had no good foundation.

2. I observe, secondly, that the chief foundation of the opinion of real possessions may be called in question.

By the principal foundation of this opinion, I mean the supposition of the liberty of evil spirits, either bad angels, or others, to rove about near this earth, in the region of the air.

The Jewish people might be in the right, in supposing, that neither the punishment of the fallen angels, nor bad men, was completed before the day of general judgment. But does it thence follow, that till that time they were at liberty to go where they thought fit, and to do all the mischief they pleased, or were able to execute? St. Jude speaks indeed of the fallen angels being 'reserved unto judgment.' But how? It is under confinement. His words are, ver. 6, "And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he has reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day." And St. Peter, "God spared not the angels that sinned, but delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment." 2 Ep. ii. 4.

However, possibly, this argument may not be reckoned conclusive. For though many of the fallen angels are so confined, yet the expressions of St. Jude and St. Peter need not to be understood absolutely and universally. For Satan is spoken of as "our adversary, like a roaring lion, walking about, seeking whom he may devour."

That therefore is all, which I have chosen to say; that the principal foundation of this opinion may be called in question; not intending to deny the liberty of Satan, and some other

evil angels, to tempt and annoy men, with the Divine permission. At the same time I perceive not any clear evidence of the permission of such numbers of evil angels to act upon this earth, as the common opinion supposes.

But if by dæmons be meant other evil spirits, different from fallen angels, then the supposition of their liberty seems to be altogether without foundation. In Isa. lxiii. 16, the Jewish people are introduced by the prophet, owning, that "Abraham was ignorant of them, and that Israel did not acknowledge them." If good men are not allowed after death to concern themselves in the affairs of this world, not so much as of their own descendants; how can it be reasonable to think, that bad men are permitted after death, to concern themselves in our affairs, for injuring and tormenting us?

3. Allowing evil spirits the liberty just mentioned, and also the power of inflicting some evils on men; it does not follow, that ever there were any possessions, in the strict and gross sense of the word: that is, evil spirits, actuating and inhabiting the bodies of living men upon this earth.

4. It does not appear, that the common opinion of possessions has any support and countenance in the Old Testament.

Satan, it is true, is there represented as the great enemy and seducer of mankind. He tempted Job, and was permitted to bring upon him divers losses and calamities. Still his power received farther enlargement. And then "Satan went forth from the presence of the Lord, and smote Job with sore boils, from the sole of his foot unto his crown," Job. ii. 7. Here is a particular case, and it is very affecting. But yet it comes not up to possession: seizing the body of a man, discomposing his mind, and acting him at will and pleasure.

1 Sam. xvi. 14. It is said of Saul, "that an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him; that is, he contracted a melancholic habit and disposition; for it was often soothed by music. Said his attendants: "Let our lord now command his servants to seek out a man, who is a skilful player on a harp. And it shall come to pass, that when the evil spirit from God is upon thee, that he shall play with his hand, and thou shalt be well." David was sent for; "And it came to pass, when the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took an harp, and played with his hand. So Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him."

Neither this, then, nor any thing else mentioned in the Old Testament, that I can recollect, countenanceth the supposition of that terrible case, which seems to be implied in the real possession of evil spirits.

And it is not unreasonable to conclude hence, that[a] the notion of possessions was received by the Jews from the Chaldæan or Greek philosophers, after the shutting up of the canon of the Old Testament by the ancient prophets.

5. We find not any instances of possessions by good angels, or other good spirits. Why then should possessions by evil spirits be allowed of? Can it be reasonable to suppose, that Divine Providence would permit evil spirits to have more power to do evil, than others have to do good?

There has been an opinion, maintained by some, that every man has a tutelar, or guardian angel. Others have supposed, that every man has two angels attending him, one good, the other bad; each suggesting to him counsels and warnings, according to their several dispositions, one wishing his welfare, the other waiting for his halting. But these opinions, (though[c] destitute of all good authority,) do not amount to the thing which we are speaking of. Nor are they by any means so unreasonable.

6. Possession by evil spirits is a thing in itself absurd and impossible, at the least unreasonable and improbable, and not to be supposed, unless there be clear and full proof of it. Which I think there is not.

Man consists of soul and body; and it seems to be unsuitable to the wise methods of Providence, that other spirits should enter into any man, without his consent, and actuate and govern him. "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them

[a] 'The Jews seem to have received some additional notions concerning evil spirits, and their operations, from the Chaldæans and, after their return from the captivity, to have ascribed many diseases and disorders to these invisible agents, besides those which were not to be accounted for by natural causes.' Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. i. p. 243. So says Dr. Jortin, though he allows, that there were real dæmoniacs See there, p. 14. and 190. [b] See Whitby upon Matt. xviii. 10. and Acts xii. 9.

understanding," Job xxxii. 8. "The spirit of a man will sustain his infirmity, but a wounded spirit who can bear?" Prov. xviii. 14. The same wise man speaks of "the spirit of a man that goeth upward," Eccl. iii. 21. And St. Paul, "What man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man that is in him," 1 Cor. ii. 11. I refer also to Matt. x. 28. 1 Thess. v. 23. 2 Tim. iv 22. Heb. xii. 9. not now to take notice of any other places.

The scripture therefore in agreement with reason, and[a] the general persuasion of mankind, supposes one soul or spirit in a man. And for other spirits to subsist therewith, and to controul and actuate all his powers and members, is an incongruity that ought not to be admitted.

7. Real possessions seem inconsistent with the goodness of God.

I say, it seems to be inconsistent with the widom and goodness of the Divine government, to allow of possessions, in the gross meaning of the word. If, indeed, there were any clear and undeniable evidences of such a thing, we should be willing to do our best, to reconcile it to wisdom and goodness. But as there is not, that I know of, any clear and undoubted evidence of this fact, and the thing appears to be very strange and shocking; I apprehend we may say, it appears to be inconsistent with the wisdom and goodness of God.

For let any man think with himself, if it be not a strange, and hard case, fora man to be put into the power of evil spirits: or for apostate angels, or other impure and wicked spirits, one or more of them, to be allowed to take possession of him, and to teaze and torment him, as they think fit. Is this suited to that state of trial, in which we now are? Such unhappy persons, it is true, are not cast into hell, nor fixed in a state of damnation. But apostate angels, or other infernal spirits, are supposed to be permitted to come to him, seize on him, torment, and distress him, and that for many years together.

Is this a supposition, that should be easily made or allowed of? Can we fairly reconcile this to the wisdom and equity of the Divine government?

Besides, from many things said in the gospels it appears, that divers of the persons there spoken of, as 'having evil spirits,' were not the worst of men. Yea, for any thing we can perceive, divers of them were honest, virtuous persons. And some had laboured under those distempers, commonly ascribed to evil spirits, from their youth, or from childhood, before they can be supposed to have been guilty of great and heinous transgressions.

This argument, if it does not hold against the supposition, that evil spirits may be sometimes permitted to inflict diseases, certainly has a good deal of force against possessions, especially in the gross sense, in which they have been understood and allowed of by some in late times.

8. Another argument against possessions, arises from the manner in which the persons, said to have unclean spirits, speak of our Lord Jesus Christ.

For such persons did often bear an honourable testimony to our Lord; Luke iv. 41. "And dæmons also came out of many crying out, and saying, Thou art the Christ, the Son of God." But it is incredible, that Satan, or any other evil spirits, under his influence and direction, should freely and chearfully bear witness to our Lord, as the Christ.

When the pharisees reviled him, and said, that he cast out dæmons by Beelzebub, the prince of dæmons, our Lord confuted that reflection and charge, by shewing, that the thing was very unlikely. So in Matt. xii. 25, 28, and elsewhere. For the doctrine taught by our Lord being contrary to the kingdom and interest of Satan, it was altogether improbable, that so subtile and malicious a spirit should concur with him for the support of it.

In like manner it is incredible, that any unclean spirits should chearfully bear testimony to Jesus, as the Christ, the Son of God. Therefore that profession, or declaration, did not proceed from such spirits, but from the unhappy diseased persons, who under their melancholic affections, thought themselves to have dæmons, in conformity to the prevailing opinion, though they had not.

This is a much more reasonable way of accounting for this matter, than to suppose, that evil spirits openly professed Jesus to be the Christ, the Son of God.

Indeed this appears to me a very forcible argument: I have been sometimes apt to think, that this consideration has been overlooked by learned and pious men, who have so readily admitted real possessions.

However, it may be here said, that possibly this testimony was not free and voluntary, but

[a] Mens sana in corpore sano.

constrained and compelled. To which I answer, that this cannot be said with good reason. Our Lord certainly did not constrain any such to bear that testimony to him, and speak so of him: for he never received it, but disallowed of it, and checked it: though afterwards, when those persons were by his mighty power delivered from the indispositions under which they had laboured, he was not unwilling that they should bear witness to him, as we see in the case before us: "He bid the man go home to his friends, and tell them, how great things the Lord had done for him, and had compassion on him."

9. All those persons who are spoken of as having dæmons, or an unclean spirit, had some bodily indisposition. Nor does it appear clearly from their history, that there was any thing beside such indisposition.

That all these people had some bodily indisposition, is manifest, and cannot be denied by any. Some laboured under distraction, as the men in the country of the Gadarenes; others had other disorders. St. Peter, Acts x. 38, gives this general account of our Lord's miraculous works: "Who went about doing good, and *healing* all that were oppressed of the devil." Therefore they who were supposed to be under the oppression of Satan, had distempers which our Lord healed. Observable are the words of St. Matthew, ch. iv 24; "And his fame went throughout all Syria, and they brought unto him all sick people, that were taken with divers diseases, and torments, and those which were possessed of dæmons," or dæmoniacs, and "those that were lunatic, and those that had the palsey, and he *healed* them."

These persons therefore, are reckoned up among other sick people, and they are said to be 'healed,' or 'cured,' by the Lord Jesus, when brought to him.

Nor does it appear from the history of these cases, that there was any thing more than bodily indispositions, and that discomposure of mind, which usually accompanies them.

Let us observe the history of the young man, first brought to the disciples, when our Lord was in the mount, and then to himself, when he was come down, and is related by the first three evangelists.

Matt. xvii. 14, 15; "And when they were come to the multitude, there came to him a certain man, kneeling down to him, and saying, Lord, have mercy on my son, for he is lunatic, and sore vexed. For oft-times he falleth into the fire, and oft into the water. And I brought him to thy disciples, and they could not cure him."

That is the whole description of the case: but undoubtedly the affliction was supposed to be owing to an evil spirit. Therefore the cure is thus related by the same evangelist: "And Jesus rebuked the dæmon, and he departed out of him, and the child was cured from that very hour," ver. 18.

In the description, then, of this distemper, which appears to have been the epilepsy, or falling sickness, the parent says, 'his child was lunatic, and sore vexed:' that is, his distemper was influenced by the changes of the moon, and the fits, or paroxysms, were very violent, and more violent at some seasons than others. And does it not use to be so in such cases? What necessity is there then for the supposition of the agency, or interposition of evil spirits?

In Mark ix. 17, 18, the same case is represented in this manner: "One of the multitude answered, I have brought unto thee my son, which has a dumb spirit. And wheresoever he taketh him, he foameth, and gnasheth with his teeth, and pineth away. And I spake to thy disciples, that they should cast him out, and they could not." Ver. 20, "And they brought him to him. And when he saw him, straitway the spirit tare him, and he fell on the ground, and wallowed foaming." It was a grievous epilepsy, a dangerous indisposition, the convulsions were sometimes extremely violent, so that the young man had begun to pine away.

In St. Luke, ch. ix. 38, 39, the parent says, "Master, I beseech thee, look upon my son, for he is my only child. And lo a spirit taketh him, and he suddenly crieth out, and it teareth him, that he foameth again, and bruising him, hardly departeth from him." Ver. 42, "And as he was yet coming, the dæmon threw him down, and tare him. And Jesus rebuked the unclean spirit, and healed the child, and delivered him again to his father."

It was a sad epileptical disease. The convulsions were very violent; the fits were sometimes severe and long: insomuch that his friends feared, he would never get out of them, but die away in them: a thing not uncommon still in such cases. And yet we do not now, generally, introduce evil spirits as the causes of them.

This, however, was a grievous and dangerous epilepsy. And the cure performed by our Lord was a great and gracious work.

10. There were some in ancient times, who were of opinion, that those called dæmoniacs, were diseased only.

Undoubtedly, the other was the more prevailing opinion, but not universal. The sadducees among the Jews must have had different apprehensions about these cases. But I choose not to take any particular notice of men, who were so unreasonable as to deny the existence of angels and separate spirits. See Acts xxiii. 8.

I shall however observe what is said by Origen, who lived about two hundred years after our Lord's ascension, in his Commentary upon St. Matthew's gospel. He is treating of the miracle wrought by our Lord upon the young man, brought to Christ by his father, after he was come down from the mount; of which we spoke just now. Origen himself believed the influence of dæmons in such cases. But he says, 'That [a] physicians endeavoured to account for 'them in a natural way; not allowing the agency of any impure spirits, but calling them 'bodily distempers.' So said physicians in those times; and they must be reckoned as good judges as any.

Plotinus, a celebrated heathen philosopher, who flourished about the middle of the third century, blames some, who [b] ascribed to dæmons diseases, which, as he says, may be accounted for in an ordinary way, and indeed are owing to fatigue, excess, indigestion, and other causes either internal or external, and are oftentimes cured by medicines.

And Philostorgius, an ecclesiastical historian, at the beginning of the fifth century, mentions [c] one Posidonius, a learned physician, whom he knew, who ascribed all the bad symptoms of those called dæmoniacs to natural causes; and did not believe, that dæmons had power to torment men, though he did not deny their existence. That Posidonius seems to have been a christian.

I might shew, that this has likewise been the opinion of some judicious, and thoughtful, and pious men of late times. But as I suppose you to be rather determined by reason than authority, I forbear to insist on their judgment.

I therefore would recommend to your consideration the observations which have been now mentioned: which seem to me to render it very probable, that the afflictions, which those laboured under, who among the Jews were said to have a dæmon, or unclean spirit, were mere bodily distempers and indispositions. They are at least, so far as I am able to judge, cogent arguments against possessions, in the gross sense of the word, as understood by some learned men of late times.

There are however some difficulties attending this supposition, which shall be taken notice of hereafter.

For the present, we may do well to recollect some apostolical observations and admonitions. "Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth," 1 Cor. viii. 1. "Speaking the truth, in love, let us grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ." Eph. iv. 15.

Then are our minds rightly tempered in our inquiries after the true nature of things, when our first and greatest care is to please and glorify God: when we are humble and diffident, sensible of the weakness of our capacities, and of our liableness to err: when we are disposed to think and judge according to evidence, and to embrace that as true, which appears to be founded in reason: when still we are willing to exercise charity and forbearance toward such as differ from us, and do not see things exactly in the same light as we do.

Some are greatly delighted with simplicity in all things. They enter not into any speculations about the orders, the powers, the ranks, or œconomy of invisible beings. Nor do they willingly admit their agency and interposition in human affairs in this life, our time and state of trial. Others love to multiply beings; and an intricate system, with a great variety of

[a] Ιατροι μεν ουν φυσιολογειτωσαν, αλε μηδε ακαθαρτον πνευμα ειναι νομιζοντες κατα τοπον, αλλα σωματικον συμπτωμα. κ. λ. In Matt. Tom. xiii. vol. i p. 311. Huet. vol. iii. p. 577. Bened.

[b] Νυν δε αποστησαμενοι, τας νοσους δαιμονια ειναι — τους μεντοι ευφρονουντας ουκ αν πειθοιεν, ως ουχ' αι νοσοι τας αιτιας εχουσιν, η καματοις, η πλησμοναις, η ενδειαις, η σηψεσι, και ολως μεταβολαις η εξωθεν την αρχην, η ενδοθεν λαβουσαις. Δηλουσι δε και αι θεραπειαι αυτων. κ. λ. Plotin. Enn. 2. lib. ix. cap. 14.

[c] Θεασασθαι δε τον Ποσειδωνιον εν ιατρικη διαπρεποντα. Λεγει δ' αυτον ομως ουκ ορθως ουχι δαιμονων επιθεσει τους ανθρωπους εκβακχευεσθαι, υγρων δε τινων κακοχυμιαν το παθος εργαζεσθαι· μη δε γαρ ειναι το παραπαν ισχυν δαιμονων, ανθρωπων φυσιν επηρεαζουσαν. Philost. l. viii. cap. 10.

movements, pleaseth them best. They like frequent, or continual interpositions of good and bad spirits; and scarcely any thing happens in the world, but they ascribe it to their influence and causality.

Let every one be satisfied in his own mind, after serious and diligent inquiry: but let us take care, that by introducing numerous inferior and intermediate beings, and their agency, we do not derogate from the Divine empire and government, as supreme over all causes and things, visible and invisible.

And let us remain fully persuaded, that our blessed Lord's doctrine, authority, and character, were supported and attested by numerous miracles performed by him, in healing every disease and affliction to which the human frame is exposed, and in raising the dead. And that, being himself raised from the dead and ascended to heaven and living for ever, he is able to bestow eternal life upon all those, who sincerely obey the reasonable precepts of true holiness delivered by him.

DISCOURSE IV.

MARK V. 19.

Howbeit Jesus suffered him not, but saith unto him, Go home to thy friends, and tell them, how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had compassion on thee.

I HAVE distinctly explained and improved the great cure, and miraculous work here referred to. And the last time it was observed, that some are inclined to think, that the afflictions which they laboured under who are spoken of as having evil spirits, were mere bodily diseases and indispositions: though it was then the prevailing opinion, that they were under the power and influence of some evil spirit. And those persons themselves, and their friends, attributing their distempers to Satan and dæmons under him, our Saviour sometimes adapts his expressions to that opinion, without countenancing or approving it.

In favour of that sentiment divers arguments and considerations were proposed, taken from the reason of things, from the Old Testament, and from the history and description of these very persons, and their cases, as recorded in the New Testament.

IV. What now remains to be spoken to is the fourth and last head relating to this subject, the objections against the forementioned opinion, or the arguments in favour of real possessions.

I shall take notice of, and consider these four.

1. There might be such cases in former times, though there are none now.

2. There are divers things said of those persons, who were called Dæmoniacs, which are very difficult, or even impossible to be accounted for, but by the supposition of real possessions, or the operation or interposition of evil spirits.

3. The evangelists appear to have believed, that these persons had really one or more unclean spirits.

4. Our Lord himself does not oppose the opinion of real possessions, as he would have done, it is likely, if not true.

Of these in order.

1. Obj. In the first place, it is said, that there might be such cases in former time, though there are none now.

Possibly such things may not be allowed of in the common and ordinary course of Divine Providence; but yet might be permitted at the time of our Saviour's appearance, when there was an uncommon and effectual remedy at hand. Bad angels, or other evil spirits, might be then suffered to leave their confinement, and come abroad, and inflict grievous distempers upon men, especially in the land of Judea and near it; that the power of Jesus might be rendered more conspicuous, by shewing his authority over them, and removing by his word those evils which they had inflicted, and causing those malignant spirits to leave those persons of whom they had taken possession.

To which I answer, that this supposition does not suit the histories related in the gospels:

for these cases do not there appear to be extraordinary, but are looked upon by every body as ordinary and usual things. No one expresseth a surprise, that such people are brought to Jesus. His enemies never mention it, as a reproach and dishonour to him, that their country was then infested with evil spirits. If people had been now all on a sudden seized with disorders, never heard of among them before, and if such cases had been numerous; would it not have occasioned the utmost astonishment? Would it not have raised a loud and general clamour? Would they not have thought, they had indeed good reason to say, when they saw the cures performed by Jesus and his disciples, that there was a combination between them, and some malignant powers? They first brought them in among them into the country, and then they cast them out and drove them away again. But there was no ground for such a charge: it was never mentioned: it was impossible to be made: for such cases were well known, and are spoken of by other writers contemporary with the evangelists, by Josephus and others, as common in Judea and elsewhere, not only at that time, but also before and afterwards, as was observed by us in a preceding discourse.

The Jews had among them methods of exorcising spirits, or curing the diseases which they were supposed to inflict: though, possibly, with but little success, any farther than they were assisted by the art of medicine. However, as exorcisms had been in use among them, they afford proof, that such cases, and the opinion concerning them, were known before our Saviour's appearance in the world.

2. Obj. It is said, that divers things appear in the history of these persons, which are very difficult, if not impossible to be accounted for, but upon the supposition of real possessions, or at least the interposition and operation of evil spirits.

(1.) First of all it may be said: if there was no agency of evil spirits, how came it to pass, that this opinion so prevailed as it did; and how came it, that many persons thought themselves to be possessed by evil spirits? The man at the tombs, when asked by Jesus what was his name, answered; "Legion, for we are many." And divers brought their children, or other friends to Christ, desiring him to have mercy on them, because an evil spirit afflicted and tormented them.

To which I answer; it is no uncommon thing for opinions to prevail in the world which have no solid foundation. How many have been disposed to ascribe the diseases of the human body, and other disastrous events in the world, to the planets, or other stars? It was for a long time a very common opinion, that spirits, of inferior orders, in a manner filled the region of the air; and many distempers were ascribed to their influence. When such an opinion prevailed, it was very likely that some who fell under grievous distempers, should think themselves harassed and tormented by evil spirits, and upon some occasions speak in conformity to their inward apprehensions. This, particularly, was the case with the man called Legion, and perhaps of many others who were under a deep melancholy.

(2.) It is urged; how came these persons who are said to have evil spirits, to know Jesus to be the Christ, if they were not under the influence of evil spirits, of great knowledge, as well as much power? "And there was in their synagogue, [at Capernaum,] a man with an unclean spirit, and he cried out, saying, Let us alone, what have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us? I know thee, who thou art, the holy one of God," Mark i. 23, 24. Compare Luke iv. 33, 34, And the two men, in the country of the Gadarenes, "cried out, saying, What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou son of God? Art thou come hither to torment us before the time?" Matt. viii. 29.

To which I beg leave to answer; it seems to me, that these persons knew Jesus to be the Christ, the son of God, in the same way that others did. The expectation of the coming of the Messiah had been for some while very common, and even universal, founded upon just interpretations of the ancient prophets, which were publicly read in the synagogues, and were in the hands of all men. These people, before they were seized with the disorders which they now laboured under, were well apprized of the common notions concerning the greatness of the Messiah, which were allowed by the Jews in general.

We ought likewise to recollect, that none of the miracles recorded by the first three evangelists, were performed by our Lord till after the commencement of his public ministry, that is, the most public and open part of it. This is evident from St. John's gospel, compared with the rest. The first three evangelists say but little of our Lord's ministry, till after John

was cast into prison: but before that, as St. John assures us, he had wrought divers miracles, and had begun to gather disciples. Moreover, some of the miracles recorded by the first three evangelists, might be wrought, and some of our Lord's excellent discourses spoken by him, before any of those persons said to have an unclean spirit, made acknowledgments of our Lord's great character.

The expectation of the Messiah being general, and John the Baptist having preached in the most public manner, and declared to all, that the great person whom they looked for was at hand, and would soon appear among them; and our Lord beginning to speak as no man ever spake before, and doing many great and miraculous works, shewing forth his glory, and many believing on him, and his fame being very great in Judea, and in neighbouring places; no man could be altogether ignorant of him. It is therefore not at all strange, that these diseased persons should, in their way, bear testimony to him. All those, said to have evil spirits, as we readily perceive, were not discomposed in mind; many of them were epileptical or paralytical. These undoubtedly enjoyed, at some seasons, the free use of their senses and understandings, and might discern their evidences of our Lord's great character; and being sincere and honest, might be disposed to own it, and declare the sense of their minds. But thinking their distempers to be owing to the operation and influence of evil spirits, they affect to speak in their name.

As for the men in the country of the Gadarenes, who were disordered in their minds, and yet acknowledged Jesus to be the Christ, the thing may be thought more difficult. But, as just said, before they were seized with that distemper, they were acquainted with the expectation of the Messiah, and the general apprehensions concerning his character; and before now they had heard of Jesus. Many who labour under that indisposition are honest and acute: they have also some intervals of ease: nor are they unreasonable in every respect; but setting aside some particular fancy, can reason and argue consistently enough. It therefore is not impossible, nor improbable, that some labouring under this affliction, having heard of the fame of Jesus, who was much talked of every where, should think, and then be disposed to speak, honourably of him.

(3.) The escape of the man called Legion from his confinement, it is argued, is a proof of the interposition of evil spirits of more than human power, and not to be otherwise accounted for. For the evangelist Mark says, "that no man could bind him, no not with chains. For he had been often bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been plucked asunder, and the fetters broken in pieces. Neither could any man tame him," chap. v. 3, 4.

But, as seems to me, the escape of such a person from his confinement, needs not to be reckoned so very extraordinary a thing, when it is well known, that persons in the like disorders have at some seasons uncommon strength.

Moreover, I apprehend that many do imprudently magnify the security with which that man had been confined. We are too apt, inconsiderately, to judge of former times by our own. It is likely, that great improvements have been made in late ages, in the method of treating people in that unhappy circumstance.

Hospitals for the relief and cure of such as labour under this and other grievous distempers, may be said to be a Christian institution.[a] They owe their original to that benevolence, which Christian principles inspire men with toward their fellow creatures. In those houses where there is constant attendance, the security must be much greater than in other places. Supposing there was, for some short season, a want of attention to this person, the bands with which he was fastened, whether of metal or cord, with his continual and violent motion would fret and wear, and then break and burst asunder: and when he felt himself at liberty, his melancholic apprehensions would carry him to the desolate and solitary place where our L d found him.

(4.) The loss of the swine is reckoned unaccountable, but upon the supposition of a real possession, and the interposition of many evil spirits.

It may be remembered, that[b] formerly we mentioned three several ways of accounting for that event. One, supposing that the distraction which the man had laboured under, was

[a] See the Bishop of Oxford's Sermon preached before the Governors of the London Hospital, in the year 1754, p. 8—11.
[b] See before, p. 239, 240.

transferred by our Lord from him to the swine. Another, that the dæmons, leaving the man at Christ's order, did with his permission take possession of the swine, and hurry them down the precipice: the third, that the lunatic man, or men, drove the swine into the lake.

Several reasons were then offered against the first of those opinions. There remain therefore the other two only to be now considered.

Every one should judge for himself. But to me it appears most probable, that this was done by the man himself, called Legion, either alone, or with the joint assistance of the other, his companion in affliction. For this miracle, as was observed before, was performed by our Lord with great deliberation. Some time passed between our Lord's signifying his will and pleasure, that the evil spirits should depart, or that the man should be cured, and his perfect recovery. Some things may be reasonably supposed by us, which are not inserted in such a relation as this. When the people of the neighbouring city had been informed of the cure of this unhappy person, as St. Mark assures us, "they come to Jesus, and see him that was possessed with a dæmon, and had the Legion, sitting, and clothed, and in his right mind." Clothing therefore had been brought to him: but the evangelist does not say how it was procured; because indeed it is needless to relate particularly what may be easily supposed.

The distraction under which this man had laboured, was very grievous and outrageous; he was a hideous form, and his action was very violent. When he had conceived the thought of gratifying the evil spirits, by which he imagined himself to be possessed, with the destruction of the swine, he would without much difficulty drive them off the precipice. If some few of them were put in motion, the whole herd would follow. Nor is it unlikely, that the other person, his companion in affliction, joined his assistance; for St. Matthew speaks of two. They invested the herd then on each side, and thus drove them before them.

This appears to me a much more reasonable way of accounting for the loss of the swine, than to suppose, that [a] our blessed Lord accepted and granted the petition of evil spirits.

(5.) The case of Mary Magdalene may create a difficulty in the minds of some: and it may be inquired, what notion we ought to have of it, since it is said, that "out of her went seven dæmons?" Is not this an evident proof of the reality of possessions? See Mark xvi. 9. Luke viii. 2.

To which I answer, that many of late time have supposed Mary Magdalene to be the woman mentioned by St. Luke in the seventh chapter of his gospel, who is there spoken of as a 'sinner,' who, when our Lord was in the house of Simon the pharisee, came to him, and gave proof of repentance. For which reason Mary Magdalene is often set forth as a remarkable example of repentance.

But that opinion, so far as I am able to judge, is entirely without foundation in the gospels. There is no reason at all to think, that Mary Magdalene and that woman are one and the same.

What was Mary's case appears in general by St. Luke's account, chap. viii. 1, 2. "He went through every city and village, preaching the glad tidings of the kingdom of God. And the twelve were with him, and certain women, which had been healed of evil spirits, and infirmities; Mary, called Magdalene, out of whom went seven dæmons, and others." Here Mary is reckoned among those whom our Lord had 'healed of infirmities,' and such infirmities as were ascribed to evil spirits.

But I do not think we can with certainty conclude from those words, what was her particular affliction; because the Jews in those times imputed a great variety of distempers to the influence of dæmons. But though we dare not say positively what was her case, whether a discomposed frame of mind, or epilepsy, or somewhat else; it appears to me very evident, that some natural, not moral distemper, is thereby intended; and that by 'seven dæmons' is meant many, a certain number being put for an uncertain. It was supposed, as in the case of the man who called himself Legion, that more than one dæmon or unclean spirit, was concerned in inflicting, or aggravating the infirmity, which she had been afflicted with, and which our blessed Lord graciously removed.

(6.) The next thing which I shall take notice of, is the history of an affair at Ephesus.

[a] See before p. 240, 241. and Note.

Acts xix. 10—17, "And this continued by the space of two years, so that all they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks. And God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul: so that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs and aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them. Then certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists, took upon them to call over them that had evil spirits the name of the Lord Jesus, saying, We adjure you by Jesus, whom Paul preacheth. And there were seven sons of one Sceva, a Jew, and chief of the priests, which did so. And the evil spirit answered, and said, Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye? And the man in whom the evil spirit was, leapt on them and overcame them, and prevailed against them: so that they fled out of the house naked and wounded. And this was known to all the Jews, and Greeks also, dwelling at Ephesus. And fear fell on them all, and the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified."

This history might afford occasion for many remarks; as that dæmoniacs were common among Gentiles, and in heathen countries, as well as among the Jews in Judea: that the Jews practised exorcisms at home and abroad: and that some, who took upon them the office of exorcists, were men of indifferent characters, and were impostors.

But what I allege this passage for, and which we are chiefly to attend to, is the argument which it affords for real possessions, or the influence of malignant, powerful spirits. For this man speaks as if he were actuated by some such beings; moreover he shews great force and activity; he alone overcomes several men at once.

Nevertheless, in my opinion, here is far from being any sufficient evidence of the presence or power of invisible beings. The knowledge which the man shews, is common and ordinary. St. Paul had before this time wrought many miracles at Ephesus, in the name of Jesus, in curing all kinds of diseases: and the man before us was convinced of the truth and greatness of divers of the works, which he had either seen or heard of.

When therefore these Jewish exorcists came to him, and made an attempt to give him relief under the indisposition with which he was afflicted, and he found no benefit from all their exorcisms; he was enraged, and treats them as hateful deceivers, and says, "Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye?" No evil spirit, under the direction of Satan, the prince of evil spirits, would bear such a testimony to Jesus and his apostles. But it is the honest, understanding man, who expresses the sense of his own mind.

Says St. Luke, "And the man, in whom the evil spirit was," that is, in whom there was supposed to be an evil spirit, "leapt on them, and overcame them, and prevailed:" which is not at all hard to conceive, considering his just indignation, and that this assault was unexpected. The exorcists were unprovided for defence, and at the same time were dispirited by fear and shame, at the disappointment which they had met with, and the detection of their imposture, and the inefficacy of their boasted skill.

As St. Luke says, "fear fell on all, and the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified." And very justly, after so many miracles wrought by Paul, and the manifest proof now afforded of the insufficiency of those methods of cure, which were most depended upon.

(7.) There is one thing more to be taken notice of by us, before we leave this head. We must go back for it to the xvith chapter of the Acts. But I have reserved it for this place, it seeming to some, one of the strongest proofs in the New Testament in behalf of real possessions. It was at Philippi in Macedonia. Says St. Luke: "And it came to pass, as we went to prayer." It might as well be rendered, "As we went to the oratory," or the Jewish synagogue, a little way out of the city, by the river side. "As we went to the oratory, a certain damsel, possessed with a spirit of divination, met us, which brought her masters much gain by soothsaying. The same followed Paul, and us, and cried, saying, These men are the servants of the most high God, which shew unto us the way of salvation. And this she did many days. But Paul being grieved, turned, and said to the spirit, I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her. And he came out the same hour. And when her masters saw, that the hope of their gains was gone, they caught Paul and Silas, and drew them into the market-place, unto the rulers. And brought them to the magistrates, saying, These men, being Jews, do exceedingly trouble our city. And teach customs, which are not lawful for us to receive, neither to observe, being Romans," Acts xvi. 16—21. And the magistrates

being exasperated by the clamour of these men, they ordered Paul and Silas to be beaten, and shut up in prison.

"A certain damsel, possessed with a spirit of divination," literally, 'having a spirit of Python.' St. Luke, undoubtedly, makes use of the common heathen appellation. And the phrase seems to denote, that this woman was supposed to have the same spirit of Python, or Apollo, that delivered oracles in the name of Apollo in the Pythian temple. In short, by the help of this maid-servant, her masters were supposed to be able to deliver out oracles, and to answer all manner of questions, and foretell future events concerning those who consulted them: hereby her owners had much gain.

And many there are in our time, who still think, this woman had in her a spirit of divination, and that she was able to foretell futurities.

They who are of this opinion, express themselves after this manner. 'The [a] ancient Greeks 'and Romans possessed slaves of all professions, philosophers, rhetoricians, grammarians, 'physicians, as well as persons bred up to every sort of mechanic trade. Among the rest, 'they sometimes happened to have slaves that were astrologers, or magicians, or diviners. 'Εγγαστριμυθοι, or those who had the spirit of Python, were doubtless very rare, and the pur-'chase of such an one must have been exceeding high. The maid-servant, here mentioned, is 'represented as having more than one owner. Her price, it is likely, was too great to be ad-'vanced by a single person. At least, no one cared to risk so large a sum upon the uncer-'tainty of a life. For though she brought much gain, how soon might it be cut off by her 'decease?' It is farther said, 'that the [b] reputation of this woman was established. There 'was a general belief, that she did foretel things, and there was a great concourse of people 'after her, to make inquiry into their future fortunes.' So say [c] those persons, who are of that opinion.

Upon which I observe, that unquestionably here was a sort of oracle; for such things were common in heathen countries, not only carried on by their priests in the temples of their deities, but also by others in other places. But as I think, there is good reason to believe, that all those oracles in general were cheats and impostures, the effects of human skill and contrivance only; so I think, there was a like cheat and imposture in this case. But it may not be easy to say exactly, wherein the imposture consisted.

It has been supposed, that the woman was a slave, and the joint property of several; which might be. But none of those oracles could be carried on with credit, without a combination, for getting intelligence, and for the sake of other transactions at the office. And whether she was a slave, or a hired servant, does not clearly appear.

I make no question, that the masters were artful and deceitful: but possibly, the woman was honest. If she had once been otherwise, she was seized with compunction, when she declared Paul and his companions to be "servants of the most high God." But that would not cure her distemper: for some distemper she had, which Paul removed.

It seems to me not improbable, that this woman laboured under some indisposition; possibly, some kind of melancholy, which was imputed to the influence of a dæmon, and particularly to Apollo, as was common among heathen people. The masters, pretending that hereby she was qualified to resolve all manner of questions, set up an oracle at Philippi, and delivered out answers, as if received from the spirit of Python. And their project was carried on very artfully, insomuch, that they had a good deal of employment, and many inquiries, and made great gain.

But the maid being honest, or at least well disposed, and hearing of Paul, what doctrine he taught, and what works he performed; or perhaps, out of curiosity attending at a distance, and making inquiries after him, she was convinced, and then openly declared, that he and his companions were "servants of the most high God." Or, she might have received information of Paul from her masters. For no people were so inquisitive, and so careful to get early intelligence, as the conductors of those [d] oracles. But the information given her (if she received

[a] Bisco upon the Acts, p. 342, 343. [b] The same p. 296. [c] 'The plain truth therefore is, 'St. Paul prevented her future prophesying. He cast out the 'spirit which spake within her, so that she was no more 'heard to speak as from her belly or breast. Her masters 'soon perceived that she was no longer inspired or possessed, 'that she could now utter no more divinations or prophecies: 'and therefore all hope of their gains from her, whether in 'Philipi, or any other city, was wholly gone.' The same, p. 297, 298. See also Dr. Jortin's Remarks upon Ecclesiastical History, Vol. i. p. 123, 124. [d] Vid. Luciani Alexander, seu Pseudomantis.

it from them,) had a different effect from what was intended. However, her high character of Paul did not throw her masters into despair that we can perceive. But she having often followed Paul, and he not valuing such a testimony, and being touched with compassion for the maid, under her melancholic affection, adapting his expressions to the common opinion about her, "said to the spirit, I command thee in the name of Jesus to come out of her. And he came out the same hour." And thereupon the woman became composed and chearful. This happy alteration being evident, and public, her masters' hope of farther gain by her was ruined.

This appears to me to have been the case: nor can it be thought, that a spirit of Python should publicly say what tended to diminish a regard for himself, and all heathen deities in general.

But I may not stay to allege at large the proofs which might be offered, that the heathen oracles, and such as were said to speak by the spirit of Python, were the impostures of artful men, unsupported by invisible beings of vast knowledge and power, as some have supposed.

I only observe, that what is here advanced is agreeable to the sentiments of the ancient prophets, who continually represent heathen idols as altogether insignificant and vain; and did not imagine, that they were inhabited by invisible beings, who could astonish their worshippers with real wonders, and almost rival the true Deity. Isa. xli. 21—24, "Produce your cause, saith the Lord; bring forth your strong reasons, saith the King of Jacob. Let them shew the former things, what they be, that we may consider them, and know the latter end of them." Let them shew the accomplishment of any events, conformably to their predictions in time past. "Or declare us, now, things to come. Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know ye are gods. Yea, do good, or do evil, that we may be dismayed, and behold it together. Behold ye are of nothing, and your work of nought: an abomination is he, that chooseth you." Compare Isa. xl. 18—20.

Jer. x. 3—5, "For the customs of the people are vain: for one cutteth a tree out of the forest (the work of the hands of the workman,) with the axe. They deck it with silver and with gold, they fasten it with nails and hammers, that it move not. They are upright, as the palm-tree, but speak not: they must needs be borne, because they cannot go: be not afraid of them, for they cannot do evil, neither is it in them to do good."

Isa. xliv. 9, "They that make a graven image, are all of them vanity. 10, Who hath formed a god, or molten a graven image, that is profitable for nothing? 12, The smith with the tongs both worketh in the coals, and fashioneth it with hammers," and what follows to the end of ver. 17, "He burneth part thereof in the fire: with part thereof, he eateth flesh: he roasteth roast, and is satisfied. And the residue thereof he maketh a god, even his graven image: he falleth down to it, and prayeth unto it, and saith, Deliver me, for thou art my god."

Psal. xcv. 3—8, "But our God is in the heavens, he hath done whatsoever he pleased. Their idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hands. They have mouths, but they speak not; eyes have they, but they see not. They have ears, but they hear not. They have hands, but they handle not; feet they have, but they walk not; neither speak they through their throat." They have not the faculty of speech. "They that make them, are like unto them. So is every one, that trusteth in them." Comp. Ps. cxxxv. 15—18.

Psal. xcvii. 7, "Confounded be all they that serve graven images, that boast themselves of idols."

Dan. v. 4, "They drank wine, and praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone. Ver. 23, And thou hast praised the gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know: and the God, in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified."

Habakkuk ii. 18, 19, "What profiteth the graven image, that the maker of his work trusteth therein, to make him dumb idols? Woe unto him that saith to the wood, Awake: to the dumb stone, Arise, it shall teach. It is laid over with gold and silver, and there is no breath at all in the midst of it."

Justly therefore does the prophet say, "the stock is a doctrine of vanities," Jer. x. 8. Compare Jer. ii. 27. and Isa. xliv. 19. And I refer to the sixth chapter of the apocryphal book of Baruch.

Acts xvii. 29, "We ought not to think, that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or

stone graven by art, and man's device." So says St. Paul, preaching at Athens. He does not flatter them: he plainly intimates, that their consecrated images consisted only of earthly materials, polished by the hand of the artificer.

1 Cor. viii. 4, "We know, that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one." Ch. x. 19, "What say I then? that the idol is any thing?" Ch. xii. 2, "Ye know, that ye were gentiles, carried away unto these dumb idols, as ye were led."

1 Thess. i. 9, "And how ye turned to God from idols," meaning lifeless idols, "to serve the living and true God."

After all this, can any Christians believe, that heathen idols had either power or knowledge?

Can we think, that by invocation, and consecration, aëreal, invisible beings were brought to reside in images of hollow brass, or solid marble? And that they thence delivered answers to such as sought to them? Such [a] was indeed, the persuasion of heathen people: but it was a mere delusion appertaining to their superstition; for which they were derided by the primitive Christians, and the ancient [b] apologists; who are justified by the scriptures, as we have lately seen.

Can we imagine, that heathen deities were able to do great things for those who sought to them, and recompense them for all their costly oblations and sacrifices? I say, can any Christians admit such an imagination, when the prophets represent them as things of nought, senseless idols, who could not see, hear, speak, or walk, as graven or molten images, as mere stocks, that could do neither good nor evil? Do we not all know, how the prophet Elijah exposed the inability of Baal, in the presence of his numerous priests and worshippers? And shall any Christians still suppose, that Baal was a being of mighty power? No, no, Saturn, or Baal, or Belus, or by whatever other name he was invoked, to whom so many fine children were offered in sacrifice, by that warlike people the Carthaginians, and their ancestors [c] the Phœnicians, was so far from holding the balance of power in that, or any other part of the world, or being able to give victory to what people he pleased, that he was not able to raise or lay a storm, could not form or blast one spire of grass, or flower of the field, but was [d] a dead man, and, as to power and influence, mere nothing.

When we speak of heathen deities as dead men, we are countenanced by many wise men [e] among the ancients, and by the scriptures, as was shewn [f] before.

And do we think, that [g] their fond and sorrowful survivors could by any methods and solemnities of deification, performed on this earth, seat them in heaven, and advance them to extensive power and empire?

Some learned men among Christians have supposed, that the young woman at Philippi,

Sed erras, inquitis, & laberis. Nam neque nos æra neque auri argentique materias, neque alias quibus signa confiunt, eas esse per se deos, & religiosa decernimus numina: sed eos in his colimus, eosque veneramur, quos dedicatio infert sacra, & fabrilibus efficit inhabitare simulacris. Arnob. l. vi. p. 203. in. Vid. ib. p. 207. in. Επειδα δε και Ολυμπιος τις εν φιλοσοφω σχημαΐι συνων αυΐοις, και πειθων χρηναι μη αμελειν των παΐριων—καθαιρεμενων δε των ξοανων, αθυμενΐας ὁρων, συνεβελευε, μη εξισασθαι της θρησκειας, υλην φθαρΐην και ινδαλμαΐα λεΐων ειναι τα αΐαλμαΐα, και δια τελο αφανισμον ὑπομενειν· δυναμεις δε τινας ενοικησαι αυΐοις, και εις ερανον αποπΐηναι. Sozom. H. E. l. vii. p. 724. C. Vid. & Clementin. Hom. X. sect. xxi.

[b] Simulacra ista, quæ vos terrent, quæque in templis omnibus prostrati, atque humiles adoratis, ossa, lapides, æra sunt, argentum, aurum, lignum sumptum ex arbore, aut commixtum glutinum gypso, &c. O utinam liceret in simulacri alicujus medias introire pendigines! Immo utinam liceret Olympiacos illos & Capitolinos Joves in membra resolutos, omnesque illas partes, quibus summa concluditur corporum, discretas & singulas intueri, &c. Arnob. l. vi. p. 200, 201. & seqq.

Quisquamne igitur tam ineptus est, ut putet aliquid esse in simulacro Dei, in quo ne hominis quidem quicquam est præter umbram?—Adorant ergo insensibilia, qui sentiunt: irrationabilia, qui sapiunt: exanima, qui vivunt: terrena, qui priuntur e cœlo. Lact. l. ii. cap. 2. p. 147.

[c] Κρονω μεν γαρ Φοινικες καθ' ἑκαστον ἑΐος εθυον τα αγαπΐητα και μονοΐενη των τεκνων. Euseb. de Laudib. Constant. p. 646. A. Vid. Hieron. Columna ad Fragmenta Ennii. p. 74. 76.

[d] Saturnum enim principem hujus generis & examinis omnes scriptores vetustatis, Græci Romanique, hominem prodiderunt. Minuc. Fel. cap. 22.

[e] Quibus ex rebus cum constet illos homines fuisse, non est obscurum, quâ ratione dii cœperint nominari. Hac scilicet ratione Romani Cæsares suos consecraverunt, & Mauri reges suos. Lactant. l. i. cap. 15.

—— & ideo simulacra constituunt. Quæ quia mortuorum sunt images, similia mortuis sunt. Omni enim sensu carent. Id. l. ii. cap. 2. p. 146.

Sivero scrutari vetera, & ex his ea, quæ scriptores Græciæ prodiderunt, eruere coner; ipsi illi majorum gentium dii qui habentur, hinc a nobis profecti in cœlum reperientur. Cic. Tuscul. Disp. i. c. 13. Et Conf. Lact. l. i. c. 15. p. 85.

Vid. Euseb. de vitâ Constant. l. ii. cap. 16. l. iii. cap. 26. & 54. & passim. Vid. Dem. Evang. l. viii. p. 364. Clementin. Hom. 6. n. xxi. xxii. p. 669, 670.

[f] See here, p. 247.

[g] Ignosci mœrentibus potest, credentibus non potest. Quis enim tam demens, qui, consensu, & placito innumerabilium stultorum, aperiri cœlum mortuis arbitretur; aut aliquem, quod ipse non habeat, dare alteri posse? Lact. l. i. cap. 15. p. 86.

whose case we have had under our consideration, who is said to have had a 'spirit of divination,' had extraordinary knowledge. They say, that, 'she prophesied, that she could discover lost goods, and reveal what happened in distant places, and do many other things of a like nature.' But their opinion is confuted by the text in Isa. viii. 19. before quoted. For she was one of those who are particularly mentioned by the prophet, as having a familiar spirit, or spirit of Python, and muttering, that is, speaking as out of the belly or breast. And so the place was understood of old by [a] Jerom.

3. Obj. The third objection to be considered by us is, that the evangelists seem to have believed real possessions, and to have thought, that divers of the afflicted persons, whose cures they relate, had evil spirits.

To which I answer, that I think this cannot be denied, and that it needs not be contested. Nor ought this to be thought strange, even supposing that there was no agency or interposition of evil spirits: for the opinion of possessions being common at that time, and generally admitted by the knowing, as well as by the others, it is no wonder that the evangelists should be of the same sentiment. The twelve apostles of Christ were unlearned men: our Lord chose to have such for apostles; and he did not teach them philosophy, but religion. And indeed, if the evangelists had appeared to know more than others, in this and other points of a philosophical nature, it might have diminished the credibility of their history. If they had been wiser and more knowing than most others, and even than the knowing and learned of that time; some would have been apt to charge them with art and contrivance in the main parts of their history. But now there is no room for such a charge or suspicion.

4 Obj. The fourth and last objection is, that our blessed Lord, if he did not countenance the common and prevailing opinion upon this head, does not appear to have opposed or discouraged it: which we may think he would have done if it was not right. For it might have been an useful work, and a benefit to mankind, to deliver them from wrong apprehensions upon this point.

To which I answer: undoubtedly our blessed Lord knew the truth of the case, for he knew all things. But it does not follow, that he was therefore obliged to speak his mind, or to correct every false and mistaken notion among the people whom he taught. Our [b] Lord was concerned in the most important design, teaching the principles of true religion, and recommending them by works of mighty power and great goodness. When any afflicted cases were brought to him, it was sufficient to heal them, to whatever cause they were ascribed. It was expedient not to enter into any debate upon that head: it might have diverted him from his main work.

We do not observe in the Old Testament, that it was customary for any prophet to instruct men in the things of nature. The people of the Jews, in the time of our Saviour, were generally free from idolatry: and as they considered the spirits, which they supposed sometimes to inflict distempers on men, to be 'evil and unclean,' there was no danger of their honouring and worshipping them. There was therefore no urgent necessity, that he should interpose for correcting any misapprehensions concerning the causes of some indispositions and distempers.

That our Lord studiously declined to concern himself with things foreign to the office of a prophet, or extraordinary messenger from heaven, may appear from two particular instances.

One is at the beginning at the ninth chapter of St. John's gospel. "And as Jesus passed by, he saw a man which was blind from his birth. And his disciples asked him, saying, Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind? Jesus answered, Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents, but that the works of God should be made manifest in him." Here the disciples give the Lord a fair occasion to say something about the philosophical notion of the pre-existence of the human soul: but our Lord declines that point, and only says that the blindness of this man was not owing to any sin of his own, or his parents.

The other instance is in Luke xii. 13, 14: "And one of the company said unto him, Master, speak to my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me. And he said unto him, Man, who made me a judge and a divider over you? And he said unto them, Take heed, and beware

[a] Si dixerint, inquit, patres vestri, quos reliquistis: Quærite ventriloquos, quos Pythonas intelligimus. Qualem & in Actibus Apostolorum ancillam legimus, quæ quæstui erat dominis suis. Hieron. Comm. in Is. cap. viii. Tom. 3. p. 81.

[b] D'ailleurs, N. S. n' étoit pas apellé à corriger les fausses idées que les Juifs pouvoient avoir sur la nature de ces maladies. Et s'il leur avoit dit, qu'elles étoient l'effet de quelques causes naturelles, ils en auroient pris un prétexte de l'accuser de nier qu'il y eût de mauvais esprits; & par consequent qu'il y en eût aussi de bons. Les Pharisiens en auroient fait un Sadducéen. Beaus. Remarques sur le N. T. p. 14.

of covetousness," and what follows. Here one comes to our Lord with a petition; and it may be thought to be very reasonable: for it cannot but be a good work to decide a cause truly, and with a just sentence, and to reconcile brethren. Nevertheless our Lord absolutely rejects the proposal, as improper to be hearkened to by him. His work was to teach religion, to mortify earthly affections, to deliver men from covetousness, and to raise men's thoughts to things above. For such ends as these, he embraced the present, and all other occasions. But to interpose in particular differences among men, was not his province.

I take this to be a sufficient answer to the difficulty under consideration.

But then here ariseth an objection against all that has been said in this, and the two preceding discourses. For it may be said, if Christ confined his doctrine to the important truths and duties of religion, should not a preacher of the gospel do the same, and decline every thing not expressly taught by Christ or his apostles?

To which I answer, that in the course of this argument I have intimated over and over, that no particular sentiment concerning this point, ought to be reckoned an article of religion. It is left undetermined by Christ and his apostles: and men may think of it as they find best, if they do but take care to maintain the supremacy of the Divine government, and guard against undue fears and apprehensions of evil spirits. And having inculcated such observations and cautions as these, I hope no harm has been done in setting before you the different sentiments of learned, and judicious, and pious interpreters of scripture, concerning the case of those, who in the New Testament are spoken of as having evil spirits.

And having now finished the argument, I again declare, (what no one can doubt the truth of,) that it is more satisfactory to promote good works among men, than to bring them over to any particular opinion. There is more pleasure in advancing the happiness of others, than in raising a man's own reputation for skill in any branch of science. Humility is better than knowledge: a right disposition of heart is more valuable than right sentiments. At the same time it is a reasonable ambition, to promote both knowledge and piety: the character of Christians then becomes complete. A love of truth, a thirst after knowledge, an inquisitive temper seem to be inseparable concomitants of integrity. Such dispositions therefore may be fitly cherished and encouraged.

Solomon says, that "wisdom excelleth folly, as far as light excelleth darkness," Eccl. ii. 13. "That the soul be without knowledge, it is not good," Prov. xix. 2. "The heart of the prudent getteth knowledge, and the ear of the wise seeketh knowledge," xviii. 15. I therefore take the liberty to conclude with that exhortation to you, which St. Paul gave to the Christians at Corinth, "Brethren, be not children in understanding: howbeit, in malice be ye children, but in understanding be men," 1 Cor. xiv. 20.

AN APPENDIX,

FOR FARTHER ILLUSTRATING THE SUBJECT.

I. *Two passages of Josephus concerning Dæmoniacs, with Remarks.* II. *Divers texts of the New Testament, relating to Dæmoniacs, explained,* 1. Matt. xii. 27, 28; 2. Matt. xii. 43—45; 3. Matt. xvii. 21; 4. Luke x. 17, 18; 5. *Texts, where Dæmons are said to be rebuked by our Lord.* III. *A remarkable explication of* Acts vi. 9.

I JOSEPHUS, having described the castle of Machærus, or Machæruns, says: 'On [a] the north 'side of the city is a valley, in which is a place called Baaras. It bears a plant of the same 'name. It is of a flaming colour, and toward evening it shines very bright. It is not easy to 'be taken by those who would gather it: for it withdraws itself, and does not stay, unless one 'pours upon it the urine of a woman, or menstruous blood: and even then it is certain death to 'him who takes it, unless he carries the root hanging down upon the hand. There is another way

[a] De B. Jud. l. vii. cap. 25. al. vi. sect. 3.

'of getting this plant without danger. It is this. They dig all round it, so that a very small 'bit only of the root is left in the ground; then they tie a dog to it, and he attempting to 'follow him that tied it, the root is easily pulled up: but the dog dies presently, as it were 'in the stead of him who would get the plant: afterwards there is no danger to those who 'touch it. With all these dangers the root is very desirable, for the sake of one virtue. For 'dæmons[a] as they are called, who are the spirits of wicked men, entering into the living, 'and killing those who have no help, this root presently expels, if it be only brought near to 'those who are diseased.'

It is astonishing, that any man in repute for good sense, should be able to write in this manner. Surely there never was in any part of the world a plant with all these properties.

That passage is taken from the history of the Jewish War. There is another passage in his Jewish Antiquities, in the history of Solomon.

In the former part of the paragraph is the substance of what is said of Solomon's great wisdom, in 1 Kings iv. 29—33. After which it follows: 'God[b] also gave him understanding to 'attain to skill against dæmons for the benefit of mankind. For having composed incanta- 'tions, whereby diseases are removed, he also left behind him certain kinds of exorcisms, 'whereby dæmons may be expelled, so as never to return again. And this method of cure is 'effectual [or prevails much] among us to this day. For I saw one Eleazar, my countryman, 'in the presence of Vespasian, and his sons, and many tribunes, and other soldiers, deliver men 'who were seized by these dæmons. The cure was in this manner. Applying to the nostrils 'of the dæmoniacs a ring, having under the seal one of those roots, of which Solomon taught 'the virtues, he drew out the dæmons at the nostrils of the man who smelled to it. The man 'presently falling down, he mentioned 'Solomon,' and reciting the charms composed by him, 'he adjured the dæmon never to return any more. Moreover Eleazar being desirous to satisfy 'all the company that he had that power, he placed a little way off a cup full of water, or a 'small vessel, in which the feet are washed. Then he commanded the dæmon, as he went 'out of the man, to overthrow them, that all present might be sensible he had left the man. 'This being done, the wisdom of Solomon was made manifest.'

We are now to make remarks upon these two passages.

1. We hence evidently perceive, that Josephus believed there were real dæmoniacs, or persons into whom dæmons entered, and to whom they were troublesome.

2. Therefore this must have been a common opinion at that time, as we perceive in the gospels.

3. The dæmons, who entered into men, and took possession of them, according to his account, were the spirits or souls of wicked men. And it may be also hence concluded, that this was the opinion of many other Jews at that time.

And by the way I would observe, that we have here full proof that the pharisees, of which sect Josephus was, believed the separate existence of souls after death. This was shewn[c] formerly from several passages in his works, where he speaks of the souls of good and bad men, and says, 'That[d] according to the doctrine of the sadducees souls perish with the bodies.' But he and the rest of the pharisees believed the continuance or subsistence of souls after death. I think we are hereby led to the true and certain interpretation of Acts xxiii. 8. "For[e] the sadducees say, that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit: but the pharisees confess both." Where by 'spirit' must be meant the human soul, subsisting separate from the body.

[a] Τα γαρ καλεμενα δαιμονια· ταυτα δε πονηρων εστιν ανθρωπων πνευματα, τοις ζωσιν εισδυομενα, και κτεινοντα τους βοηθειας μη τυγχανοντας· αυτη ταχεως εξελαυνει, καν προσενεχθη μονον τοις νοσουσι. Ibid. [b] Παρεσχε δε αυτω μαθειν ο Θεος, και την κατα των δαιμονων τεχνην εις ωφελειαν και θεραπειαν τοις ανθρωποις· επωδας τε συνταξαμενος, αις παρηγορειται τα νοσηματα, και τροπους εξορκωσεων καταλειπεν, οις ενδυομενα τα δαιμονια, ως μηκετ' επανελθειν, εκδιωκουσι. Και αυτη μεχρι νυν παρ' ημιν η θεραπεια πολυν ισχυει. Ισορησα γαρ τινα Ελεαζαρον των ομοφυλων, Ουεσπασιανου παρουντος——τους υπο των δαιμονιων λαμβανομενους απολυοντα τουτων. Ο δε της θεραπειας τροπος τοιουτος ην. Προσφερων ταις ρισι δαιμονιζομενου τον δακτυλιον, εχοντα υπο τη σφραγιδι ριζαν εξ ων υπεδειξε Σολομων, επειτα εξειλκεν οσφραινομενω δια των μυκτηρων το δαιμονιον. Και πεσοντος ευθυς του ανθρωπου, μηκετ' εις αυτον επανελθειν ωρκου, Σολομωνος τε μεμνημενος, και τας επωδας, ας συνεθηκεν εκεινος, επιλεγων. Βουλομενος δε πεισαι και παρασχησαι τοις παραυτα γνωσιν ο Ελεαζαρος, ότι ταυτην εχει ισχυν, εστησε μικρον εμπροσθεν ητοι ποτηριον πληρες υδατος, η ποδονιπτηρα· και τω δαιμονιω προσεταττεν εξιοντι του ανθρωπου ταυτ' ανατρεψαι, και παρασχειν επιγνωναι τοις ορωσιν, ότι καταλελοιπε τον ανθρωπον. κ. λ. Antiq. l. viii. cap. ii. sect. 5. [c] See p. 67, 68.

[d] Σαδδουκαιοις δε τας ψυχας ο νομος συναφανιζει τοις σωμασι. Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 1. sect. 4. [e] Deum esse credebant, sed præter eum nihil quod non sensibus perciperetur, non angelos υφιστασθαι, non superesse corporibus animos, ideoque nec fore αναστασιν. Grot. in Act. xxiii. 8. Vid. & Wolf. in eundem locum.

4. We farther learn from Josephus, that incantations and exorcisms were practised by Jews in his time, for expelling dæmons out of the bodies of men, of which they were supposed to have taken possession.

5. The story told by Josephus of Eleazar lies open to many exceptions, and appears ridiculous. For what reason can there be to think, that dæmons, whether they be bad angels, or the souls of bad men, should be affected by the smell of a root? It is likely, that Eleazar was an impostor, and the whole affair related by Josephus, as transacted before Vespasian and his court, was artifice and delusion. There was a compact between Eleazar and the pretended dæmoniac. Josephus has not mentioned the symptoms of any distemper under which the man laboured. If the man had been afflicted with some grievous disorder, the removal of it would have been sufficient proof of the power of Eleazar, and of the virtues of Solomon's incantations, without overturning a small vessel of water, placed near the exorcist or his dæmoniac. How that was done I do not know; but I suppose our slight-of-hand gentlemen can easily account for such a feat, and gratify spectators with others more surprising.

6. It may be hence argued, that the Jewish exorcists, with all their incantations, were of very little service to mankind, for relieving them under any indisposition. How ineffectual the exorcisms of the sons of Sceva, a Jewish priest, were at Ephesus, we have seen in the history related in Acts xix. 13—17. Nor does it appear that Eleazar, of whom Josephus writes, performed any cure, or expelled any dæmon: but it was mere artifice, as just shewn.

7. From these two passages we may be fully satisfied, that Josephus was not a christian. And it may be also argued with great probability, that the passage concerning Jesus, in the xviiith book of his Antiquities, is not genuine, but is an interpolation.

8. Must it not appear very remarkable, that Josephus, shunning the affairs of Christians, and omitting the great works of our Lord and his apostles, has not been able to relate one credible story of a miracle, excepting those of the Old Testament? Josephus is willing enough to relate miracles and extraordinary things, or such things as have an appearance of being so. But they will not bear examination. How came this to pass, that Josephus, a pharisee, a learned man, of the race of the priests, should fall so far below our honest artless evangelists? In their histories we see simplicity and dignity. The reason is, because they are truth: they copy a real original. They write the history of the great prophet that was to come, the Messiah; who cures diseases of all kinds, and raises the dead with his word, without parade and ostentation. But the learned Josephus, the priest, the statesman; Josephus, when he attempts to relate a miracle for the honour of his country, even the dispossessing a dæmon, produceth nothing extraordinary, but the overturning a small tottering vessel full of water, and says, that the dæmon came out at the man's nose!

And can any man who reads the above cited passages, think it any disparagement to the Christian religion, that it was not embraced by Josephus, who has given such proofs of want of judgment, and had not just notions in things of religion? For he could not conceive, that [a] intentions, without the act, were liable to punishment.

II. 1. Matt. xii. 27, "And if I by Beelzebub cast out dæmons, by whom do your children cast them out? Therefore they shall be your judges." 28, "But if I cast out dæmons by the spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you." Comp. Luke xi. 19, 20.

Josephus has assured us, that the Jews practised exorcisms for expelling dæmons; and has informed us of one method of performing them. Divers ancient christian writers, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and others, (whose passages may be seen in Grotius and Whitby upon this text of St. Matthew,) do also speak of Jewish exorcisms; and suppose, that they adjured dæmons in the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. To these [b] exorcists, it is likely, our Lord refers; and not to his own disciples, or any others who had a respect for him, like the person mentioned Mark ix. 38—40, and Luke ix. 49, 50.

What our Lord says is to this effect: 'If I, as you say, by Beelzebub cast out dæmons, by 'whom do your countrymen and disciples cast them out, or attempt to do so? You do not 'impute to them a combination with Satan; but you approve of them. From their practices 'therefore, mean and contemptible as they are, may be formed an argument sufficient to shew

[a] Το γαρ μηκετι ποιησαι το ερξον βουλευσαμενον, ουκ εστι τιμωριαξιον. Antiq. l. xii. cap. 9. sect. 1.

[b] 'Filii vestri.' Non Apostoli, qui a Pharisæis una cum Christo accusabantur, sed populares Pharisæorum, & discipuli. Grot. ad Matt. xii. 27. See also Whitby upon the place.

'the injustice and the malignity of your censure passed upon me. For if I cast out dæmons' 'and by a word instantly cure all manner of diseases usually ascribed to those evil spirits, and 'all their worst symptoms, as you see me to do daily: you cannot but know, it is owing to 'an immediate exertion of the power of God; and you might conclude, that his kingdom by 'the Messiah is now setting up among you.'

Our Lord does not here ascribe any virtue to the Jewish exorcisms, he rather supposes them ineffectual and insignificant; and tells the pharisees, they could not but know, that the great works done by him were full proof of his authority and mission, and of the most extraordinary divine manifestation among them.

2. Our Lord, reproving the hypocrisy of the pharisees, and the prevailing unbelief of the Jewish people, and apprising them of the imminent danger they were in of falling under the heavy judgments of God, says: "When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places seeking rest, and findeth none. Then he saith, I will return unto my house whence I came out; and when he is come, he findeth it empty, swept, and garnished. Then goeth he, and taketh with him seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man is worse than the first. Even so shall it be also unto this wicked generation," Matt. xii. 43—45. The same is recorded also Luke xi. 24—26.

This discourse of our Lord is a comparison, wherein he represents the state of the Jewish people, by way of allusion to those distempers which they ascribed to evil spirits.

"When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest, and findeth none." The Jewish people, in the latter times of their commonwealth, had a notion that dæmons did often frequent desert places. In Isai. xiii. 21, representing the desolation of Babylon, it is said: "Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there." Instead of 'satyrs,' which is our translation, the Greek version of the Seventy puts dæmons, Και δαιμονες εκει ορχησονται. The same language is adopted in the description of the ruin of the antichristian Babylon, in Rev. xviii. 2; "Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of dæmons, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird, καλοικητηριον δαιμονων."

In our Lord's comparison which we are considering, it is supposed, that evil spirits might leave a man for a while, and afterwards return. This also must have been a very common opinion of the Jews. Therefore Josephus observes in the history before transcribed, of Eleazar's dispossessing a dæmon, 'that reciting the charms composed by Solomon, he adjured 'the dæmon never to return any more.' This opinion, as may be well supposed, was the reason why the dæmoniac, in the country of the Gadarenes, intreated our Lord to permit him to accompany him; thinking, it is likely, that to be the only security against the return of the evil spirits, with which he had been vexed, as he imagined. "When he was entered into the ship, he that had been possessed with the dæmon, prayed him that he might be with him. Howbeit Jesus suffered him not," Mark v. 18, 19; Comp. Luke viii. 38. And our Lord also in his great goodness, to prevent troublesome fears and disquieting apprehensions, when he cured the young man of the epilepsy, which had been ascribed to an evil spirit, as the evangelist assures us, "rebuked the foul spirit, saying unto him, Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee come out of him, and enter no more into him," Mark ix. 25.

Once more it is supposed in this comparison, that if a dæmon returned to a man, and took possession of him again after having left him for a while, the state of that man would be very unhappy. And it is very reasonable to think, that if a person had been relieved under any distemper, which was ascribed to evil spirits, and he was again seized with it, the symptoms would be more violent, and the man's case be very deplorable, and even desperate.

The Jewish people had been severely chastised by the Babylonish captivity, and a partial reformation had been obtained. They now enjoyed much peace in their own land, and they had the liberty of worship at the temple. They had lately been under the searching ministry of John the Baptist, calling them to repentance, and telling them, that "the axe was laid to the root of the tree. He was a burning and shining light: and for a season they rejoiced in his light." They now enjoyed the excellent instructions of Jesus, who also wrought among them works which no prophet had done before, fully proving his high commission. And "many heard him gladly." They said, "never man spake like him: John did no miracles: but all things that John spake of this man were true: many believed on him, and said, When the Messiah

comes, will he do more miracles than these, which this man has done?" If, after all, this people should generally admit, and indulge within themselves, the worst passions, and should be guilty of the worst crimes, and grow more and more hardened in wickedness, they would bring down upon themselves, by the righteous judgment of God, heavier calamities than ever had befallen them in former times.

That is what our Lord declares in the figurative expressions of this comparison. Every one will be led to recollect here what St. Peter says, 1 ep. ii. 20—22. And I refer to the commentators, especially Grotius, upon the place which we have been now considering.

3. Matt. xvii. 21, "Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting." Mark ix. 29, "And he said unto them, This kind can come forth by nothing, but by prayer and fasting."

The occasion of these words is well known. Whilst our Saviour was in the mount with three of his disciples, Peter, and James, and John, the sons of Zebedee; a man brought to the rest of the disciples his son, who was "lunatic and sore vexed," with an epileptic disorder ascribed to an evil spirit; but they could not cure him. When the father told this to our Lord, he reproved their want of faith: See Matt. xvii. 16, 17; Mark ix. 18, 19; Luke ix. 40, 41. When the young man had been healed, and the company was withdrawn, "the disciples came to Jesus apart, and said, Why could not we cast him out? And Jesus said unto them, because of your unbelief. For verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you. Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting," Matt. xvii. 19—21.

A faith of miracles may be defined after this [a] manner. 'It was a firm and well-grounded 'persuasion of mind, enabling men to set about a miraculous operation, in full assurance of God's 'assisting them.' Our Lord told his disciples, that [b] their not being able to cure this young man was owing to the defect of faith, and he reproves them for it. At the same time he teaches them how they might obtain an increase of faith, so as to be able to perform the greatest miracles. The method prescribed by him for that end is humble and fervent prayer, and mortification to this world; a temper mightily suited to the sublime and heavenly doctrine of the gospel, and very necessary in the preachers of it in all times, especially at its first publication.

The defect of faith was blameable in the disciples: for our Lord had "given them power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease," Matt. x. 1. And unquestionably they had before now wrought many miracles: this they must have done, when sent forth by Jesus during the time of his abode on this earth. St. Mark says, ch. vi. 12, 13; "And they went out and preached that men should repent. And they cast out many dæmons, and anointed with oil many that were sick and healed them." Our Lord gave like powers afterwards to seventy other disciples. Luke x. beginning, "And they returned again with joy, saying, Lord, even the dæmons are subject to us through thy name."

But though the disciples had performed some miracles, their faith was not sufficient for the cure of this young man, whose distemper was obstinate and inveterate, and the symptoms very violent.

This history may be illustrated by another instance of defect of faith in the disciples. When they met with a great storm, as they were crossing over the sea of Galilee with our Lord in the ship, they were exceedingly affrighted, and came to him, saying, "Lord, save us, we perish," Matt. viii. 24—26; Mark iv. 37—39; Luke viii. 22—25. Says an ingenious [c] writer, 'According to the harmony of the four gospels, there are above twenty places where Jesus is 'said to have worked miracles before this. And therefore the disciples, who had been eye-'witnesses of most of those miracles, had just reason to think, that he was able to deliver them 'in the greatest danger: and that they, especially in his presence, were under the peculiar 'inspection and care of God.' Consequently, our Lord justly reproved them at that season, saying, "Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?"

The greatness of the danger which they were in, too much alarmed their fears; and the violence of the symptoms of the young man's distemper too much discouraged them: for which

[a] Compare Dr. Benson's Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, p. 6, 7.

[b] Supra dixerat Christus, fiduciâ opus esse ad hæc præsertim notæ majoris miracula. Nunc ostendit, quomodo ea parari possit, precibus nimirum fervidis. Jejunium ideo adjungit, quia ad preces inprimis requiritur animus demissus; cui rei inservit jejunium. Unde plerumque conjungi videmus νηστειαν & δεησιν sive προσευχην. Luc. ii. 37. Act. x. 30, &c. Grot. ad Matt. xvii. 21.

[c] Dr. Benson's Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, p. 209, 210.

they were justly reproved. Nevertheless, our blessed Lord, ever mild and compassionate, makes allowance for their prejudices and want of consideration; and encourageth them to hope, that they should obtain an increase of faith, and be able to discharge the service to which he had appointed them, in an honourable manner.

We may here fitly recollect a prayer of the apostles, and the answer vouchsafed. Acts iv. 24—31, "And now Lord, behold their threatenings. And grant unto thy servants, that with all boldness they may speak thy word: and that signs and wonders may be done by the name of thy holy child [rather son or servant] Jesus. And when they had prayed, the place was shaken where they were assembled together. And they were all filled with the holy ghost, and they spake the word with boldness." That is there was a fresh effusion upon them of knowledge, power and comfort: whereby they were assured of their being enabled to do every thing needful to confirm the truth of Christ's resurrection. Accordingly it is said there at ver. 33, "And with great power gave the apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus."

4. Luke x. 17, 18, "And the seventy returned with joy, saying, Lord, even the dæmons are subject to us through thy name. And he said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven."

Those words cannot be taken literally; for by 'heaven' understand the supreme heaven, the place of the blessed: and it is allowed by all, that Satan, with his angels, was long before driven thence, and could have no access there. Nor can it be hereby intended, that Christ saw Satan fall like lightning from the upper region of the air: for that is a thing of no moment. The words therefore figuratively represent the speedy overthrow of error, falsehood, idolatry, and sin, by the preaching of the gospel, accompanied with mighty signs and wonders, done by the apostles, and others in the name of Jesus Christ.

5. Our blessed Lord is sometimes said in the gospels to have rebuked dæmons. Those places shall be here taken notice of.

Mark i. 23—26, "And there was in their synagogue [at Capernaum] a man with an unclean spirit. And he cried out, saying, Let us alone. What have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us? I know thee, who thou art, the holy one of God. And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him." The same miracle is related, and in the same manner, by St. Luke, ch. iv. 33—35.

In the history of the cure of the young man who had the epilepsy, which was ascribed to the influence of an evil spirit, it is said: "And Jesus rebuked the dæmon, and he departed out of him: and the child was cured from that hour," Matt. xvii. 18. "When Jesus saw that the people came running together, he rebuked the foul spirit, saying unto him, Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee come out of him, and enter no more into him," Mark ix. 25. "And Jesus rebuked the unclean spirit, and healed the child, and delivered him again to his father," Luke ix. 42.

It should be observed, that the word 'rebuke' is also used concerning things, to which we do not ascribe either life or intelligence. "Then he arose, and rebuked the winds and the sea, and there was a great calm," Matt. viii. 26. "And he arose and rebuked the wind, and said, Peace, be still. And the winds ceased, and there was a great calm," Mark iv. 39. "Then he arose and rebuked the wind, and the raging of the water; and they ceased, and there was a calm," Luke viii. 24.

Luke iv. 39, "And he stood over her, and rebuked the fever, and it left her."

The truth of the case, as before said, I take to be this. Our Lord, in curing distempers generally ascribed to evil spirits, sometimes accommodated his expressions, and manner of treating such afflicted persons, to the common opinion of the people, without countenancing or approving it.

III. Acts vi. 9, "Then there arose certain of the synagogue, which is called the synagogue of the Libertines, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia, and of Asia, disputing with Stephen.

In the first part of the Credibility of the Gospel History[a] I endeavoured to shew who they were, who are called Libertines. Since that time I have met with another interpretation, which I am now desirous to propose to my readers, and to render it more common than it seems to be. It does not immediately relate to the subject of which we have been treating

[a] See p. 63.

here: nevertheless, I presume none will be much offended at my inserting the observation in this place.

It is in the Academical Exercitations [a] of Mr. Daniel Gerdes, Professor of Divinity in the University of Groningen. He is of opinion, that [b] these Libertines are so called from a city, or country, named Libertus, or Libertina, situated in Africa. This appears to be very probable, because all the other people here mentioned are denominated from the places inhabited by them. Suidas in his Lexicon, at the word Λιβερτῖνος, says, it was the name of a people, though he does not mention the country in which they dwelt. The Glossa Interlinearis, of which Nicolas de Lyra made great use, intimates upon this text, that the Libertines were so called from a country. In the Acts of the famous Conference with the Donatists at Carthage in the year 411, is the name of a bishop of the church of Libertina: which is supposed to have been situate in Africa Propria, or the proconsular province in Africa. Another bishop of the same place, Libertina, is mentioned in the Acts of the Lateran council held in 619. Accordingly Fabricius, in his Geographical Index of Christian Bishopricks, has placed Libertina as being in the proconsular Africa. And long before, Abraham Ortelius, in his Thesaurus Geographicus, at the word Libertini, observes, that St. Luke, in the sixth chapter of the Acts had spoken of the Libertines as a people. Moreover Oecumenius, in his Commentary upon the Acts, has mentioned this as one interpretation; that [c] the Libertines, as well as the Cyrenians, were a people living beyond Alexandria, who had a synagogue at Jerusalem.

All these particulars are insisted on by Mr. Gerdes in his argument upon the subject. I have transcribed a large part below in his own words.

The learned and judicious compilers of the Bibliothêque Raisonnée, at the conclusion of their account of this disputation of Mr. Gerdes, add [d] a reference to Pool's Synopsis. I shall place below [e] the passage to which they refer. Whence it may appear, that this interpretation has not been unknown to learned men: but it has not been so much attended to as I think it deserves. And Mr. Gerdes has cast a great deal of new light upon it, and much confirmed it.

Upon the whole, it appears to be very probable, that the Libertines were native Jews, and proselytes, living at Libertus or Libertina, who had a synagogue at Jerusalem. And the order of the names in St. Luke might lead us to think, that they were farther off from Jerusalem than Alexandria and Cyrene; which confirms the supposition, that the place whence they were named, was situated in what was called Africa propria, or the proconsular province.

[a] Danielis Gerdesii Exercitationum Academicarum libri tres. Qto. Amst. 1738. [b] Nationis autem atque regionis, non status sive conditionis, Λιβερτίνων nomen esse, cum maxime nobis sit probabile, & Libertinos dictos Judæos, a Liberto, Africæ Propriæ, sive Carthaginensis, quæ & Proconsularis dicebatur, sive oppido, sive regione, quam habitabant, tametsi ad instar cæterorum, vel Cyrenen vicinam, vel Alexandriam inhabitantium, Hierosolymis suam haberent synagogam, a proprio suo nomine, æque ac Alexandrinorum ac Cyrenensium appellatam—Et quidem quod ad rationes, nemo non videt, nihil planius nihilque simplicius esse hâc hypothesi, quæ veram vocabulorum retinet notionem—Accedit in genere, quod cum Libertini jungantur Cyrenensibus, Alexandrinis, Cilicibus, & Asianis, & hi tamen omnes a locis habitationis suæ appellentur, credibile quoque non sit, Libertinos non a loco vel habitationis sede, sed a conditione, μεταβασει εις αλλο γενος, prorsus insolitâ, denominatos esse: imprimis si in specie consideremus, quod Libertinis statim jungantur Cyrenenses & Alexandrini, quibus nominibus itidem Africæ incolæ designantur, & sive Judæi sive proselyti ex illis regionibus oriundi indicabantur.—Suidas tamen in Lexico suo, Tom. ii. fol. 445. edit. Kuster, vocem nostram ad gentem ita nominatam applicari debere manifesto indicat. Λιβερτῖνος ονομα εθνους. Libertini, nomen gentis. Glossa quoque interlinearis, cui suas cum primis notas superstruxit Nicolaüs de Lyra, voci Libertinorum superscripsit *a regione*. Unde ipse Lyra: Libertinorum, inquit, a regione sic nominatorum, ut dicit glossa interlinearis. Sed ubinam ea sita est regio? Duo sunt in Actis publicis ecclesiasticis nobis relicta monumenta, ex quibus de Libertinis vel Libertinensibus, eorumque situ, judicare tuto possumus.—Alterum monumentum habemus in Gestis celeberrimæ illius A. 411. habitæ cum Donatistis Collationis Carthaginensis. Quod cum conservatum sit a consiliorum collectoribus—atque cum ipsis Actis subjunctum editioni præstantissimæ Optati Milevitani adversus Donatistas, quam procuravit Elias Du Pinius. Legitur in Actis Collationis ita: 'Item re-'citavit Victor episcopus ecclesiæ catholicæ Libertinensis.' Cel. Baluzii nota ad vocabulum Libertinensis hæc est l. c. Libertinensis. In provinciâ Proconsulari. Atque ita sponte ducimur ad alterum illud quod dicebamus monumentum, ex Actis Concilii Lateranensis, A. 649. habiti, depromptum, ubi habetur Epistola—Episcoporum sancti Concilii, Proconsularis ad Paulum Constantinopolitanum, subscripta ab ipsis Episcopis, inter quos quoque occurrit, 'Januarius gratia Dei Episcopus 'sanctæ Ecclesiæ Libertinensis.'——Cum ea propter etiam Cl. Fabricius suo Episcopatuum orbis Christiani Indici Geographico, quem subjecit libro, cui tit. 'Salutaris Lux Evangelii,' &c. Libertinensem Episcopatum in Africâ Proconsulari inseruerit: Cum Abrahamus Ortelius non minus jam antehac in Thesauro Geographico quoque annotaverit, 'Libertinorum 'tanquam gentis meminisse Divum Lucam Actor. vi atque 'gentis nomen esse apud Suidam, Libertinensis autem Eccle-'siæ in Africa episcopum habere Collationem Africanam.' Dan. Gerdes. Disputatio de Synagoga Libertinorum. num. xxvii—xxix. p. 509—513. [c] Αλλως. Λιβερτίνων και Κυρηναιων των επεκεινα Αλεξανδρειας———ων και διαφοροι συναγωγαι εν Ἱερουσαλημ καὶα εθνη εναυλιζομενων. Διο και συναγωγας ειχον τοπους αφωρισμενους επ' αναγνωσει των Μωσεως νομων. Œcum. in Act. T. 1. p. 57. [d] Biblioth. Raisonnée, Tom. 24. Part i. p. 67. Amst. 1740.

[e] Quinam hi? Resp. 2. Apud Suidam est. Λιβερτῖνοι, ονομα εθνους, nomen gentis. Idem scribit Ortelius. Quin & Ecclesia Libertinensis in Africâ habetur in Collatione Carthaginensi. Pol. Syn. ad Act. vi. 9.

THE

CREDIBILITY

OF THE

GOSPEL HISTORY,

OR,

THE PRINCIPAL FACTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT CONFIRMED BY PASSAGES OF ANCIENT AUTHORS WHO WERE CONTEMPORARY WITH OUR SAVIOUR, OR HIS APOSTLES, OR LIVED NEAR THEIR TIME.

PART II.

PREFACE.

THE design of this Work has been shewn in the Preface and Introduction to the foregoing part. It is, in short, to enable persons of ordinary capacities, who have not an opportunity of reading ancient authors, to judge for themselves concerning the external evidence of the facts related in the New Testament. They who are pleased to attend to this will soon perceive the reason of the method observed in this work: why I not only transcribe passages at length, but likewise prefix a history of the authors themselves. This I have done very much in the words of other ancient writers, who were contemporaries, or not very remote from them in time: mentioning also the sentiments of some learned moderns, eminent for their skill in antiquity, who have already written with great diligence and accuracy the history of my authors and their works. Somewhat of this kind was necessary for the information and satisfaction of those, for whom this work is chiefly intended. It might be well expected, that I should observe the age and character of the witnesses I produce: and distinguish their genuine writings from others, if any have been without ground ascribed to them. The testimonies themselves I have endeavoured likewise so to dispose, as that the value of them might be most readily perceived.

I am aware that some learned men, who have already formed their judgment upon a full knowledge of antiquity, may at first dislike the alleging in this volume so many passages, which contain at the most only allusions to the writings of the New Testament, some of which too may appear doubtful and uncertain. But if these had been wholly omitted, I do not see how the representation of this evidence could have been complete. And when it is considered, that I do not lay a stress upon all these passages, but after the producing them, sum up the testimony of each author, and often distinguish the importance of the passages alleged, and leave it to every one to judge as he sees best; I hope, this conduct will be no longer disapproved.

The authors are produced in the order of time. By this means their authority and the value of their testimonies immediately appear: it being allowed by all, that the respect for a writer's testimony ought to be proportioned very much to his nearness to the time of which he writes.

Many of the passages are placed at the bottom of the page in their original languages, which will not be disagreeable to those who are acquainted with them. And beside these, there are a few notes, more particularly intended for the less learned reader.

The translations are my own, unless I give notice of my borrowing from others: for which, I suppose, there will be seldom occasion. But there is one person of great eminence on account of his station in the church, and the merit of his services for the Christian religion, to whom I am obliged to make my acknowledgements in this place: I mean His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. There are few of the many passages of the Apostolical fathers here alleged, which I had not translated, as I collected them out of the originals: but I have since thought proper, to make my own more agreeable to his lordship's well known and apostolical English: and I have often taken his translation entire, without any alteration.

Though I have used my best care and diligence, it is nevertheless very natural to be apprehensive of some errors and omissions in a work of this compass and difficulty. I can rely upon the candour of the learned and judicious, who may observe them: and upon information I will readily own and correct the errors, and supply the omissions if they are material. For what is here aimed at is not glory, but truth and a fair representation of it.

The method is prolix: but the subject is of importance. And perhaps in this way some disputes may be shortened, and some questions decided, which could not be so well determined otherwise. And possibly the whole we have to offer may be brought within less room than could be at first imagined.

The work will not, I presume, be judged altogether useless, or unnecessary at this time. The fathers have not been hitherto considered in this method. Though many excellent and beautiful passages have been transcribed out of them by others in modern languages, none have yet, so far as I know, attempted the transcribing at length their testimony to the sacred scriptures. Nor has the canon of the New Testament been often considered and enquired into in this method, of placing together at once the testimony of every age as it ariseth: but generally the evidence for particular books has been collected, and placed by itself. Which though it have some advantages, I believe it will be found, that the method here taken has also some peculiar advantages belonging to it.

It was the reading of the works of Eusebius of Cæsarea, and particularly his Ecclesiastical History, in which he has collected so many passages of ancient writers before him, that gave the first rise to this design. Though the execution of it should not be equal to the model upon which it was formed, it may be of benefit to some. A large part of the riches of that work will be transferred into this, and will be it's greatest ornament.

The numerous passages here produced out of ancient authors, will not discourage any who have ability and opportunity from going to the originals: but rather, I hope, be a means of leading some into a farther acquaintance with them. After all the Ecclesiastical Histories, Bibliotheques and Memoires, that have been published, there remain, if I mistake not, good gleanings in Ecclesiastical antiquity, for those who shall be pleased to be at the pains of gathering them in. The ancient writers of the church will ever afford somewhat curious and entertaining, to an attentive and judicious reader. The study of the fathers is indeed laborious, and not very profitable with regard to any secular advantages: but it is the fitter for men of generous minds, who prefer the pleasure of gaining and communicating useful knowledge to all the pomp of a vain world. Nor is every one who looks into these writings obliged to make the study of them his professed work and employment. A man of ingenuity and a good taste may gain a considerble knowledge of them (especially of the most ancient and most valuable) for his own satisfaction in the way of amusement.

As my aim in this work has been the promoting, according to my ability, the interest of true religion; it is no small satisfaction to me, that the first part of it was so well received at home, and that it has been so far approved abroad, as to be translated by two learned foreigners; by Mr. Cornelius Westerbaen of Utrecht into Low Dutch, and by Mr. J. Christopher Wolff of Hamburgh into Latin. I cannot but esteem it an uncommon happiness, that my thoughts have been so justly represented by persons well known in the republic of letters for compositions of their own.

LONDON, March 1, 1733-4.

INTRODUCTION.

HAVING in a former treatise produced sufficient evidence of that part of the Gospel History, which concerns the facts occasionally mentioned in the New Testament; I now proceed to lay before the public, in a like manner, the evidences of the principal facts of the same history, which in the Introduction to the foregoing part were briefly said to be these: "The birth and preaching of John the Baptist; the miraculous conception and birth, the discourses, miracles, predictions, crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ; the mission of the apostles, the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them, and the other attestations, which were given to the divine authority of Jesus Christ, and the truth of his doctrine."

It may be now proper to represent these particulars somewhat more at large. The substance of the history of the New Testament then is this:

Jesus, called the Christ, having been conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost in the womb of a virgin named Mary, espoused to a mean person whose name was Joseph, of the family of David, was born at Bethlehem in Judea, in the reign of Herod king of the Jews, at a time when there was a taxing, or enrolment, ordered in that country by a decree of Augustus, the Roman emperor. Matt. i. Luke i. ii.

The birth of Jesus was attended and followed with some events of an extraordinary nature. Matth. ii. After eight days he was circumcised, and then presented at the temple according to the custom of the law of Moses. And his birth, as king of the Jews, having been notified at Jerusalem, by the arrival of some wise men of the East, who had seen his star in their own country, and came to Jerusalem to worship him; Herod formed a design against the life of the young child. But he was preserved by flight into Egypt, whither he was carried by Joseph, together with his mother Mary, by divine order: and after a short space of time was brought back again by Joseph, who then went and settled at Nazareth. There is little more related of the early part of his life, except that at the age of twelve years he went up to Jerusalem at the feast of the passover, where he gave some proofs of uncommon knowledge, and returned thence to Nazareth, and was subject to his parents. Luke ii. 41.

In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, then emperor of Rome, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, and Herod tetrarch of Galilee, John, called the Baptist, son of Zacharias, of the race of the Jewish priests, and of his wife Elizabeth, (who was born a few months before Jesus, in the reign of the forementioned Herod, king of the Jews) appeared in the country beyond Jordan, preaching the "baptism of repentance for the remission of sins." And great numbers of men from all parts of Judea resorted to him, and were baptized, "confessing their sins." He taught, that the kingdom of God was at hand, bid men bring forth fruits meet for repentance, and not to depend upon any national privileges, or external performances, for acceptance with God. "The people were then in expectation, and all men mused in their hearts, whether he were the Christ or not." And when the "Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem to ask him, who he was, he confessed, he was not the Christ;" at the same time openly declaring, that there was then among them a great person, whom as yet, they knew not: and though he came after him, he was so far preferred before him, that he was not "worthy to unloose the latchet of his shoes: and whereas he baptized them with water unto repentance, this great person would baptize them with the Holy Ghost and with fire." Luke ii. iii. Matth. iii. Mark i. John i.

When a great part of the people had been baptized, Jesus also came to John, and was baptized of him in Jordan. Matth. iii. 13. "And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straitway out of the water: and lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him. And lo, a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. At which time Jesus was about thirty years of age." Luke iii. 23.

Having been thus baptized, he was led by the Spirit into a solitary and desert place, where he fasted forty days and forty nights, and had a great and remarkable temptation. Matth. iv.

Luke iv. The temptation being ended, "he returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee," and wrought miracles, and began to gather disciples, who "seeing his glory believed on him." At which time John still baptizing, bore testimony to him: that he was the person of whom he had spoken, and that he must increase. But, says he, "I must decrease: he whom God hath sent, speaketh the words of God: for God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him." John ii. 11. iii. 30, 34.

Soon after this, John was cast into prison for his free, but just, reproofs of Herod the tetrarch of Galilee: by whose order he was also afterwards beheaded. Matth. xiv. 1—12. Mark vi. 16. 29. Luke iii. 19, 20. ix. 9.

When John had been cast into prison, Jesus began to preach more publicly: and having chosen out of the number of his disciples twelve, whom he named apostles, to be generally with him, that they might be afterwards the witnesses to the world of his life, his doctrine, miracles, and resurrection, he went about the several parts of the country of Judea, resorting likewise to Jerusalem at the time of the great feasts of the Jewish nation. Matth. iv. 12. Mark i. 14. iii. 13. Luke vi. 12, 13. Acts x. 39, 40, 41.

He taught, that men should repent, and for their encouragement declared, that he "came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance," Matth. ix. 13. He moreover taught, that God is to be worshipped in spirit and truth, and that such worship is acceptable in all places. John iv. 21, 23, 24: That the things which defile a man are those which "proceed out of the heart; evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies; but to eat with unwashen hands defileth not a man." Matth. xv. 19, 20: That the great branches of men's duty, are the love of God and their neighbour: That men should do to others as they would that others should do to them. Matth. vii. 12: That they ought to imitate God in mercy, forgiveness, and all goodness. Matth. v. 44, 45: That they ought to be pure in heart, as well as unblameable in their outward actions: That they ought not to pray, fast, or give alms to be seen of men; but in all things to act with an eye to the approbation and acceptance of God, who seeth the most secret, as well as the most public actions. He recommended moderate affections for the things of this present world, and bid men seek in the first place the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and without solicitude and anxiety about the concerns of this life, to confide in the providence of God, which oversees and directs all things. Mat. vi. 1, 19. 20, 25. He assured them that they who believed in God, and in him whom God had sent, and obeyed the commandments delivered by him, should enjoy eternal life, "and he would raise" them "up at the last day." John vi. 39: That God had given all authority and judgment to him, and that he would come again, and render to all according to their works. And of this doctrine taught by him, he required a sincere and open profession, declaring, Matth. x. 32, 33, "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.

These, and the like excellent precepts, and powerful inducements to all virtue, he taught and inculcated every where; speaking sometimes plainly, sometimes in parables, as men were able to hear him: always with such a mixture of authority and familiarity for the manner, such weight and dignity for the matter of his discourses, that the multitude "wondered at the gracious words that proceeded out of his mouth;" and enemies were obliged to acknowledge, that never man spake like him. Matt. v. vii. Luke vi. Matth. xiii. Mark iv. 33. Luke iv. 22. John vii. 46.

As he went about teaching this doctrine, he wrought many miracles as evidences, that the Father had sent him, and of the truth of all his words. He turned water into wine; fed with a few loaves and fishes great multitudes in desert places; walked on the sea; calmed the winds and the waves; gave sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, speech to the dumb, soundness and strength to the lame, and those that were bowed down; healed diseases of all sorts; restored to their right mind lunatics and dæmoniacs, and raised the dead. These miracles were performed at his word, in an instant, and some were wrought on persons at a distance from him. They were done by him in the most public and open manner; at Jerusalem, and in every part of Judea and Galilee; in cities, in villages, in synagogues, in private houses, in the streets, and the highways, in the presence of enemies, before scribes and pharisees, and rulers of synagogues, when attended by multitudes: in a word, before men of all characters.

There were also in the course of his ministry divers other signal testimonies given to him. Beside the voice from heaven at his baptism, he was transfigured in the presence of three of his disciples, when "his face shone as the sun, and his raiment was white as light, and a bright cloud overshadowed them: and behold a voice out of the cloud, which said: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him." Matth. xvii. 1—8. See Mark ix. 2. Luke ix. 28. At another time, being at Jerusalem, surrounded by a great multitude, and having prayed, "Father, glorify thy name; there came a voice from heaven, saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again." John xii. 28.

To all these great things he appealed, as proofs of his divine authority; referring men to the witness of John, the miracles he had wrought, and these testimonies from heaven. John v. 19, 20, 32—38. x. 25, 37, 38.

Beside the wonderful works done by him, he also manifested a clear knowledge of the thoughts and designs of men, and foretold frequently, and expressly, and with many circumstances, his own death and resurrection; the descent of the Holy Ghost upon his apostles; their sufferings and success; the destruction of Jerusalem (at the prospect of which he was so affected, as to lament over that city with tears, Luke xix. 41.) and many other events; that when they came to pass, his disciples and others might be confirmed in their faith in him and his doctrine. John xiii. 19.

He had likewise sent forth from him, for a time, his twelve disciples, and after that seventy other, "with power and authority over all devils, and to cure diseases, to preach the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick:" which they did, and "returned with great joy." Matth. x. 1. Mark iii. 15. Luke ix. 1. x. 1.

While God thus glorified him, he lived in a mean condition, without external state and splendor, and was meek and condescending in his behaviour toward his disciples, and all who resorted to him for instruction, or relief: at the same time freely declaring to all their duty, and impartially correcting the faults and failings of his disciples: and with a true prophetic resolution and intrepidity reproving the hypocrisy, pride, ambition, covetousness, false maxims, and vain traditions of the scribes and pharisees, and the chief men of the Jewish nation.

When he had fully taught and confirmed his doctrine, knowing that the time of his departure out of this world was nigh, and that the Father had put all things into his hands; he took his leave of his disciples in the most affectionate and instructive manner, and appointed a memorial of himself and his death. And then retiring to a private place, where he sometimes resorted with his disciples; and having resigned himself to the will of the Father, with regard to the bitter sufferings, of which he had a near and affecting prospect; he was betrayed by one of his disciples to the chief priests and council of the Jewish nation, by whom he was examined, and condemned, after he had in their presence solemnly avowed his great character: and then was by them accused and prosecuted before Pontius Pilate, who at their earnest and clamorous importunity was prevailed upon, against his own conscience, to condemn him to be crucified. And he was accordingly crucified near Jerusalem, at the great feast of the passover, in the common place of execution, between two malefactors. However, during this very extraordinary scene of sufferings, there were some extraordinary testimonies given to his innocence and dignity. There was a darkness of three hours continuance over the whole land; the "vail of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent." John xiii. xiv. xv. xvi. xvii. Matth. xxvi. xxvii. Mark xiv. xv. Luke xxii. xxiii. John xviii. xix. Matth. xxvii. 45, 51.

Jesus having expired on the cross, and Pilate having received particular information that he was dead: the body was with his leave taken down from the cross, and laid in a sepulchre, in which "never man before was laid." And the Jewish council took care to have the sepulchre secured by a guard of Roman soldiers, lest, as they said, his disciples come by night, and steal him away, and then say to the people, he is risen from the dead. Luke xxiii. 53. Matth. xxvii. 64.

But notwithstanding these precautions of his enemies, who had all power and authority in that country; on the third day after his crucifixion and burial, early in the morning Jesus arose, and shewed himself to his apostles, and others who were well acquainted with him. He was seen of them several times for the space "of forty days." They viewed him, they handled him, he discoursed and ate with them, and said to his apostles: "All power is given to me in

heaven and on earth. Go ye therefore," says he, "and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe whatsoever I have commanded you." And having renewed to them the promise of the Holy Ghost, and commanded them to "tarry at Jerusalem," till they were "endued with power from on high; he led them out to Bethany," were he "was parted from them, and while they beheld, he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight." Matth. xxviii. Mar. xvi. Luke xxiv. John xx. Acts i. 3. 9.

After which, at the motion of Peter for supplying the vacancy made by the apostacy and death of Judas, Matthias was added to the eleven apostles by divine appointment. Acts i. 26.

At the pentecost next following the passover, at which Jesus had been crucified, the promised gift of the Holy Ghost was bestowed upon the apostles, and the men that were with them, and they began to speak with divers tongues. Acts ii. 1. At the same time there were at Jerusalem, beside the stated inhabitants, from all parts of the world Jews, and proselytes of the Jewish religion; men of the greatest zeal, understanding, and prudence; who when they heard them speak "the wonderful works of God" in the languages of the several countries in which they resided, were "amazed and marvelled." Whereupon "Peter standing up with the eleven," informed them, that Jesus, whom the rulers of the Jewish nation had taken, and "with wicked hands had crucified," after he had been "approved of God by miracles, signs and wonders, done by him in the midst of them," had been raised up by God: of which they, his apostles, were witnesses: and that the same Jesus, being "by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, had shed forth that which they now saw and heard." And concluded his discourse with these words: Acts ii. 36, 37, 38, "Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus whom ye have crucified both Lord and Christ." And when they were hereupon filled with much concern of mind, and said, "What shall we do?" Peter said unto them: "Repent, and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost."

Such was the effect of this discourse, and these exhortations, consequent upon the wonderful effusion of the Holy Ghost, that many "gladly received the word, and were baptized, and the same day there were added unto the disciples about three thousand souls." Ver. 41, And by the hands of Peter, and the other apostles, "were many signs and wonders wrought among the people," which could not be disputed. Acts v. 12. 14, And "believers were added to the Lord, multitudes of men and women." All this multitude lived in the greatest harmony, "neither was there any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessed of houses or lands, sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles feet: and distribution was made unto every man, according as he had need." Acts iv. 34, 35. But the care of making a proper distribution to so many persons being too great for the apostles, and some obstruction to them in their main work of preaching, and some complaints likewise being made, there were chosen "seven men to attend the daily ministration." Ch. vi.

Beside the numerous church at Jerusalem, there were also in a short time several churches of the faithful gathered in other parts; in Judea, in Galilee, and Samaria. Ch. ix. 31. And on those who believed were bestowed the gifts of the Holy Ghost, by prayer and the laying on of the hands of the apostles. Ch. viii. 14—17.

This beginning and progress had the doctrine of the gospel, notwithstanding many hardships and suffering endured by the apostles and the believers of every rank.

When this doctrine had been planted in the minds of great numbers of Jews and Samaritans, it was preached by Peter, ch. x. and then by others, to Gentiles, men uncircumcised, in the land of Judea, and in the neighbouring countries: and among them were converts made, upon whom also were bestowed gifts of the Holy Ghost.

In the mean time Saul, called also Paul, who had been of the sect of the pharisees, educated by Gamaliel, a celebrated doctor among the Jewish people, and who had been a warm and violent opposer and persecutor of the disciples of Jesus, was converted to the same faith by a [illegible] ordinary appearance. Acts xxii. 3—10. Who received the full knowledge of the doctrine of the gospel by special revelation, and was appointed an apostle by Jesus Christ himself, without the interposition of any of those who had been apostles before. Gal. i. 1. 12.

Eph. iii. 3. As the other apostles had done, he also spoke with tongues, wrought miracles in great variety and abundance, and conferred gifts of the Holy Ghost upon his converts.

Paul together with Barnabas and his fellow-workers in the gospel, taught, as Peter had done before, that God had raised up Jesus from the dead, exhorted men to repent, and believe in him whom God had sent. Acts xiii. 16—41. To the Gentiles he declared, that they should turn from idols to the worship of God that made the heaven and the earth, and bring forth fruits meet for repentance, or, live in the practice of virtue: "forasmuch as God had appointed a day, in which he will judge the world in righteousness, by that man whom he has ordained, whereof he has given assurance unto all men, in that he has raised him from the dead." Acts xvii. He moreover strenuously asserted the acceptance of the Gentiles, and their right to all the privileges of the church and people of God, without the observation of the rites of the law of Moses.

In preaching this doctrine he also had great success, and formed churches of Christians in many places, consisting of men converted from idolatry and vice to the worship of God, a faith in Jesus, and the practice of virtue.

The converts of each city, having been [a] first baptised, were formed into religious societies and [b] churches, which met together for the performance of religious worship: in which assemblies they worshipped God [c] by prayers and praises, had [d] discourses and exhortations, and readings [e] of sacred writings, and [f] celebrated the memory of the death of Jesus Christ, by eating together bread, and drinking wine in a solemn manner. And they were directed by the apostles to pray [g] for 'kings,' and governors, and "all who are in authority." These assemblies were ordinarily held at least every first day of the [h] week, called the [i] 'Lord's day,' in memory of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead: on which [k] day, they were directed also to "lay by in store, as God had prospered them," for the relief of their necessitous brethren.

And that the worship of these assemblies might be performed in an orderly and decent manner, for general profit, and instruction in the principles and practice of piety; and that the necessities of each member might be duly provided for, and true religion preserved among them in a flourishing condition; there were at the very time of forming such societies, or soon [l] after, appointed in them officers and ministers, called [m] bishops, or elders, or pastors, or teachers; and deacons: men who had been before approved, as persons of integrity and capacity for the work to which they were appointed. 1 Tim. iii. 10. The peculiar work [n] of the former of whom was to preach the word, and feed the flock, of which they were overseers, with wholesome and sound doctrine and instruction; "to reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine." Of the latter, the peculiar work, according to the primitive institution, was the "serving tables," and making a prudent and faithful distribution of the stock of the [o] society. Acts vi. 2.

And these several officers were to be examples of all virtue to the rest of the Christian societies, in which they presided and ministered: as these societies themselves were to be examples to the world around them.

These apostles of Christ, (of whom we have particularly spoken) together with their companions and fellow-labourers, evangelists, and others, had such success in the work of preaching the gospel, that before they left the world, they had erected societies, or churches of Christians, in most parts of the Roman empire; in the countries of Judea, Cyprus, Crete, Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, Greece, and Italy, in the cities of Jerusalem, Cæsarea, Antioch, Ephesus, Athens, Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Rome, and in other cities and countries: con-

[a] Acts ii. 11. viii. 12. Rom. vi 3. 1 Cor. i. 13—16.

[b] Gal. i. 2. "to the churches of Galatia." 1 Cor. xiv. 33. "as in all the churches of the saints." xv. 19, the "churches of Asia salute you." 2 Cor. viii. "the churches of Macedonia," and many other places.

[c] Acts i. 14. 24. ii. 42. vi. 4. 1 Cor. xiv. 14—17.

[d] 1 Cor. xiv. throughout. Acts xviii. 11. xx. 7. Gal. vi. 6. Hebr. xiii. 7.

[e] Coloss. iv. 16. 1 Thess. v. 27.

[f] Acts ii. 42. xx. 7. 1 Cor. xi. 23.

[g] 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

[h] Acts xx. 7.

[i] Rev. i. 10.

[k] 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

[l] See Whitby's Annotations on 1 Cor. xiv. 32. Gal. vi 3 and the Paraphrase on 1 Thess. after Mr. Locke's manner; the note on chap. v. 12.

[m] "To all the saints which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons." Philip. i. 1.

[n] See Acts xx. 28. the epistles to Timothy and Titus. 1 Pet. v. 1.

[o] Some however are of opinion, that the seven men of the church of Jerusalem, who were appointed by the apostles for 'serving tables,' were quite different from the deacons, concerning whom Paul speaks in his epistles to Timothy and the Philippians, and who were known by the name of deacons in the primitive Christian churches. They think, that the seven in the Acts were extraordinary ministers or assistants, chosen for a particular occasion, the like to which were not continued in the church. This opinion has been learnedly asserted by Vitringa de Synagog. Vet. l. 3. p. 2. cap. v. p. 920—934.

sisting, it is likely, for the most part, of persons of mean condition. But there were likewise among them men of learning, wealth, and power.

By these means, and upon this foundation, was raised the church of Christ, which still subsists, and against which, according to his express assurance, no adverse power shall ever prevail. Matth. xvi. 16.

This is the substance of the history of the New Testament, which being well known needs not, I presume, to be drawn out here into a greater length. Of these several things I propose to collect the evidence, which there may be in ancient writers; whether Christians, or others.

I begin with testimonies of Christian writers, which will be placed in the following order.

I. Their testimonies concerning the antiquity, genuineness, and authority of the books of the New Testament, in which is contained this history.

II. Their testimonies concerning the facts, properly so called; the birth, miracles, death, resurrection of Jesus Christ; the mission of the apostles, their miracles, and success.

III. The doctrine and principles of belief and practice, delivered and taught by Christ and his apostles.

IV. The worship appointed by Christ and his apostles.

Which two last are to be considered as facts; that is, that those principles were delivered, and that worship here spoken of was appointed, by Christ, and his apostles.

All which testimonies to these several matters of fact may be confirmed, I believe, by some considerations, which will add weight to them, and very much increase their credibility.

And if it should be needful, some objections to the validity of this evidence may be stated and considered.

I now proceed to exhibit in the first place the testimonies of Christian writers concerning the books of the New Testament.

The Reigns of the Roman Emperors during the first Two Centuries of the Christian Æra.

			A. D.
Augustus having reigned from the death of Julius Cæsar 57 years and some months, and from the defeat of Mark Antony at Actium, 44 years, died...		Aug. 19,	14
Tiberius began his reign		Aug. 19,	14
Caius Caligula		Mar. 16,	37
Claudius		Jan. 24,	41
Nero		Oct. 13,	54
Nero died		June 9,	68
Galba, Otho, Vitellius reigned from June 9, 68 to Dec. 21		Jan. 15 to Apr. 16	69
Vespasian began his reign		July 1,	69
Titus		June 24,	79
Domitian		Sept. 13,	81
Nerva		Sept. 18,	96
Trajan		Jan. 27,	98
Adrian		Aug. 10,	117
Antoninus Pius		July 10,	138
M. Antoninus the Philosopher		Mar. 7,	161
Commodus		Mar. 17,	180
Helvius Pertinax		Dec. 31,	192
Didius Julianus		Mar. 28,	193
Septimius Severus		Apr. 13,	193
Severus reigned to		Feb. 4,	211

THE

PRINCIPAL FACTS

OF THE

NEW TESTAMENT

CONFIRMED, &c.

PART II. CHAP. I.

ST. BARNABAS. HIS HISTORY.

BARNABAS was a Levite, of the country of Cyprus, and one of those Christians, who soon after the resurrection of Jesus sold their goods and lands, and brought the money, and "laid it at the apostles' feet." Acts iv. 36, 37. He afterwards preached the gospel in divers parts, together with the apostle Paul. Acts xv. 36. But upon a dissension about the person that should accompany them in a journey they were undertaking, they separated from each other: though, it is likely, in friendship: or at least they were afterwards reconciled, as may be concluded from the honourable and affectionate mention which St. Paul makes of Barnabas,[a] and Mark,[b] the person about whom the dispute was, in some of his epistles. And Barnabas has this testimony given him by[c] St. Luke, that he "was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, and of faith." There is little known of him, besides what is said in the New Testament; except that some of the ancients have supposed him to be one of Christ's seventy disciples, whom he employed in preaching in the land of Judea, in his own life-time on earth.

There is still extant an epistle, ascribed to St. Barnabas. It consists of two parts. The first is an exhortation and argument to constancy in the belief and profession of the Christian doctrine; particularly, the simplicity of it, without the rites of the Jewish law. The second part contains moral instructions.

In order to judge of the antiquity and authority of this piece, and the value of the testimonies to be taken from it; I shall give some account of it from the most ancient Christian writers. The same method will be observed with regard to other writings, which I now take with this epistle, the first piece quoted by me.

St. Clement of Alexandria has often quoted him, and sometimes calls him apostle. 'Rightly[d] therefore says the apostle Barnabas. I need[e] only allege the apostolical Barnabas, one of the seventy, and fellow-worker with Paul.' These quotations are from the first part of this epistle. He has also quoted a passage[f] found in the last chapter of this epistle, which assures us, that the second part, containing the moral instructions, was supposed to be his, as well as the former.

Origen, in his answer to[g] Celsus, quotes it with the title of 'The Catholic Epistle of Barnabas.' In another work[h] he has quoted from him a passage now found in the second part of this epistle, as the former was from the first part of it.

[a] 1 Cor. ix. 6. [b] Col. iv. 10. 2 Tim. iv. 11. Philem. 24. [c] Acts xi. 24.
[d] Strom. l. 2. p. 373. Paris, 1629. [e] Ibid. p. 410. [f] p. 396. [g] Lib. 1. p. 49. Cantab. 1677.
[h] De Princip. l. 3. c. 2.

Eusebius[a] says, 'That Clement [of Alexandria] in his Institutions [a book now lost] has written short commentaries upon the books of scripture, not omitting those that are contradicted: I mean the epistle of Jude, and the other Catholic epistles, and that of Barnabas, and the Revelation of Peter.' In another[b] place Eusebius reckons this epistle among those books that are spurious, meaning, it is likely, contradicted.

St. Jerom, in his catalogue of illustrious[c] men, says; 'Barnabas of Cyprus, called Joseph, a Levite, ordained an apostle of the Gentiles with Paul, wrote an epistle for the edification of the church, which is read among the apocryphal scriptures.'

These testimonies, without adding any more, let us see the opinions of the ancients concerning this epistle; the passages cited by them being still found in that epistle, which we now have under the name of Barnabas.

The judgments of the[d] moderns are various. Pearson, Cave, Du Pin, Wake, and many other learned men, suppose it to be a genuine epistle of Barnabas, the companion of Paul. Some are more doubtful, as[e] Cotelerius: who is rather inclined to think, it was not written by Barnabas. Others think, there are many things in it unworthy of him. The objections against the genuineness of it are strongly urged by[f] Basnage. And the late Mr. Jeremiah Jones[g] has offered in our own language many objections to the same purpose. But the real difficulties may be reduced to a small number.

The epistle has no inscription, not being directed to the Christians of any particular place: for which reason it has been sometimes called a Catholic epistle. Many learned men have supposed, as[h] Wake does, that it was addressed to the Jews, 'to draw them off from the letter of the law to a spiritual understanding of it.'

It appears to me most probable, that this epistle was written by Barnabas, and not to Jews, but to Gentiles: or perhaps rather to Christians in general, of whatever nation or people they were. The design of the epistle I think likewise to be the same with that, which is the main design of St. Paul in the epistle to the Galatians, and in part in other epistles; to abate in Christians the respect for the peculiar rites and institutions of the Jewish laws, and to shew, that they were not binding upon Christians: which design may be also observed in the first epistle of St. Peter.

It seems evident from a passage of the epistle itself, that the temple of Jerusalem was destroyed at the time of writing it. 'For,' says[i] he, 'through their waging war it has been destroyed by their enemies.' In another place the author writes: 'Consider[k] yet this also; that [or since] ye have seen so great signs and prodigies in the people of the Jews, and thus God forsakes them.' From both which passages I conclude, that the temple was but just destroyed: and that the signs and prodigies preceding and attending the destruction of Jerusalem had happened in the time of the persons to whom he writes: forasmuch as they had seen them. And since God was now only forsaking them, this epistle was written, whilst the Jewish people were under great afflictions; between the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the reduction of the remaining cities of Judea, of which[l] Josephus has given an account, after the taking and burning of the temple. So that, whether this epistle be Barnabas's, or not, it was written by some zealous Christian of that[m] time. And he thought fit, I suppose, to improve that opportunity for abating the extreme veneration for the Jewish law, which was so prejudicial to true Christianity.

Any one who reads this epistle, with but a small degree of attention, will perceive in it many Pauline phrases and reasonings. To give the character of the author of it in one word: he resembles St. Paul, as his fellow-labourer, without copying him.

I shall quote it as being probably Barnabas's, and certainly ancient, written soon after the

[a] Hist. Ec. l. 6. c. 14. vid. & c. 13. [b] Ibid. l. 3. c. 25. [c] Cap. 6. [d] The sentiments of many moderns concerning this epistle are collected by Mr. J. Jones: New and full method of settling the canonical authority of the New Testament. vol. 2. c. 38. [e] Eo magis inclino, ut censeam non esse apostoli. Coteler. Judicium de Epist. S. Barnab. [f] Ann. Pol. Eccles. A. D. 50. n. 52. & seq. [g] As above, p. 39. [h] See his Discourse prefixed to the Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers. Chap. vii. [i] Δια γαρ το πολεμειν αυτες, ... εχθρων. c. 16. [k] Adhuc & illud intelligite, cum videritis tanta signa & monstra in populo Judæorum, & sic illos derelinquit dominus, cap. iv. The late archbishop of Canterbury translates it thus: 'Consider this also: although you have seen so great signs and wonders done among the people of the Jews, yet this notwithstanding the Lord has forsaken them.' But I humbly apprehend, that his lordship has misinterpreted this passage, the verb *derelinquit* being in the present tense. [l] Vid. Jos. de B. J. l. vii. c. 6. & seq. [m] Dr. Mill, Prolegom. n. 144. says it was written about the year 70. and A. B. Wake, somewhat after the destruction of Jerusalem.

destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; most likely in the year of our Lord 71, or 72. And, as it is not a part of the canon of the New Testament, I have a right to make the best use of it I am able for supporting the authority of these books, and the credit of the doctrine and facts delivered in them. We may be obliged, before we have done, to consider, what pretensions this epistle has to be a part of the canon of the New Testament: but there is no necessity for us to enter into that inquiry at present; and it may be done to better advantage hereafter.

This epistle was written in Greek. But the four first chapters or sections, and a part of the fifth, are wanting in the Greek copies. It is however entire in an ancient Latin version.

In the epistle of Barnabas there is not any express mention of any book of the New Testament.

But there is in it a text or two of the New Testament, with a mark of quotation prefixed: and the words of several other texts are applied by him; and to some others he may be supposed to allude.

QUOTATIONS.

New Testament.	Barnabas.
I. Matth. xvi. 24. "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me."	I. Ch. vii. 'So[a] they, saith he, who will see me, and obtain my kingdom, must receive me with many afflictions and sufferings.'

This is plainly a quotation, though perhaps not designed for an exact quotation of the words of any text, but only of the sense. It is impossible to say, what particular text of the New Testament he refers to: but it is probable he refers to some such as that I have set over against this passage. This seems to me more likely than the words of Paul and Barnabas, Acts xiv. 22. "And that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God." See below n. xxii.

N. T.	Barnabas.
II. Matth. xx. 16. "So[b] the last shall be first, and the first last: for many be called, but few chosen." Ch. xxii. 14. "For many are called, but few are chosen."	II. Ch. iv. Let us[c] therefore beware, lest it should happen to us, as it is written: "There are many called, few chosen."

This is generally allowed by learned men to be a reference to St. Matthew's Gospel. And it is a very remarkable one, being made in that form of quotation, which was used by the Jews, when they cited their sacred books: "It is written."

We meet with in this epistle the exact words of several texts, without any marks of quotation: and there may be thought to be allusions to some others.

Words of the New Testament, or allusions to them.

N. T.	Barnabas.
III. Matth. v. 42. "Give[d] to him that asketh thee." Luke vi. 30. "Give to[e] every one that asketh thee."	III. Ch. xix. 'Give[g] to every one that asketh thee.'
IV. Matth. ix. 13. "For[f] I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance."	IV. Ch. v. 'That[h] he might shew, that "he came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance."

In St. Matthew's gospel, these words are spoken by Christ in answer to the reflections made on his eating with publicans and sinners at Matthew's house, after he had called him to follow him, as one of his apostles. And Barnabas says here, 'That Christ chose for his

[a] Οὑτω φησιν, οἱ θελόντες με ἰδειν, και ἁψασθαι μου της βασιλειας, ὀφειλουσι θλιβεντες και παθοντες λαβειν με.

[b] Πολλοι γαρ εισι κλητοι, ὀλιγοι δε εκλεκτοι.

[c] Adtendamus ergo, ne forte, sicut scriptum est, multi vocati, pauci electi inveniamur.

[d] Τῳ αιτουντι σε δίδου.

[e] Παντι δε τῳ αιτουντι σε δίδου.

[f] Ου γαρ ηλθον καλεσαι δικαιους, αλλ' ἁμαρτωλους εις μετανοιαν.

[g] Παντι αιτουντι δε δίδου.

[h] Ὁτι ουκ ηλθε καλεσαι δικαιους, αλλ' ἁμαρτωλους εις μετανοιαν.

apostles, who were to preach his gospel, men who were great sinners, that he 'might shew that he came not to call, &c.'

It ought to be observed however, that the same thing is said, Mark ii. 17, and Luke v. 32, and upon the same occasion. This therefore renders it doubtful, which gospel he refers to: and it may be questioned, whether he refers at all to any written gospel.

N. T.	Barnabas.
V. Matth. xxii. 43, 44. "He saith unto them, how then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying: The Lord said to my Lord, sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." See Psalm cx. 1.	V. Ch. xii. 'But because they would say, that Christ is the son of David, therefore fearing and knowing the error of sinful men, he says: "Sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool."—Behold how David calls him Lord.'
VI. Matth. xxiv. 22. "And except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved: but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened."	VI. Ch. iv. 'For this cause the Lord has shortened the times and days, that his beloved might hasten his coming to his inheritance.'

These two last[a] passages I have put down, that it might not be thought I had overlooked them: but I do not think them very material. Barnabas, or whoever wrote this epistle, was able to make use of divers arguments from the Old Testament, found now in the gospels, without having his eye to any written gospel.

N. T.	Barnabas.
VII. Matth. xxv. 5. "While the bridegroom tarried, they all slumbered and slept, 6. And at midnight there was a cry made: The bridegroom cometh—10. And while they went to buy, the bridegroom came, and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage, and the door was shut."	VII. Ch. iv. 'Take heed, lest at any time sitting still now that we are called, we fall asleep in our sins, and the wicked one getting power over us, stir us up, and shut us out of the kingdom of the Lord.'

It is not unlikely, that here is an allusion to the parable of the ten virgins. But we have here the only old Latin translation of this epistle: for which reason this passage appears with disadvantage.

N. T.	Barnabas.
VIII. Matth. xxvi. 31. "For it is written [viz. Zech. xiii. 7.] I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad."	VIII. Ch. v. 'When I shall smite the shepherd, then the sheep of the flock shall be scattered[b] abroad.'
IX. Acts x. 42. "That it is he which was ordained of God to be the judge of quick and dead." 2 Tim. iv. 1. "I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who[d] shall judge the quick and the dead." 1. Pet. iv. 5. "Who shall give account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead."	IX. Ch. vii. 'If therefore the Son of God, who is the Lord of all, and[c] "shall judge the quick and the dead," hath suffered,——

It is not possible to say, what text he refers to, though that in Timothy has the same words. But perhaps there is no proof that he refers to any. This was an article well known to every common Christian, whereas this writer (whoever he be) was able to teach the Christian religion, and that without respect to any written gospels or epistles.

N. T.	Barnabas.
X. Rom. ix. 10, 11, 12, "And not only this, but when Rebekah had conceived by one, even by our father Isaac (for the children not	X. Ch. xiii. Barnabas argues, that the followers of Jesus are the people of God. 'But let us inquire, says he, whether this people be

[a] See Jones's New and Full Method, &c. Part III. p 21, 21. He argues to prove, that in these two places Barnabas refers to St. Matthew's gospel. [b] See Jones, as before, p. 22, 23. [c] Και μελλοντος κρινειν ζωντας και νεκρους. [d] Τω μελλοντος κρινειν ζωντας και νεκρους.

N. T.

being yet born—) it was said unto her, The elder shall serve the younger."

Rom. iv. 3. "For what saith the scripture? Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness, V. 16. Therefore it is of faith——to the end, that the promise might be sure to all the seed, not to that only which is of the law, but to that also which is of the faith of Abraham, who is the father of us all (as it is written, I have made thee a father of many nations.)" &c.

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the heir, or the former: and whether the covenant belong to us, or to them. Hear then concerning the people, what the scripture says: Isaac prayed for his wife Rebekah, because she was barren, and she conceived. Afterwards Rebekah went forth to inquire of the Lord. And the Lord said unto her: "There are two nations in thy womb, and two people shall come from thy body. And the one people shall prevail over the other people; and the elder son shall serve the younger." [Gen. xxv. 23.] You ought to consider, who is Isaac, and who Rebekah; and of whom it was declared, that this people should be greater than that.——You see of whom he appointed it, to be this first people, and heir of the covenant.' Afterwards in the same chapter: 'What then saith he to Abraham, when upon believing he was placed in righteousness? Behold, "I have made thee a father of many nations," which without circumcision believe in the Lord.' Gen. xvii. 4, 5.

St. Paul's argument, Gal. iv. 22—31, might be compared with these arguments of Barnabas, especially the former of them. But I do not suppose these passages contain a reference to any of St. Paul's epistles, though they greatly illustrate them.

N. T.

XI. Rom. xi. 36. "For of him, and[a] through him, and to him, are all things."

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XI. Ch. xii. Barnabas having spoken of the directions given by Moses to the Israelites in the wilderness, to look to the brazen serpent, says: 'You[b] have in this also the glory of Jesus; forasmuch as in him are all things, and to him.'—

But though here are words resembling those of St. Paul, Rom. xi. there is no reason to think Barnabas has any respect to them. They are used by him in a different sense, and on another account.

N. T.

XII. 1 Cor. iii. 16. "Know ye not, that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?"

XIII. 1 Cor. xi. 20. "When[c] ye come together into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's supper."

XIV. 2 Cor. v. 17. "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new."

1 Pet. ii. 5. "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house."

XV. Eph. v. 16, 17. "Redeeming the time, because the days are evil. Wherefore be ye not unwise, but understanding, what the

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XII. Ch. vi. 'For, my brethren, the habitation of our heart is an holy temple to the Lord.'

XIII. Ch. iv. 'But[d] coming together into one place, inquire what is fitting and profitable for the beloved in common.'

XIV. Ch. xvi. 'Having received the remission of our sins, and trusting in the name of the Lord, we are made new, again created afresh: therefore God truly dwells in our house, that is, in us.—This is the spiritual temple built unto the Lord.'

XV. Ch. ii. 'Seeing then the days are exceeding evil, and the adversary has the power of this present world; we ought to give

[a] Ὁτι ἐξ αυτου, και δι αυτου, και εις αυτον τα παντα.
[b] Ὁτι εν αυτῳ τα παντα, και εις αυτον.
[c] Συνερχομενων ὑμων επι το αυτο, κ. λ.
[d] Sed in unum convenientes, inquirite.

N. T.

mind of the Lord is." And Eph. ii. 2, "The prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience."

XVI. Philip. iv. 5. "The Lord[a] is at hand."

2 Pet. iii. 10. "The earth also, and the works that are therein shall be burnt up.

Rev. xxii. 12. "Behold, I come quickly, and my reward is with me."

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diligent heed, to inquire into the righteous judgments of the Lord.

XVI. Ch. xxi. 'The day is[b] near, in which all things shall be destroyed, together with the wicked one. The Lord is near, and his reward.'

Some may apprehend, that there is here a reference to some text, or texts, of the New Testament. But I think by no means. If he alludes to any text of scripture, it is to Isa. xl. 10 "His reward is with him, and his work before him:" or lxii. 11. "Behold, thy salvation cometh: behold, his reward is with him, and his work before him:" as Menard has observed upon this place of Barnabas.

N. T.

XVII. 2 Tim. i. 10. "But is now made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who has abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light through the gospel."

Rom. xv. 8. "Jesus Christ was a minister of the circumcision, for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the fathers."

XVIII. Heb. iii. 5. "And[c] Moses verily was faithful in all his house, as a servant.—— 6. But Christ, as a son, over his own house, whose house are we."

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XVII. Ch. v. 'But he, that he might abolish death, and make manifest a resurrection from the dead, because it behoved him to appear in the flesh, suffered, that he might perform the promise made unto the fathers.'

XVIII. Ch. xiv. 'Barnabas having observed, that Moses received from God the two tables of the commandments, written by the finger of God, but the people being fallen to idolatry, he cast them to the ground, and the tables of the covenant were broken, goes on.——"Moses[d] being a servant received them [or it, meaning the covenant, or testament.] But the Lord himself has given them to us, the people of his inheritance, he having suffered for us."

There does not appear to me any the least reason to suppose, that Barnabas has here any respect to the epistle to the Hebrews. He often argues like the author of that epistle, without borrowing from him.

N. T.

XIX. Heb. x. 25. "Not[e] forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is."

XX. 1 Pet. i. 17. "And if ye call on the Father, who without respect of persons, judges according to every man's work, pass the time of your sojourning here in fear."

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XIX. Ch. iv. 'Do[f] not withdraw yourselves from others, like justified men.'

XX. Ch. iv. 'As much as in us lies, let us meditate on the fear of God, and strive to keep his commandments, that we may rejoice in his judgments. For the Lord judges the world without respect of persons, and every one shall receive according to what he does.'

That I have put down the most[g] material passages of Barnabas, which may be supposed to

[a] Ὁ Κυριος εγγυς. [b] Εγγυς γαρ ἡμερα, εν ᾗ συναπολειται παντα τῳ πονηρῳ, Εγγυς ὁ κυριος, και ὁ μισθος αυτȣ.

[c] Και Μωσης μεν πιστος—ὡς θεραπων.—Χριστος δε, ὡς υἱος επι τον οικον αυτȣ, οὗ οικος εσμεν ἡμεις. [d] Μωσης θεραπων ὢν ελαβεν—αυτος δε ὁ Κυριος ἡμιν εδωκεν, εις λαον [illegible]ς, δια ἡμας ὑπομεινας. [e] Μη εγκαταλει[illegible]πισυναγωγην, καθως εθος τισιν. [f] Non sepa[illegible]is seducere vos tanquam justificati.

[illegible] at Ch. vii. This writer says of the Jews, that they shall say; 'Is not this he whom we crucified, having despised him, pierced him, and mocked him?' Where he seems to apply the words of Zech. xii. 10, which are also applied John, ch. xix. 37. Mr. Jones, vol. III. p. 144, hence concludes, that he used St. John's gospel. But I am not convinced by his arguments, the force of which depends very much upon his supposition, that this writer was originally a Gentile and not a Jew. For though the circumstance of our Saviour's being pierced at his crucifixion be

contain allusions to the books of the New Testament, that every one may be able to judge for himself. But excepting some of the first numbers, I do not allege them as express quotations or allusions. In most of these places, Barnabas does not appear an imitator, or copier of others, but an original author, who had in his mind the same doctrine with Paul, and the other apostles. This is the idea I have formed of this epistle, from a frequent perusal of it. And some learned men have been [a] of much the same opinion.

It is probable, that at the writing of this epistle he had read St. Matthew; and that he refers to him in numbers I. II. III. IV. and perhaps at VI. and VII. But it cannot be thought strange, that a man who was contemporary with the apostles, and had the same spirit, and the like gifts with them, if he was not an apostle himself, should often speak and reason and argue like them, without quoting their writings, or referring to them.

XXI. Before we quite leave this epistle, we must take notice of a singular passage in it.

Ch. iv. 'As [b] the Son of God says: "Let us resist all iniquity, and hate it."

Menard upon the place says: This sentence we have in none of the gospels, but he had heard it from Christ, or some one of his disciples. It is like that passage of St. Paul, Acts xx. 35, "And to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said; It is more blessed to give than to receive."

XXII. And this passage may lead us to one observation more; that I do not in this epistle perceive any quotations or references to Apocryphal gospels. Nor do I at present recollect, that the learned men, who have so diligently collected the passages of those gospels, have suspected any quotations of them in this epistle, beside this last mentioned passage, and that at number I. And I think it without reason, that they have suspected these: it being no uncommon thing for writers to report the sense of a text or saying, without representing their very words. Or, as the same Menard upon that place says: 'He [c] there alleges not any one particular text of the gospel, but expresses the sense of many of Christ's sayings, concerning 'the necessity of enduring tribulations for the sake of eternal life: as "strait is the gate: He 'that will come after me"——and the like, which occur frequently in the gospels.'

CHAP. II.

ST. CLEMENT. HIS HISTORY.

THE next piece, which I am to quote, is the epistle of Clement, bishop of Rome, to the church of Corinth: whom ancient writers, without any doubt or scruple, relate to have been the same Clement, whom St. Paul mentions among his "fellow-labourers, whose names are in the book of life." Philip. iv. 3. The epistle is written in the name of the whole church of Rome to the church of Corinth. And therefore it is called at one time the epistle of Clement, and at another the epistle of the Romans, to the Corinthians. The main design of it is to compose some dissensions, which there were in the church of Corinth about their spiritual guides and governors. Which dissensions seem to have been raised by a few turbulent and selfish men among them. Upon this occasion Clement recommends not only concord and harmony, but love in general, humility, and all the virtues of a good life, and divers of the great articles and principles of religion. The [d] style is clear and simple. It is called by the ancients an excellent,

related only by St. John, v. 34, it never was a secret, but was all along well known to the Christians of that time, before John wrote this gospel. It is most manifest, (as will appear hereafter) that this writer was a perfect master of our Lord's history, and I believe, learned men in general are satisfied, he was better acquainted with the Old Testament than Mr. Jones supposed. Besides that, 'whom they have pierced,' may have been at that time the reading of the seventy, as well as the Hebrew. See R. Simon. Hist. Critique du text du N.T. ch. xx. p. 242, 243.

[a] ——per omnia orthodoxus, & Apostolorum, præsertim S^ti. Pauli, vestigiis insistens; ut si non laborum & itinerum, saltem dogmatum participem ubique agnoscamus. Ad calcem J. Armachani de Barnabæ epist. præmonitionis. ap. Cotel. p. 13. Ed. Amst. 1698.

[b] C. 4. Sicut dicit filius Dei: resistamus omni iniquitati, et odio habeamus eam.

[c] Sic inquit, nempe Jesus. Non profertur hic certus aliquis Evangelii locus, sed sensus multorum Christi dictorum, de tribulationibus perferendis ab eis qui sunt æternæ vitæ studiosi: ut, Arcta via est, quæ ducit ad vitam; Qui vult venire post me, &c. et similia, quæ passim in Evangelio reperire est. Menard. ad cap. vii. See likewise Jones, as before, vol. i. p. 518, 519.

[d] Ἁπλῶς δὲ καὶ φράσιν καὶ ἐγγὺς τῶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶ καὶ ἀπεριεργῶ χαρακτῆρος. Phot. Cod. 126.

an useful, a great and admirable [a] epistle. And the epistle still in our hands deserves all these commendations: though not entire, there being some pages wanting in the manuscript of it: and though we have but one ancient manuscript of it remaining. For which reason it cannot be altogether so correct, as if we had a number of copies to compare together.

It being of considerable importance in these most early writings, to settle their true age; somewhat must be observed concerning the time, when this epistle was written.

The succession of the first bishops of Rome lies at present in some uncertainty and obscurity. Bishop [b] Pearson supposes, that Clement was bishop of Rome from the year of our Lord 69, or 70, to the year 83, the second of Domitian: [c] Pagi, that Clement succeeded Linus in 61, and sat in the see of Rome till 77, when he abdicated, and died long after a martyr in the year 100. Those learned men, who place the bishoprick of Clement so early, or that suppose he might write this epistle before he was bishop, (as Dodwell,) usually place it before the destruction of Jerusalem. The archbishop of Canterbury [d] concludes, that this epistle was written shortly after the end of the persecution under Nero, between the 64 and the 70 year of Christ. Le Clerc [e] places it in the year 69, and Dodwell [f] in 64. Du Pin, Tillemont, and others [g] think, he was not bishop till the year 91, or 93. This is the more common opinion, and is agreeable to the sentiments of Irenæus, Eusebius, and others, the most ancient Christian writers.

I shall observe some notes of time in the epistle itself, and then the testimonies of the ancients.

First, Of notes of time in the epistle itself. The Romans begin with saying, that 'the 'calamities and afflictions, which had befallen them, had somewhat retarded their answering 'the Corinthians to those things they had required of them.' This letter therefore was written soon after some persecution, or at the conclusion of it; either the persecution of Nero about 64, or that of Domitian in 94, or 95, the next persecutor of the church. But that it was written after the latter, and not so soon as that of Nero, may be argued from divers passages. In the 44th ch. Clement seems to intimate, that there had then been some successions in the church, since those appointed by the apostles: for he says, 'Wherefore we cannot 'think, that those may be justly thrown out of their ministry, who were either appointed by 'them, [the apostles] or afterwards chosen by other eminent men, with the consent of the 'whole church.'——and 'have been [h] for a long time commended by all.' In the 47th chapter he bids the Corinthians take into their hands the epistle of Paul, written to them 'in the [i] beginning of the 'gospel:' and in the same chapter he calls the church of Corinth an [k] 'ancient church.' I know indeed, that learned men, who are for the more early date of this epistle, endeavour to evade the force of the argument taken from these two last expressions: but I think, it cannot be done without some violence to them.

There is indeed a passage in the 41st chapter, from whence it is argued, that the temple at Jerusalem must have been standing, when Clement wrote; because he speaks in the present tense concerning the sacrifices of the Mosaic law: 'That [l] the sacrifices are not offered every 'where, but only at Jerusalem.' But I am surprised, so many learned men should have insisted on this argument. Josephus, in his Antiquities, not finished before the year 93, continually speaks in the present tense, when he gives an account of the several kinds of sacrifices appointed by the law. 'A private [m] person, says he, when he brings a whole burnt-offering, 'sacrificeth an ox, and a lamb, and a kid. When these are slain, the priests pour out the 'blood round about the altar. Then having washed them, they divide the members, and hav-

[a] Photius commends the epistle in the main. But still he says, 'There are in it several things liable to censure. One 'is, that the writer, though he calls our Lord our high-priest 'and patron, gives him none of the higher and more divine 'titles. However he does not any where openly blaspheme him.' Αιτιασαιτο δ' αν τις εν ταυταις—ὁτι αρχιερεα και προστατην τον κυριον ἡμων Ιησουν Χριστον εξονομαζων, ουδε τας θεοπρεπεις και ὑψηλοτερας αφηκε περι αυτου φωνας. Ου μην ουδ' απαρακαλυπτως αυτον ουδαμη εν τουτοις βλασφημει. Cod. 126. p. 306. That is, in modern language, it is a Socinian epistle. So, upon many occasions, Photius is apt to censure ancient writers, who come not up to the orthodoxy of his time.

[b] Opera Post. p. 172. [c] Crit. A. D. 100. N. 2.

[d] See his discourse prefixed to the genuine epistles of the apostolical fathers, p. 12. [e] Hist. Ec. A. D. 69. N. vi. [f] Disserta. sing. de Rom. Pont. success. c. xi. p 153. [g] Vid. Cotelerii judicium de priore S. Clem. Ep. apud Patres Ap. T. i. p. 141. Of this opinion was Dr. Cave, when he wrote his Apostolici, vid. Life of St. Clement, sect. iv. but altered it afterwards. Vid. Hist. Lit. Clemens.

[h] Μεμαρτυρημενης τε πολλοις χρονοις ὑπο παντων. [i] Εν αρχῃ του ευαγγελιου εγραψεν.

[k] Αρχαιαν Κορινθιων εκκλησιαν. [l] Ου πανταχου προσφερονται θυσιαι, κ. λ. [m] Ανηρ ἰδιωτης ὁλοκαυτων θυει μεν βουν, και αρνιον, και εριφον—σφαγεντων δε των, τον κυκλον του αἱματος χευουσι του βωμου οἱ ἱερεις. ειτα καθαροποιησαντες διαμελιζουσι, και πασαντες ἁλσιν επι τον βωμον αναλυουσι, κ. λ. Antiq. l. iii. c. 9. sect. 1. vid. & sect. 2, 3.

'ing sprinkled them with salt, lay them on the altar, &c.' By which all men will understand no more, than that this was the appointment of the law: and that when sacrifices were brought this was the way of offering them. And, as Cotelerius [a] observes, the same style may be used concerning the same matter to this very day.

In the next place, I shall put down some ancient testimonies concerning this epistle, not barely to ascertain the time of it, but also to represent the value of it, and its occasion, design and argument.

Irenæus says, 'When [b] the blessed apostles [Peter and Paul] had founded and established 'the church, [at Rome] they delivered the office of the bishoprick in it to Linus. Of this 'Linus Paul makes mention in his epistles to Timothy. [2 Tim. iv. 21.] To him succeeded 'Anencletus. After whom, in the third place after the apostles, Clement obtained that 'bishoprick, who had seen the blessed apostles, and conversed with them; who had the 'preaching of the apostles still sounding in his ears, and their traditions before his eyes. Nor 'he alone, for there were then still many alive, who had [c] been taught by the apostles. In the 'time therefore of this Clement, when there was no small dissension among the brethren at 'Corinth, the church at Rome sent a most excellent letter to the Corinthians, persuading them 'to peace among themselves, &c.'

Thus Irenæus makes Clement the third in succession after the apostles. In like manner Eusebius. 'In [d] the second of whose reign [that is, of Titus, and according to Eusebius's 'account, A. D. 79.] Linus bishop of the church of the Romans, when he had governed it 'twelve years, delivered it to Anencletus.——In [e] the twelfth year of his reign, Domitian's, 'A. D. 92.] Anencletus having been bishop of the church of Rome twelve years, was suc-'ceeded by Clement, whom the apostle mentions in his epistle to the Philippians, Ch. iv. 3.' Again, 'Of this [f] Clement there is one epistle acknowledged by all, a great and admirable epistle, 'which as from the church of Rome he wrote to the Corinthians, on occasion of a dissension 'that there was then at Corinth. And we know that this epistle has been formerly, and is 'still publicly read in many churches. Farthermore, Hegesippus is a sufficient witness of the 'dissension which there was at Corinth in the time of Clement.' In another place: "At [g] the 'same time [beginning of Trajan's reign] Clement still governed the church of Rome, who 'was the third in that succession, after Paul and Peter. For Linus was the first, and after him 'Anencletus.' And he [h] afterwards says that Clement died in the third year of Trajan, [that is, A. D. 100] having been bishop nine years. Farther: [i] —— 'And the epistle of Clement 'acknowledged by all, which he wrote to the Corinthians, in the name of the church of Rome. 'In [k] which inserting many sentiments of the epistle to the Hebrews, and also using some 'of the very words of it, he plainly manifests that epistle [to the Hebrews] to be no 'modern piece. And hence it has been not without reason reckoned among the other writings 'of the apostle. For Paul having written to the Hebrews in their own tongue, some think 'the evangelist Luke, others, that this very Clement translated it [into Greek:] which last is 'the most likely, since there is a great resemblance between the style of the epistle of Clement 'and the epistle to the Hebrews; as well as between the sentiments of those writings. It 'ought to be observed, that there is another epistle said to be Clement's: but this is not so 'generally received as the former; nor do we know the ancients to have quoted it. There 'have been also published not long since other large and prolix writings in his name, contain-'ing dialogues of Peter and Apion: of which there is not the least mention made by the 'ancients. Nor have they the pure apostolical doctrine.' To add but one place more; speaking of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, about 170. Eusebius observes from his epistle to the church of Rome addressed to Soter their bishop at that time: 'That [l] in his epistle Dionysius 'makes mention also of the epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, testifying, that it had been

[a] Sed Clemens, inquiunt viri doctissimi, meminit, Cap. 41. oblationum in templo. Quidni meminisset? cum nunc quoque, tot elapsis seculis, par mentio idemque sermo haberi queat; quemadmodum legenti patebit. Judicium de priore Ep. Clement. ubi supra. p. 141. [b] Con. Hær. l. iii. c. 3. et apud Euseb. H. E. l. v. c. 6.

[c] It is plain from these several observations of Irenæus, that he had not the least supicion this epistle was written before the destruction of Jerusalem; but when all or most of the apostles had been for some time dead. Nor would it have been worth observing, that in the year 70, there were many living, beside Clement, who had been taught by the apostles; at which time it would be strange, not to suppose a great part of them still alive. [d] Eus. H. E. l. iii. c. 13.

[e] Eus. H. E. l. 3. c. 15. [f] Ibid. c. 16. [g] Ib. c. 21. [h] Ib. c. 22. [i] Eus. H. E. l. iii. c. 34. [k] Εν η της προς Ἑβραιους πολλα νοημαλα παραλειξ, ηδη δε και αυτολεξει ῥητοις τισιν εξ αυτης χρησαμενος, κ. λ. [l] Euseb. H. E. l. 4. c. 23. p. 145. B. C.

'wont to be read there in the church from ancient time, saying, To-day we have kept the holy 'Lord's-day in which we read your epistle: which we shall continually read for our instruc- 'tion, as well as the former written to us by Clement.'

With Eusebius, St. Jerom (though a Latin) agrees, in his book [a] of Illustrious Men: 'Cle- 'ment, of whom the apostle Paul writes in his epistle to the Philippians [Ch. iv. 3.] the [b] 'fourth bishop of Rome after Peter, for as much as Linus was the second, Anacletus the third '(though most of the Latins think Clement to have been the second after the apostle Peter,) 'wrote a very useful epistle in the name of the church of Rome to the church of Corinth, 'which in some places is read publicly.' He goes on to observe, as Eusebius had done before, its agreement with the epistle to the Hebrews. And then adds: 'There is also a second 'epistle with his name, but it is rejected by the ancients, and a long dialogue of Peter and 'Apion, which Eusebius has censured in the third book of his Ecclesiastical History. He died 'in the third year of Trajan:' that is, A. D. 100.

All these testimonies agree together, and they are the most valuable we can have. It was indeed the more common opinion of the Latins, as Jerom owns, that Clement was next after Peter, but he does not follow them. And we find [c] Tertullian, the most ancient Latin father remaining, though not so ancient as Irenæus, saying that Clement was ordained by Peter. To which, I think, it may be a sufficient answer to say, that Tertullian might be mistaken in this; and that the testimony of Irenæus, confirmed by Eusebius, is much more valuable than his. But if it be needful to reconcile Tertullian with others, this also may be done. For it may be said, that though Clement was ordained by Peter; it was not to the bishoprick of Rome, or any other office in that church, but to some service of the gospel elsewhere. But I think, that is not agreeable to the words of Tertullian: which plainly intend an ordination in the church of Rome, either to the bishoprick of that church, or some other office in it. There is another way of reconciling this matter by saying, that Clement was ordained, or appointed by Peter, to be bishop in the church of Rome, but he declined it for some reason. Epiphanius [d] has a conjecture, that though he was ordained bishop by Peter, he declined the exercise of that charge, till after the death of Linus and Cletus: and he builds that conjecture upon a passage of Clement in this very epistle, chap. liv. 'Who is there among you that has any charity? 'Let him say, if this sedition, if this contention, be upon my account; I am ready to depart, 'I go away—only let the flock of Christ be in peace.' And thus he might have practised what he here recommends. And Epiphanius says likewise, that this is related in some writings he had seen. But though we cannot be certain of this, yet I think it best to follow those testimonies I have first produced: according to which his bishoprick of Rome must have commenced in the year 91 or 92, and the epistle was written at the latter end of the reign of Domitian, in 95, or rather 96.

As for the opinion, that this epistle was written by him, after he had resigned, and in a supposed banishment, it hardly deserves any consideration: it being plainly confuted by the epistle itself, which appears to be written from Rome in the name of the church there, after some troubles, or when they were abated. And they desire the speedy return of the three brethren, whom they sent with it to Corinth. "The messengers, say they at the end of the epistle, 'whom we have sent unto you, Claudius Ephebus, and Valerius Bito, with For- 'tunatus, send back to us again with all speed—that they may the sooner acquaint us with 'your peace and concord.'

Upon the whole, I think this epistle was written by Clement, when bishop, at the end of Domitian's persecution, in the year 96.

The passages I have quoted have sufficiently shewn, not only the age of Clement, and of this epistle, but the character of it, and also that this is the only piece of Clement that can be relied on as [e] genuine. I shall therefore be excused, if I do not quote the Constitutions, Recognitions, or any other piece, as his: no, not that which is called his second epistle: though I shall give some account of it, after I have put down my extracts out of this.

Indeed the second epistle might be shewn by many arguments not to be genuine, though some learned men have been willing to own it as such. It is expressly rejected as spurious by

[a] Cap. 15. [b] He reckons St. Peter for the first. De Præscr. c. 32. [d] Hær. 27. c. 6.
[e] Sicut Romanorum Clementem, a Petro ordinatum. [f] Vid. Phot. Cod. 112, 113. & 126.

[a] Photius. Grabe [b] has well observed, that the forementioned Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, in the second century, makes mention of but one epistle of Clement: that Clement of Alexandria and Origen, who have quoted the first, never take any notice of the second: nor yet Irenæus, who has so particularly mentioned the first, and could not well have omitted to mention the other also, if he had known any thing of it. From all which Grabe concludes with great probability, that this piece was not written before the middle of the third century.

I would only farther observe, that some have supposed, our Clement to have been of the family of the Cæsars, and to have suffered martyrdom. But both these suppositions seem to be originally owing to a confounding him with Flavius Clemens, the consul: who was a near relation of Domitian, and was also put to death by him for christianity. That Clement was no martyr, is fairly concluded from the silence of Irenæus, Tertullian, Eusebius, and others: who could not have omitted this, if there had been any ground for it.

A Book of the New Testament expressly quoted by St. Clement.

In this epistle there is but one book of the New Testament expressly named, which is the first epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians.

N. T.	Clement.
I. 1 Cor i. 12, "Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ."	I. Ch. xlvii. 'Take [c] into your hands the epistle of the blessed Paul the apostle. What did he at the first write to you in the beginning of the gospel? Verily he did by the Spirit admonish you concerning himself, and Cephas and Apollos, because that even then you did form parties.

St. Clement here quotes this epistle to the Corinthians themselves: to whom, he says, it was written by the apostle Paul. I need not observe, how strong an argument this is for the genuineness of the first epistle to the Corinthians, which we now have. And he says, Paul wrote, and admonished them by the Spirit: or, as in the original, spiritually.

Quotations and Allusions.

N. T.	Clement.
II. Jer. ix. 23, 24, "Thus saith the Lord: Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom," &c. Comp. 1 Cor. i. 31. Luke vi. 36, "Be ye therefore [d] merciful, as your Father also is merciful. v. 37, Judge not, and ye shall not be judged: condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned: forgive, and ye shall be forgiven: 38, Give, and it shall be given unto you: good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom. For with the same measure that ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again." Matth. vii. 1, "Judge not, that ye be not judged. 2. For with what judgement ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you	II. Ch. xiii. 'And let us do as it is written. For thus saith the Holy Spirit: "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom"—[e] Especially remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, which he spake, teaching gentleness and long-suffering. For thus he said: "Be ye merciful, that ye may obtain mercy: forgive, that it may be forgiven unto you. As you do, so shall it be done unto you: as you give, so shall it be given unto you: as ye judge, so shall ye be judged: as ye shew kindness, so shall kindness be shewn unto you: with what measure ye mete, with the same shall it be measured to you." By this command, and by these rules let us establish ourselves, that we may always walk obediently to his holy words.

[a] Cod. 113.

[b] Spicil. P. i. p. 266—269.

[c] Αναλαβετε την επιστολην τυ μακαριυ Παυλυ τυ αποστολυ. Τι πρωτον υμιν εν αρχη τυ ευαγγελιυ εγραψεν; επ' αληθειας πνευματικως επεστειλεν υμιν, περι αυτυ τε, και Κηφα τε, και Απολλω κ. λ.

[d] Γινεσθε ων οικτιρμονες, καθως και ὁ πατηρ ὑμων οικτιρμων εστι.——Διδοτε, και δοθησεται, ὑμιν—τῳ γαρ αυτῳ μετρῳ ᾧ μετρειτε, ανταμετρηθησεται ὑμιν.

[e] Μαλιστα μεμνημενοι των λογων τυ κυριυ Ιησυ ους ελαλησε ——Ουτως γαρ ειπεν· Ελεειτε ινα ελεηθητε, αφιετε ινα αφεθη ὑμιν· ὡς ποιειτε, ουτα ποιηθησεται ὑμιν· ὡς διδοτε, ουτω δοθησεται ὑμιν ὡς χρηστευεσθε, ουτως χρηστευθησεται ὑμιν· ᾧ μετρῳ μετρειτε, εν αυτῳ μετρηθησεται ὑμιν.

again. Ver. 12, Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.

This passage shews the great respect, which was paid to the words of Christ, [as recorded by the evangelists,] since having quoted a text of the Old Testament, as dictated by the Holy Spirit; he yet demands a still more especial regard to the words of Christ, which there follow.

N. T.

III. Matth. xxvi. 24, "But woe to that man, by whom the Son of Man is betrayed: it had been good for that man, if he had not been born.

Matth. xviii. 6, "But whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me; it were better for him that a milstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the sea.

Mark ix. 42, "And whosoever shall offend one of these little ones, that believe in me, it is better for him that a milstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea."

Luke xvii. 2. "It were better for him, that a milstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the sea, than that he should offend one of these little ones."

CLEMENT.

III. Ch. xlvi. Remember the words of the Lord Jesus. For he said: "Woe to that man [by whom offences come.] It were better for him that he had not been born, than that he should offend one of my elect. It were better for him, that a milstone should be tied about his neck, and that he should be drowned in the sea, than that he should offend one of my little ones."

I have put down on the other side the words of several evangelists, that every one may the better judge: but it is generally supposed, that the latter part of this passage refers to Luke xvii. 2.

Here is however one difficulty: and it is a difficulty, which may frequently occur, whilst we are considering these very early writers, who were conversant with the apostles, and others, who had seen and heard our Lord, and were in a manner as well acquainted with our Saviour's doctrine and history as the evangelists themselves; unless their quotations or allusions are very express and clear. The question then here is, whether Clement in these places refers to words of Christ written and recorded; or whether he reminds the Corinthians of words of Christ, which he and they might have heard from the apostles, or other eye and ear witnesses of our Lord. Le Clerc[a] in his Dissertation on the Four Gospels is of opinion, that Clement refers to written words of our Lord, which were in the hands of the Corinthians, and well known to them. On the other hand, I find, bishop Pearson[b] thought, that Clement speaks of words which he had heard from the apostles themselves, or their disciples.

I certainly make no question but the first three gospels were written before this time. And I am well satisfied, that Clement might refer to our written gospels, though he does not exactly agree with them in expression. But whether he does refer to them, is not easy to determine, concerning a man, who very probably knew these things before they were committed to writing: and even after they were so, might continue to speak of them, in the same manner he had been wont to do, as things he was well informed of, without appealing to the scriptures themselves. However either way he by these passages greatly confirms the truth of our gospels. If he be supposed to refer to them the case is clear. If the words are spoken of, as what he had received from the apostles or others, he confirms our gospels, forasmuch as these words are agreeable to those which are there recorded: and he speaks of them, as certain and well known; both to himself and the Corinthians of that time. We are therefore assured by Clement, that our evangelists have truly and justly recorded the words of Christ, which he spake,

[a] Clemens quidem non laudat nomine ullum evangelistam, sed bis λογες sermones Jesu Christi, quorum jubet memores esse Corinthios. Cap. xiii. & Cap. xlvi. Quæ manifesto videntur respicere ad scriptos sermones, eosque manibus Corinthiorum vulgo tritos. Ac sane prior locus exstat Luc. vi. 36, 37, et 38, quamvis non totidem prorsus verbis, sed eodem plane sensu. Posteriora vero verba leguntur Matth. xxvi. 24. Marc. ix. 42. Luc. xvii. 2. Matt. xviii. 6. Fateor tamen hic etiam sensum potissimum respici. Sed sic solent quoque apostoli passim laudare Vetus Testamentum, et varia loca in unam orationem conjungere: nec tamen dubium est, quin respiciant ad libros sacros, quos etiamnum habemus, et quorum sacrosancta dudum erat auctoritas. Dissert. iii. p. 542. a.

[b] Cum veritati magis mihi consonum videatur ab apostolis ipsis, aut eorum discipulis, hæc accepisse Clementem.

I have not room for his whole argument, which is in Vindic. Ignat. Part ii. cap. ix.

teaching gentleness and long-suffering, and that they are worthy to be remembered with the highest respect.

But though here is a difficulty, yet I suppose, most learned men may be of that opinion, which I have spoken of as Le Clerc's. Indeed when St. Paul exhorts some in a like manner, Acts xx. 35, "To remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive: I believe, it is generally reckoned, he refers them not to any writing, but only to some words of Christ, of which he and they were well informed. But nevertheless, it does not follow, that this form of reference ought always to be so understood. It may be as well used to refer to written, as to unwritten words of the Lord. We shall find Polycarp using the same form, when he very probably, or rather certainly, refers to our written gospels. 'Remembring what the Lord said teaching.' See hereafter, in Polycarp, Numb. IV. and VII.

Before we proceed any farther, we ought likewise to observe, that the learned Dr. Mill[a] concludes from a passage of Irenæus, that Clement did in his manner obscurely quote Matth. xxv. 41. Irenæus[b] is arguing with some heretics, and refers them to the epistle of Clement, 'who therein delivers the doctrine received from the apostles, which declares, that there is one God Almighty, the maker of the heaven and the earth,——who brought in the flood, and called Abraham,——who spake to Moses,——and sent the prophets, who has prepared the fire for the devil and his angels.' That He is declared by the churches to be the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, they who will may learn from the epistle itself.' And this is one of Mill's arguments, that the true reading of that text of Matthew is not, as in our copies, "everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels;" but 'everlasting fire, which my Father has prepared for the devil and his angels.'

I must leave it to the reader to consider, whether it can be hence determined, that Clement did here refer to Matthew's gospel. I may however say, that this passage of Irenæus does deserve consideration, though there are not now any such words in Clement's epistle. For we have it not entire, as was before shewn.

IV. I shall here put down a passage of St. Jerom in his commentary upon Is. lii. that every one may judge, whether it can be thence concluded, that St. Clement quoted St. John's gospel. 'Of which also,' says[c] St. Jerom, 'Clement an apostolical man, who after Peter governed the 'church of Rome, writes to the Corinthians: The sceptre of God the Lord Jesus Christ came 'not with arrogance of pride, though he could do all things, but in humility: insomuch that 'when struck by the servant of the high-priest, he answered: "If I have spoken evil, bear 'witness of the evil: but if well, why smitest thou me?" John xviii. 22, 23."

The former words, concerning Christ's being the sceptre of God, are in the 16th chap. of Clement's epistle, and will be quoted presently under the epistle of Paul to the Philippians: but the words following, of John xviii. are not there. I apprehend, they never were. Nor can it be concluded, that Jerom himself supposed they were there: he in that place heaping texts of scripture upon one another, without any nice order.

Mr. Jones says,[d] 'That St. Clement appears to have cited 'St. John in sect. 49. and that he manifestly uses those words of that gospel, ch. x. 15.' The words in[e] St. John are: "If ye love me, keep my commandments." In[f] Clement: "He that has the love that is in Christ, let him keep the precepts of Christ." But I think this reference to be at best doubtful. Clement knew very well from the public instructions of the apostles, as well as from his conversation with them, that a profession of love for Christ obliged men to keep his precepts.

N. T.	Clement.
V. Acts xiii. 22. "And when he had removed him, he raised up unto them David to	V. Ch. xviii. 'And what shall we say of David, so highly testified of? To whom God

[a] Citavit nimirum obscurius, suo more, locum illum. Matth. xxv. 41. Prolegom. n. 140. vid. et n. 141. 343. 369. et ad Matthæi locum.

[b] Adnuntians quam in recenti ab apostolis acceperat traditionem, annuntiantem unum Deum omnipotentem, factorem cœli et terræ,——qui induxerit cataclysmum, et advocaverit Abraham,——qui colloquutus sit Möysi,——et prophetas miserit, qui ignem præparaverit diabolo et angelis ejus. Hunc Patrem domini nostri Jesu Christi ab ecclesiis annuntiari, ex ipsâ scripturâ, qui velint, discere possunt, et apostolicam ecclesiæ traditionem intelligere. Iren. L. 3. c. 3. sect. 3.

[c] Scribit ad Corinthios: sceptrum Dei dominus Jesus Christus, non venit in jactantia superbiæ, quum possit omnia, sed in humilitate: in tantum ut verberatus a ministro sacerdotis, responderit: "Si male loquutus sum, argue de peccato: sin autem bene, quid me cædis?" ad Is. c. 52. Op. T. 3. p. 382.

[d] Vol. 3. p. 144.

[e] Εαν αγαπατε με, τας εντολας τας εμας τηρησατε.

[f] Ὁ εχων αγαπην εν Χριστω τηρησατω τα τε Χριστε παραγγελματα.

be their king, to whom also he gave testimony, and said, I have found David the son of Jesse, a man after my own heart, which shall fulfil all my will."

Comp. Ps. lxxxix. 20. "I have found David my servant: with my holy oil have I anointed him." And 1 Sam. xiii. 14. "The Lord has sought him a man after his own heart."

said: "I have found a man after my own heart, David the son of Jesse, with holy oil have I anointed him."

It is true, these words are also to be found in the O. T. But they are introduced by Clement with the same, or like form of quotation, with that in the Acts, and the words agree very much; which may dispose one to think, he had an eye to that place.

VI. Acts xx. 35, "How he said: [a] It is more blessed to give, than to receive."

VI. Ch. ii. 'Ye were all of you humble-minded . . . . .[b] 'more willingly giving, than receiving.'

VII. Rom. i. 29, "Being [c] filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers. 30, backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters. 32, who knowing the judgment of God, (that they which do such things are worthy of death) not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them."

VII. Ch. xxxv. Casting off [d] from us all 'unrighteousness,' and iniquity, 'covetousness, debates, malignities, deceits, whisperings, backbitings, hatred of God, pride, boasting,' and vain glory, and ambition. 'For they that do these things are hateful to God: and not only they that do them, but they also who have pleasure in them.'

Every one sees, we have here the conclusion of the first chapter of the epistle to the Romans: and, as Mill thinks, the true and original reading. In the former part of the sentence is also a plain allusion to what goes before in that chapter. And we have here, as it seems, a plain, and undeniable, instance of St. Clement's alluding to the New Testament: or giving his exhortations to the Corinthians, in imitation of the apostle Paul's writings, without confining himself exactly all along to his very words. And I hope, this will justify several other passages, which I shall allege, on account of a like allusion.

N. T.	Clement.
VIII. Rom. ix. 4, "Who are Israelites, to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises. 5. Whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came.	VIII. Ch. xxxiii. 'If any one shall consider them singly and distinctly, he will acknowledge the greatness of the gifts given through him [Jacob.] For from him are the priests and the Levites, all who minister at the altar of God: from him the Lord Jesus according to the flesh.'
	It is hard to think, he had not here a reference to the text set on the other side.
IX. Rom. xii. 5, "So we being many, are one body in Christ; and every [e] one members one of another.	IX. Ch. xlvi. 'Why——do we raise seditions against our own body? and come to such madness as to forget, [f] that 'we are members one of another.'

Mill [g] thinks, that [h] Clement refers to the 13th ver. of the same xiith chapter, and that he had a right reading in it.

X. Rom. xiv. 1, "Him that is weak in the	X. Ch. xxxviii. 'Let not him that is strong

[a] Μακαριον εστι διδοναι μαλλον η λαμβανειν.

[b] Ἡδιον διδοντες η λαμβανοντες.

[c] Πεπληρωμενες πασῃ αδικια, πορνεια, πονηρια, πλεονεξια, κακια, μεστες φθονε, φονε, εριδος, δολε, κακοηθειας. Ψιθυριστας, καταλαλες, θεοστυγεις, ὑβριστας, ὑπερηφανες, αλαζονας—— οἱτινες το δικαιωμα τε Θεε επιγνοντες (ὁτι οἱ τα τοιαυτα πρασσοντες αξιοι θανατε εισιν) ε μονον αὐτα ποιεσιν, αλλα και συνευδοκεσι τοις πρασσεσι.

[d] Ἀπορριψαντες αφ' ἑαυτων πασαν αδικιαν και ανομιαν, πλεονεξιαν, ερεις, κακοηθειας τε και δολες, ψιθυρισμες τε και καταλαλιας, θεοστυγιαν, ὑπερηφανιαν τε και αλαζονειαν, κενοδοξιαν τε και φιλονεικιαν. Ταυτα γαρ οἱ πρασσοντες στυγητοι τῳ Θεῳ ὑπαρχεσιν· ου μονον δε οἱ πρασσοντες αυτα, αλλα και οἱ συνευδοκουντες αυτοις.

[e] Οὑτως οἱ πολλοι ἑν σωμα εσμεν εν Χριστῳ, ὁ δε καθ' εἱς, αλληλων μελη.

[f] Και στασιαζομεν προς το σωμα το ιδιον, και εις τοσαυτην απονοιαν ερχομεθα, ὡστε επιλαθεσθαι ἡμας, ὁτι μελη εσμεν αλληλων.

[g] Vid. Mill. ad Rom. xii. 13. et Proleg. n. 142.

[h] Οὑτως γαρ εσται αυτοις εγκαρπος και τελεια ἡ προς θεον και τες ἁγιες, μετ' οικτιρμων, μνεια. Clem. cap. 56.

faith receive you, but not to doubtful disputations. V. 3. Let not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not, judge him that eateth. Ch. xv. 1. We then that are strong, ought to bear the infirmities of the weak."

despise the weak: and let the weak reverence the strong.'

We have already seen Clement's express testimony concerning the first epistle to the church of the Corinthians. Nevertheless I shall put down also some passages, containing allusions, or references. They will shew us his manner, and be convincing examples of his way of alluding.

N. T.	Clement.
XI. 1 Cor. x. 24, "Let no man seek his own; but every man another's wealth."	XI. Ch. xlviii. 'And to seek what is profitable to all, and not his own things.'
XII. 1 Cor. xii. 12, "For as the body is one, and has many members, and all the members of that body, being many, are one body; so also is Christ.—v. 15, If the feet shall say, Because I am not the head, I am not of the body: is it therefore not of the body?—v. 22, Nay much more those members of the body, which seem to be more feeble, are necessary.—v. 24, But God has tempered the body together, having given more abundant honour to that part which lacked."	XII. Ch. xxxvii. 'The great cannot be without the little: nor the little without the great. There is a temperament in all things, and herein is a benefit. Let us, for example, take our body. The head without the feet is nothing: so neither the feet without the head. Even the smallest members of our body are necessary, and useful to the whole body. And all conspire together, and are subject to one common use, the preservation of the whole.'

The allusion will appear yet more manifest, if Clement be compared with St. Paul's whole argument from v. 12 to 27.

N. T.	Clement.
XIII. 1 Cor. xiii. 4, "Charity suffers long and is kind: Charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up.—v. 7, beareth all things." Comp. ver. 1, 2, 3.	XIII. Chap. xlix. 'Charity [a] endures all things, is long suffering in all things. There is nothing base in charity, nothing proud. Charity has no schism: charity is not seditious: charity does all things in concord:——without charity nothing is acceptable to God.'
XIV. 1 Cor. xv. 20, "But now is Christ risen, and become the first fruits of them that slept."	XIV. Ch. xxiv. 'Let us consider, beloved, how the Lord does continually shew us, that there shall be a resurrection: of which he has made the Lord Jesus Christ the first-fruits, having raised him from the dead.'

In the same chapter of Clement follows also an argument from seeds, resembling St. Paul's 1 Cor. xv. 36, 37, 38.

N. T.	Clement.
XV. 2 Cor. iii. 18, "We all with open face, beholding as [b] in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image."	XV. Ch. xxxvi. 'By him we shall look up to the height of the heavens: by him we [c] shall behold as in a glass his spotless and most excellent visage.'
XVI. 2 Cor. viii. 5, "But first gave their own selves to the Lord, and to us by the will of God."	XVI. Ch. lvi. 'Therefore let us also pray for such as are in any sin, that moderation and humility may be given to them; so as to yield themselves not to us, but to the will of God.'
XVII. 2 Cor. x. 17, "But he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord. 18, For not he that commendeth himself is approved, but whom the Lord commendeth." Comp. Rom.	XVII. Ch. xxx. 'Let our praise be in God, not of ourselves: for God hates those that commend themselves.'

[a] Note. This passage is cited by Clemens A. Strom. l. 4. p. 518. c. where is wanting 'There is nothing base' to "'seditious,' inclusive. But possibly he omitted these words, as not necessary to be alleged. And, without them, the reference to 1 Cor. xiii. is manifest.

[b] Την δοξαν κυριε κατοπτριζομενοι.

[c] Δια τουτου εισοπτριζωμεθα την αμωμητον——οψιν αυτου.

ii. 29, "Whose praise is not of men, but of God."

XVIII. 2 Cor. xi. 24, "Of the Jews received I forty stripes save one. 25, Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned."

XVIII. Ch. v. 'Seven times was he [Paul] in bonds: he was whipped, was stoned.'

I omit several passages of Clement, in which are words found in these two epistles; because those words are also in the O. T. which may therefore render it doubtful, whether he referred to the Old Testament, or to St. Paul.

N. T.	Clement.
XIX. Gal. i. 4, "Who gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from this present evil world, according to the will of God and our Father."	XIX. Ch. xlix. 'For the love which he had for us, Christ our Lord gave his blood for us, by the will of God: his flesh for our flesh, his soul for our soul.'
XX. Eph. iv. 4, "There is one body, and one spirit, even as ye are called with one hope of your calling. 5, One Lord, one faith, one baptism. 6, One God, and Father of all."	XX. Ch. xlvi. 'Have we not one God, and one Christ? and is there not one Spirit poured out upon us, and one calling in Christ?'
XXI. Philip i. 10, "That ye may be sincere, and without offence unto the day of Christ."	XXI. Ch. ii. 'Ye were sincere, and harmless, toward each other, not mindful of injuries.'
XXII. Philip. ii. 5, "Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus. 6, Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God. 7, But made himself of no reputation," &c.	XXII. Ch. xvi. 'For Christ is theirs who are humble.——The sceptre of the majesty of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, came not in the shew of pride and arrogance, though he could have done so; but in humility.——Ye see, beloved, what is the pattern, which has been given to us. If the Lord thus humbled himself, what should we do, who are brought by him under the yoke of his grace?'
XXIII. Col. i. 10, "That ye [a] might walk worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing, being fruitful in every good work."	XXIII. Ch. xxi. 'Unless [b] we ordering our conversation worthily of him do with one consent those things which are good and pleasing in his sight.'
XXIV. 1 Thess. v. 18, "In every thing give thanks."	XXIV. Ch. xxxviii. 'Having therefore all these things from him, we ought 'in all things to give thanks to him.'
XXV. 1. Thess. v. 23, "And I pray God, your whole spirit, and soul, and body, be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ."	XXV. Ch. xxxviii. 'Let therefore our whole body be saved in Jesus Christ.'
XXVI. 1 Tim. ii. 8, "I will therefore, that men pray every where, lifting up holy hands without wrath and doubting."	XXVI. Ch. xxix. 'Let us therefore come to him in holiness of soul, lifting up to him chaste and undefiled hands.'
XXVII. 1 Tim. iii. 13, "For they that have used the office of a deacon well, purchase to themselves a good degree, and great boldness in the faith which is in Christ."	XXVII. Ch. liv. 'Let him say—I am ready to depart—only let the flock of Christ be in peace, with the elders that are set over it. He that shall do this, will procure to himself great glory in the Lord, and every place will receive him.'
XXVIII. 1 Tim. v. 4, "For that [c] is good and acceptable before God."	XXVIII. Chap. vii. 'Let us consider what [d] is good, and what agreeable, and acceptable in the sight of him that made us.'

[a] Περιπατησαι ὑμας αξιως του κυριε εις πασαν αρεσκειαν, κ. λ.

[b] Εαν μη αξιως αυτῳ πολιτευομενοι, τα καλα και ευαρεστα εγωπιον αυτε ποιωμεν μεθ' ὁμονοιας.

[c] Τουτο γαρ εστι καλον και αποδεκτον εγωπιον τε Θεε.

[d] Τι καλον, και τι τερπνον, και προσδεκτον εγωπιον τε ποιησαντος ἡμας.

Beside the agreement of the words, the particular modesty, with which Clement here delivers his advice, induces me to think, he alludes to this place: St. Paul having in the first verses of that chapter directed: "Rebuke not an elder, but entreat him as a father, and the young men as brethren."

N. T.

XXIX. 2 Tim. i. 9, "Who has saved us, and called us with an holy calling."

XXX. Titus iii. 1, "To [a] be ready to every good work."

XXXI. Heb. i. 3, "Who being the [c] brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person——4, Being [e] made so much better than the angels, as he has by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they. 5, For unto which of the angels said he at any time: Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee? [Comp. Ps. ii. 7, 8.] v. 7, "And of the angels he saith: Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire. [Ps. civ. 4.] v. 13, But to which of the angels said he at any time, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool?" [Psal. cx. 1.]

XXXII. Heb. iii. 2, "As also Moses was faithful in all his house. v. 5, And verily Moses was faithful in all his house."

Comp. Numb. xii. 7, "My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all mine house."

XXXIII. Heb. iv. 12, "And is [g] a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart."

XXXIV. Heb. vi. 18, "That by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie."

XXXV. Heb. Ch. xi. 5, "By faith Enoch was translated, that he should not see death, and was not found, because God had translated him. [Comp. Gen. v. 24.] v. 7, By faith Noah being warned of God of things not seen as yet, moved with fear, prepared an ark.——

v. 8, "By faith Abraham, when he was called to go out into a place which he should after receive for an inheritance, obeyed, and he went out, not knowing whither he went." Comp. Gen. xii. 1.

v. 31, "By faith the harlot Rahab perished not with them that believed not, when she had received the spies with peace." Comp. Josh. ii. 1—6.

CLEMENT.

XXIX. Ch. vii. 'And let us come up to the glorious and venerable rule of our holy calling.'

XXX. Ch. ii. Ye [b] were 'ready unto every good work.'

XXXI. Ch. xxxvi. 'Who being the [d] brightness' of his majesty, 'is by so much' greater [f] 'than the angels, as he has by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.' For so it is written: "Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire." But of his Son, thus said the Lord: "Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession." And again he saith unto him: "Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool."

XXXII. Ch. xliii. 'When also Moses, that blessed and 'faithful' servant in 'all his house.' And Ch. xviii. Moses was called 'faithful in all his house.'

XXXIII. Ch. xxi. For he is [h] a searcher of 'the intents and thoughts.'

XXXIV. Ch. xxvii. 'For nothing is impossible with God, but to lie.'

XXXV. Ch. ix. 'Let us take Enoch [for our example] who by obedience being found righteous, was translated, and his death was not found. Noah being found faithful, did by his ministry preach regeneration to the world: and the Lord by him saved the living creatures that went with one accord into the ark.'

Ch. x. 'This man [Abraham] by obedience went out of his country, and from his kindred, and from his father's house, that so forsaking a small country, and a weak affinity, and a little house, he might inherit the promises of God.'

Ch. xii. 'By faith and hospitality was Rahab the harlot saved. For when the spies were sent by Joshua the son of Nun to Jericho—— the hospitable Rahab having received them, hid them on the top of her house, under stalks of flax.'

[a] Προς παν εργον αγαθον ετοιμος.
[c] Ος ων απαυγασμα της δοξης.
[e] Τοσουτῳ κρειττων γενομενος των αγγελων, ὁσῳ διαφορωτερον παρ' αυτους κεκληρονομηκεν ονομα.
[g] Και κριτικος ενθυμησεων και εννοιων καρδιας.
[b] Ετοιμοι εις παν εργον αγαθον.
[d] Ος ων απαυγασμα της μεγαλωσυνης αυτου.
[f] Τοσουτῳ μειζων εστιν αγγελων, ὁσῳ διαφορωτερον ονομα κεκληρονομηκεν.
[h] Ερευνητης γαρ εστιν ενθυμησεων και ενθυμησεων.

v. 32, "And what shall I more say? For the time would fail me to tell of——David also, and Samuel, and the prophets."

v. 33, "Who through faith——stopped the mouths of lions."

v. 34, "Quenched the violence of fire."

v. 35, "Others were tortured."

v. 36, "And others had trials of cruel mockings, yea moreover of bonds and imprisonment."

v. 37, "They were stoned——were slain with the sword, afflicted, tormented."

Ch. xlv. 'The righteous were persecuted, but it was by the wicked. They were cast into prison, but it was by the unholy. They were stoned by transgressors. They were put to death by cursed men, and those who had conceived unjust envy. When they suffered these things, they endured them gloriously. For what shall we say, brethren? was Daniel cast into the den of lions by men fearing God? Were Ananias, Misael, and Azarias, thrust into the furnace of fire by men practising the excellent and glorious worship of the most High? —Men full of all wickedness proceeded to so great rage, as to bring into torment those that feared God. But they enduring with a full persuasion have obtained glory and honour, and have been exalted, and lifted up by God in their memorial throughout all ages.'

v. 39, "And these all having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promises."

v. 37, "They wandered [a] about in sheep-skins and goat-skins."

Ch. xvii. 'Let us be imitators of [b] those who went about in goat-skins, and sheep-skins, preaching the coming of Christ.'

XXXVI. Heb. xii. 1, "Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which does so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us. 2, Looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith; who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God."

XXXVI. Ch. xix. 'The humility and submissive obedience of so many and so excellent men, thus testified of, have made not only us, but the generations before us, better.—Having therefore many and great and glorious examples, let us return to the mark of peace, which from the beginning was set before us: and let us look up stedfastly to the Father and Creator of the whole world: and let us cleave to his glorious, and exceeding excellent gifts and benefits of peace.' See also Ch. xlvi. beginning.

v. 6, "For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. [See Prov. iii. 11.] v. 9, Furthermore, we have had fathers of our flesh, which corrected us, and we gave them reverence: shall we not much more be in subjection to the Father of spirits, and live? 10, For they verily for a few days chastened us after their own pleasure; but he for our profit, that we might be partakers of his holiness. 11, Now no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous: nevertheless, afterwards it yieldeth the peaceable fruits of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby."

Ch. lvi. 'Let us receive correction, at which no man ought to repine. The reproof and correction which we exercise toward one another is good and exceeding profitable; for it closely unites us to the will of God. For so says the sacred word——"Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth."——Ye see, beloved, there is a defence for those who are corrected by the Lord. For being a good instructor, he is willing we should be admonished by his holy discipline.'

I have now represented the several supposed allusions of Clement to the epistle of the Hebrews. And, I think, we must assent to Eusebius, that Clement has inserted in his epistle 'many of the sentiments of the epistle to the Hebrews, and made use of some of the very 'words of it.' But of these last there are not many instances. And some [c] may be apt to think it not impossible, for a man who had been conversant with the apostles: who was fully instructed in their doctrine, and manner of reasoning, and also well acquainted with the Old Testament; to write with this great resemblance of the epistle to the Hebrews, both in thought and expression, without borrowing from it, or imitating it.

[a] Περιηλθον εν μηλωταις, εν αιγειοις δερμασιν.

[b] Οιτινες εν δερμασιν αιγειοις, και μηλωταις περιεπατησαν, κ. λ. Confer. Clem. Al. Strom. L. iv. p. 516. B. C.

[c] See Mr. J. Hallet's Introduction to his Paraphase of the three last chapters of the Ep. to the Hebr. p. 2, 3.

Dodwell was not positive, that [a] the parallel places in Clement were taken from the epistle to the Hebrews.

After all, it must be owned, that we lie here under some disadvantage. We have not the whole epistle of Clement before us, as Eusebius had. And therefore we are not so good judges of the agreement between the two epistles, as he was: who seems to have been fully satisfied, that Clement had an eye to the epistle to the Hebrews, and did 'plainly [b] manifest that epistle 'to be no modern writing.'

N. T.

XXXVII. James i. 5. "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him. 6. But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering——7. For let not that man think, that he shall receive any thing of the Lord. 8. A double-minded [c] man is unstable in all his ways."

2. Pet. iii. 4. "And saying: Where is the promise of his coming? For since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation."

CLEMENT.

XXXVII. Ch. xxiii. 'Our all-merciful and beneficent Father has bowels toward them that fear him: and in a most kind and tender manner bestows his favours upon them that come to him with a simple mind. Wherefore let us not be double-minded: neither let us doubt in our hearts about his excellent and glorious gifts. Let that be far from us which is written: "Miserable [d] are the double-minded, who are doubtful in their minds, and say: These things have we heard, even from our fathers; and behold, we are grown old, and none of these things have happened to us." See Numb. XLIV.

There is no great agreement here in words: but the sense is so resembling in the former part of this paragraph, that either Clement had an eye to St. James, or they both alluded to some one third writer.

N. T.

XXXVIII. James ii. 21. "Was not our father Abraham justified by works, when he had offered Isaac his only son upon the altar?"

v. 23. "And was called the friend of God."

Comp. 2 Chron. xx. 7.—"And gavest it to the seed of Abraham thy friend." Is. xli. 8. "The seed of Abraham my friend."

v. 24. "Ye see then, how by works a man is justified, and not by faith only."

XXXIX. James iii. 13. "Who is a wise man, and endued with knowledge amongst you? Let him shew out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom."

XL. James iv. 3. "Ye ask, and receive not, because ye ask amiss, that ye may consume it upon your lusts. 4. Ye adulterers and adulteresses, know ye not?——v. 6. But he giveth more grace. Wherefore he says: God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble." See Prov. iii. 34.

CLEMENT.

XXXVIII. Ch. xxxi. 'For what was our father Abraham blessed? Was it not, because that through faith he wrought righteousness and truth? Isaac knowing with full assurance what was to come, willingly became a sacrifice.'

Ch. x. 'Abraham, who was called [God's] friend, was found faithful, in that he was obedient to the words of God.'

Ch. xvii. 'Abraham has been greatly witnessed of, and was called the friend of God.'

Ch. xxx. 'Justified by works, not by words.'

XXXIX. Ch. xxxviii. 'Let the wise man shew forth his wisdom, not in words, but in good works.'

XL. Ch. xxx. Fleeing evil speakings one against another, all filthy and impure embraces —abominable concupiscences, detestable adultery, and execrable pride. For God, says he, "resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble."

These last words are also in 1 Pet. v. 5. But the context of James and Clement agree, as well as Prov. iii. 34.

[a] Nec tamen illam [ad Hebr. epistolam] penitus fuisse etiam antiquioribus illis temporibus incognitam, ostendunt loca gemina, ut videtur, inde desumta in Clementis epistolâ ad Corinthios. Diss. Iren. i. n. 41. [b] See before, p. 291.

[c] Ανηρ διψυχος ακαταστατος εν πασαις ταις οδοις αυτου. [d] Ταλαιπωροι εισιν οι διψυχοι, οι διστασζοντες την ψυχην. κ. λ.

XLI. 1 Pet. iv. 8. "For [a] charity shall cover a multitude of sins." Comp. James v. 20.

XLII. 1 Pet. v. 5. "Yea all of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility; for God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble." See above Numb. XL.

XLIII. 2 Pet. ii. 5. "And saved Noah a preacher of righteousness."

v. 6. "And turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into ashes, condemned them with an overthrow.—7. And delivered just Lot, vexed with the filthy conversation of the wicked.—9. The Lord knows how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished."

Jude, ver. 7, may be compared.

XLIV. 2 Pet. iii. 4. "And saying: Where is the promise of his coming? For since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation."

XLI. Ch. xlix. "Charity [b] covers the multitude of sins."

XLII. Ch. xxxviii. 'And let every one be subject to his neighbour.'

Ch. ii. 'Ye were all of you humble-minded —rather subject than subjecting. The A. B. desiring rather to be subject than govern.'

Ch. xxx. "For God," saith he, "resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble."

XLIII. Ch. vii. 'Noah preached repentance, and they who hearkened [to him] were saved."

Ch. xi. 'By hospitality and godliness was Lot delivered out of Sodom, when all the country round about was destroyed by fire and brimstone: the Lord thereby making it manifest, that he does not forsake those that trust in him; but those that turn aside [from his commandments] he appoints to punishment and torment.'

XLIV. Ch. xxiii. 'Let that be far from us which is written: 'Miserable are the double-minded, who are doubtful in their mind, which say: These things have we heard even from our fathers; and behold, we are grown old, and none of these things have happened to us.' See Numb. XXXVII.

XLV. I have now put down from St. Clement what is proper for confirming the antiquity and genuineness of the books of the New Testament. I have omitted divers lesser matters, that might be taken notice of; but I have endeavoured to select the most remarkable. I have also omitted some passages, because they might be supposed equally, if not rather, to refer to some text in the Old, than the New Testament. And where I have alleged any passages that contain any words of the Old Testament, as well as the New, I have marked them, as I have gone along.

In the passages I have alleged, the references or allusions are not all equally clear. But I think the sum of the testimony of Clement to the scriptures of the New Testament, does amount to thus much.

The first epistle to the Corinthians is expressly ascribed to Paul. Words of our blessed Lord, found in the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, are recommended with a high degree of respect, but without the names of the evangelists. And though, as I have already owned, all these passages are not equally important or clear; yet I think they are such as deserve to be considered, whether there are not allusions (beside the evangelists) to the acts of the apostles; the epistle of Paul to the Romans; both the epistles to the Corinthians; the epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians; the first to the Thessalonians; first and second to Timothy, to Titus, the epistle to the Hebrews, the epistle of James, and the first and second of Peter: but all without any name, or so much as a mark of citation. Among these books, the references and allusions to some are manifest, and I think undeniable: as those to the epistle to the Romans, and the first to the Corinthians. I should likewise willingly place here the epistle to the Hebrews, as certainly alluded to, were it not for those considerations above mentioned at Numb. XXXVI. and for one more, which I shall now mention. Eusebius [c] and St. Jerom [d] inform us, that the Church of Rome in their time did not receive the epistle to the Hebrews. This seems very much to weaken the supposition, that Clement had often alluded to that epistle. For if the church of Rome in his time owned

[a] Ὅτι ἡ ἀγαπη καλυψει πληθος ἁμαρτιων. [b] Ἡ ἀγαπη καλυπτει πληθος ἁμαρτιων.
[c] H. E. l. 3. c. 3. [d] Ad Dardanum, ep. 129. ord. vulg. edit. Martian. T. 2. p. 608.

it as an epistle of Paul, or otherwise canonical; it would be somewhat difficult to conceive how they should afterwards reject it.

Mill [a] however allows, that it appears from this epistle, that Clement had in his hands, not only our first three gospels, but also the acts of the apostles, and the epistle to the Romans, both the epistles to the Corinthians, and the epistle to the Hebrews.

And the testimony hereby given to the antiquity, genuineness, or authority of the books of the New Testament, is to be esteemed not only the testimony of Clement, but likewise of the church of Rome in his time. Moreover, it ought to be allowed, that the Corinthians likewise, to whom this epistle was sent, were acquainted with, and highly respected, the books quoted or alluded to.

I would also observe concerning this epistle, as I did before of that ascribed to Barnabas, that I have not perceived in it any quotations, or references to any of the apocryphal gospels, as they are called. Nor do I remember, that any of the passages of the gospel according to the Hebrews, or that according to the Egyptians, which have been collected by learned men from the writings of the ancient Christians, are taken out of this epistle.

The only exception to this must be, I think, the quotation at Numb. XXXVII. "Let that be far from us which is written, Miserable are the double-minded." But if he does not intend the epistle of St. James, nor the second of St. Peter; still I apprehend it most likely, that he does not refer to any apocryphal book of the New Testament, but to some writing of the Old Testament, either canonical or apocryphal; the rather, because the same words are quoted in the fragment, called Clement's second epistle, § xi. in this manner: "For the prophetic word says: Miserable are the double-minded"——which [b] was a common form of quotation among the ancient Christians, when they intended the scriptures of the Old Testament.

CHAP. III.

A FRAGMENT CALLED ST. CLEMENT'S SECOND EPISTLE.

BESIDE the epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, there is a fragment of a piece, called his second epistle: which being doubtful, or rather plainly not Clement's, I do not quote as his. I shall however, as I promised, give an account of the method of quoting the scriptures of the New Testament in this piece, which by [c] some is thought not to be an epistle, but a discourse or sermon.

I. § iv. 'Let us then not only call him Lord, for that will not save us. For he saith: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall be saved, but he that doth righteousness." Matth. vii. 21. 'Wherefore if we should do such wicked things, the Lord hath said: 'Though ye should be joined unto me, even in my very bosom, and not keep my command-'ments, "I would cast you off," and say unto you: "I know ye not whence ye are, ye workers 'of iniquity." Matth. vii. 23. Luke xiii. 27.

II. Ch. ii. And another scripture saith: "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners." Matth. ix. 13.

III. Ch. v. For the Lord saith: "Ye shall be as sheep in the midst of wolves." [Matth. x. 16.] Peter answered and said: What if the wolves shall tear in pieces the sheep? Jesus said unto Peter, Let not the sheep fear the wolves after death. "And ye also fear not those that kill you, and after that have no more that they can do unto you: but fear him, who, after

[a] Proleg. n. 140.

[b] Προφητικος λογος. Euseb. Comm. in Ps. p. 83. C. Δεικνυσιν ὁ προφητικος λογος. Theodret. in Ps. lxxvii. v. 24. T. 1. p. 707. D. Διδασκει τοινυν ὁ προφητικος λογος. Id. ad Ps. lxxiv. v. 16. p. 721. D. εν τω ψαλμω ὁ προφητικος λογος. Ad Ps. cv. p. 824. A. et passim. Περι της το προφητικον πνευμα φησι. Alex. Episcop. Alex. ap. Theod. H. E. l. 1. c. 4. p. 12. C. ὁ ευαγγελικος λογος. Theod. in Es. cap. x. T. 2. p. 50. D.

[c] Sed nec epistolæ formam servat secunda hæc, quæ dicitur, epistola ——Et vero recentiorem illam esse Clemente, et pro ejus διδαχη potius habendam, alibi ostendimus. Dodwell de Annis priorum Romæ Episcop. Diss. 2. c. vi. p. 202. Vid. et Diss. i. Iren. sect. 29, &c. Vid. et Grabe Spicil. P. i. p. 268.

you are dead, has power to cast both soul and body into hell-fire." See Luke xii. 4, 5, and also Matth. x. 28.

IV. Ch. iii. For even he himself says: "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father." See Matth. x. 32.

V. Ch. viii. For so the Lord hath said: "They are my brethren, who do the will of my Father." See Matth. xii. 50.

VI. Ch. viii. For the Lord saith in the gospel: "If ye have not kept that which is little, who will give you that which is great? For I say unto you: He that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much." See Luke xvi. 10. 12.

VII. Ch. vi. For thus saith the Lord: "No servant can serve two masters." If 'therefore we shall desire to 'serve God and Mammon,' it will be no profit to us. [Luke xvi. 13, and Matth. vi. 24.] "For what shall it profit, if one gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" See Matth. xvi. 26.

VIII. Ch. i. This fragment begins thus: 'Brethren, we ought so to think of Jesus Christ as of God; as of the "judge of the quick and the dead." Where may be thought to be a reference to Acts x. 42. But as this character of Christ was a common article of every Christian's belief, and may be found in other texts of the New Testament, that cannot, I think, be depended upon.

IX. Chap. vii. 'And yet all are not crowned, but they only that labour much, and strive 'gloriously.' Comp. 2 Tim. ii. 5. In the same chapter, or section, seem to be divers allusions to 1 Cor. ix. 24, 25.

X. Ch. iii.——but have by him been brought to the knowledge of the Father of truth. Whereby shall we shew that we do know him [or what is the knowledge which is toward him,] but by not denying him, by whom we have come to the knowledge of him? Perhaps here is an allusion to 1 John iii. 19, or v. 20.

XI. Lastly, Ch. xii, near the conclusion of this fragment, are some words mentioned, as spoken by our Lord, which are not in our gospels, and are supposed to be taken out of an apocryphal writing, called the gospel according to the Egyptians: which are to this purpose: 'The Lord himself being asked by some body, when his kingdom should come, said: When 'two shall be one, and that which is without as that which is within, and the male with the 'female neither male nor female."

XII. What we have to observe here is, that we have the gospels several times quoted in this fragment, more expressly than in Clement's epistle to the Corinthians, with such terms as these: 'He himself says:' 'The Lord saith:' 'Thus saith the Lord:' 'Another scripture says:' and, 'The Lord saith in the gospel:' and that in a fragment not one fifth part so large as the formentioned epistle to the Corinthians. This is an internal character, that may confirm the account given by Eusebius, and the judgment of those modern critics, who have supposed it not to have the same author with the epistle to the Corinthians, and to be of a later date. For which reason I may be the shorter in my remarks upon it: though it is undoubtedly ancient, written before the time of Eusebius, in the third century at the latest.

And as this piece has not Clement for its author, we have the less reason to be concerned about the apocryphal quotation just mentioned. For whenever that gospel was composed, this quotation can never prove it to be so ancient as our gospels, nor as Clement himself.

Mr. Jones [a] has made divers just observations upon this fragment, and several of the passages here cited by me.

CHAP. IV.

HERMAS. HIS HISTORY.

The antiquity of the book, called the Shepherd or Pastor of Hermas, is manifest and unquestionable from the quotations of it in Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, and others.

[a] See New and Full Method, &c. Vol. I. in the Appendix, p. 522—531.

I must be as brief as I can in the testimonies I allege. Therefore referring to [a] Cotelerius for the rest, I shall only put down those of Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, and St. Jerom in his Catalogue of Illustrious Men; as representing very much the sense of the ancients before them, concerning the value of this book, as well as that of the Christians of their own time.

Eusebius [b] speaking of what are the genuine writings of Peter and Paul, adds: 'Forasmuch 'as the apostle in the salutations at the end of his epistle to the Romans, makes mention 'among others of Hermas, who, it is said, wrote the book called the shepherd; it is to be 'observed, that it is doubted of by some. Wherefore it ought not to be placed among the books 'of unquestioned authority. By others it is judged to be a most necessary book, especially 'for those who are to be instructed in the first elements of religion. And we know, that it is 'publicly read in the churches, and that some very ancient writers make use of it.'

In another place of the same work, having spoken of the books of the New Testament, which ought to be received, he says: 'Among [c] the spurious are to be placed the Acts of 'Paul, the book called the Shepherd, and the Revelation of Peter.' By which we are not, I think, to understand, that the book of Hermas, or the Shepherd, is not genuine, but that it ought not to be reckoned canonical scripture.

St. Jerom in the book [d] of Illustrious Men: 'Hermas, of whom the apostle makes mention 'in his epistle to the Romans, saying: "Salute Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas, Patrobas, 'Hermes, and the brethren which are with them," is affirmed to be the author of the book which 'is called Pastor. And it is publicly read in some churches of Greece. It is indeed a useful 'book, and many of the ancient writers have made use of testimonies out of it. But among 'the Latins it is almost unknown.' So Jerom says. But it was well known to [e] Tertullian, and to the Christian churches in general of his time, as is evident from the manner in which he speaks of it.

It is then probable, that this book was written by Hermas, whom Paul salutes. And it ought not to be doubted, that it is an ancient Christian ecclesiastical writing, though not properly canonical.

The exact time of writing it is uncertain. It appears from [f] the book itself, that it was written at Rome, or near it, in the time of Clement, probably then bishop. For Hermas is directed, at the end of the second Vision, 'to write two books, and send one to Clement, and 'one to Grapte. For Clement shall send it to the foreign cities.' As therefore I place the bishoprick of Clement, with most of the ancients, about the 91st year of our Lord and onwards; I suppose this book to have been written toward the latter end of the first century of the Christian æra. Tillemont [g] supposes it was written about the year 92, a little before Domitian's persecution. Which leads me to observe, that it is more than once intimated in the book itself, that a time of trial was then near. 'But thou wilt say: Behold, there is a great trial 'coming.' Vis. 2. sect. 3. Again, 'Here you have the figure of the great tribulation, that is about to come.' V. iv. sect. 3. See also Vis. 2, sect. 2, quoted hereafter, Numb. III. This trial could not be the persecution under Nero, because that was the first great persecution: and before the writing of this book, Christians had suffered 'wild beasts, scourgings, imprison-'ments, and crosses.' Vis. iii. sect. 2, which is a good description of the persecution under Nero. See also Simil ix. sect. 28. This trial therefore must relate to the persecution under Domitian, about the year 94, or to some sufferings under Trajan. Moreover, it seems, that all the apostles were now dead. 'Because,' says he, 'these apostles and teachers, who preached 'the name of the Son of God, dying after they had received this power, preached to them 'who were dead before.' Sim. ix. sect. 16. However, as Clement was still living, who died, according to Eusebius, in the third of Trajan, A. D. 100, we cannot, I think, place this piece later than the conclusion of the first century, about which time it seems to have been written.

It is said, there was one Hermes, brother of Pius, bishop of Rome, about the year 141. But there is no [h] good reason to suppose him the author of this book, which is constantly ascribed

[a] Patres Apost. vol i. See also A. B. Wake's Preliminary Discourse, chap. viii. Cave Hist. Lit. Du Pin. Bibl. et Tillemont Mem. Eccles. T. ii. Part i. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 7, &c.

[b] H. E. l. 3. c. 3. p. 72. C. D. [c] Ἐν τοῖς νοθοις καταταταχθω, κ. λ. Eus. H. E. l. 3. c. 25. p. 97. B.

[d] Cap. x. [e] De Pudicitiâ, cap. 10. [f] See V. 1. begin. & Vis. 2. sect. 1. & sect. 4. [g] Mem. Ec. T. 2. Par. 1. in Hermas, p. 201. Bruxelles.

[h] However some learned men have been of this opinion. Vid. Dallæum de Libris supp. Dionys. et Ignat. l. 2. c. 4.

by the most ancient writers to Hermas, and that the book we have, is the same they had, is evident from the agreement of their quotations with the book itself.

The Shepherd of Hermas was written in Greek. But we have now only an ancient Latin version, beside some fragments of the Greek preserved in the ancient Greek authors who have quoted him. It consists of three books. In the first are four Visions, in the second twelve Commands, in the third ten Similitudes.

In Hermas are no express citations of any books of the New Testament. We must be content with only some words of scripture, or allusions to them. Nor was it suitable to the nature of his writing to quote books. There are no books of the Old Testament quoted here.

N. T.	Hermas.
I. Matth. v. 28. "But I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her has committed adultery with her already in his heart."	I. Command iv. sect. 1. 'I command thee, that thou suffer not the thought of another [a] man's wife, or of fornication, to enter into thy heart.' Compare Vis. i. sect. 1.
II. Matth. v. 42. "Give to him that asketh thee." Luke vi. 30. "Give to every one that asketh thee."	II. Command ii. 'Give without distinction to all that are in want, not doubting to whom thou gives, &c.' There follows a fine argument upon this subject, which may serve as a comment upon this text of the gospel.
III. Matth. x. 32. "Whoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven. 33. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven."	III. Vision ii. sect. 2. 'Happy are ye, whosoever shall endure the great trial that is at hand, and whosoever shall not deny his life. For the Lord has sworn by his Son, that whosoever shall deny his Son, and him, being afraid of his life, they will also deny him in the world that is to come. But those who shall never deny him, of his great mercy he will be favourable to them.' Similitude ix. sect. 28. 'They who have deliberated in their heart, whether they should confess or deny him, and yet have suffered, their fruits are smaller. Wherefore I speak this unto you, who deliberate, whether ye should confess or deny him.'
IV. Matth. xiii. 5. "Some fell upon stony places, where they had not much earth: and forthwith they sprung up, because they had no deepness of earth. 6. And when the sun was up, they were scorched: and because they had not root, they withered away—20. But he that received the seed into stony places, the same is he that heareth the word, and anon with joy receiveth it: 21. Yet has he not root in himself, but dureth for a while; for when tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by he is offended. 22. He also that received seed among thorns is he that heareth the word: and the care of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches, choak the word, and he becometh unfruitful."	IV. Similitude ix. sect. 21. 'Of the fourth mountain which had many herbs——some being touched by the heat of the sun withered, —their herbs having no [b] foundation [that is, 'deepness of earth']. For as their herbs dry away at the sight of the sun, so likewise the doubtful, as soon as they hear of persecutions, fearing inconveniences, return to ther idols, and again serve them, and are ashamed to bear the name of their Lord. Vision iii. sect. 6. These are they who have faith, but have also the riches of this world. When [c] therefore tribulation ariseth, because of their riches and traffick, they deny the Lord.'
V. Matth. xiii. 7. "And some fell among	V. Simil. ix. sect. 20. 'They who are of

p. 250. et Basnage Annal. Polit. Ec A. D. 157. n. 2. &c. Blondel des Sibylles l. 1. ch. v. p. 19. l. 2. ch. vi. p. 100. Beaus Hist. des Manich T. 2. p. 230. I do not particularly confute this opinion. I have said enough above, that it contrary to the testimony of the most ancient writers. Du Pin, and others, may be consulted by those who are curious.

[a] Περι γυναικος αλλοτριας. [b] Nullum fundamentum habentes herbæ eorum. [c] Cum ergo venerit tribulatio.

thorns; and the thorns sprung up and choaked them."

Ch. xix. 23. "Verily I say unto you, that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. 24.—It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God."

VI. Matth. xiii. 31, 32. "The kingdom of heaven is like unto a grain of mustard seed ——which——when it is grown, is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof."

See Mark iv. 30—32. "So that the fowls of the air may lodge under the shadow of it." And Luke xiii. 19, 20.

VII. Matth. xviii. 3. "Verily I say unto you, except ye shall be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. 4. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven.

the third mountain, which had thorns and brambles, are such as believed, but were some of them rich, others taken up with many affairs. For the brambles are riches: the thorns are they who are entangled in much business, and a diversity of affairs. These [a] therefore shall with difficulty [or 'hardly'] enter into the kingdom of God.'

VI. Simil. viii. sect. 3. 'This great tree, which covers the plains and the mountains, and all the earth, is the law of God, published throughout the whole world. This law is the Son of God, preached in all the ends of the earth. The people that stand under its shadow are those which have heard his preaching, and believed.'

VII. Simil. ix. sect. 29. 'Whosoever therefore, says he, shall continue [b] as little children, free from malice, shall be more honourable, than all these, of whom I have yet spoken. For [c] all little children are honourable with the Lord, and esteemed the first of all.' And sect. 31. 'For this present world must be cut away from them, and the vanities of their riches, and then they will be fit for the kingdom of God. For they must enter into the kingdom of God, because God has blessed this innocent kind.——I the angel of repentance pronounce you happy, whosoever are innocent like little children, because your portion is good, and honourable with the Lord.'

That is an excellent paraphrase of our Lord's discourse, Matth. xviii. and I think it plain he has a reference to it.

N. T.

VIII. Matth. xxiii. 6. "And love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues." Compare Mark xii. 39. Luke xx. 46.

IX. Matth. xxviii. 18. "All power is given to me in heaven, and in earth. 19. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations."

HERMAS.

VIII. Vis. iii. sect. 9. 'I therefore now say unto you, who are [d] set over the church, and love the highest seats.'

IX. Simil. v. sect. 6. 'You see, said he, that he is Lord of his people, having received all power from his Father.'

Simil. ix. sect. 25. 'They are such as believed the apostles, which the Lord sent into all the world to preach.'

To all which might be added Vis. iv. sect. 2. "It had been better for them they had not been born." See Matth. xxvi. 24.

N. T.

X. Luke xiii. 24. "Strive to enter in at the strait gate: for many, I say unto you, will seek to enter in and shall not be able. 25. When once the master of the house is risen up, and has shut to the door, and ye begin to stand

HERMAS.

X. Vis. iii. sect. 9. 'Ye that are more eminent, seek out the hungry, whilst the tower is yet unfinished. For when the tower shall be finished, ye shall be willing to do good, and shall have no place.'

[a] Hi ergo difficile in regnum Dei intrabunt. [b] Quicunque ergo permanserint, inquit, sicut infantes. [c] Omnes enim infantes honorati sunt apud Dominum, et primi habentur. [d] ——qui præestis ecclesiæ, et amatis primos consessus.

without, and to knock at the door, saying, Open to us," &c.

XI. Luke xvi. 18, "Whosoever putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery: and whosoever marrieth her that is put away from her husband, committeth adultery." Comp. Matth. v. 32.

XI. Command iv. sect. 1, 'If the woman continues on in her sin,——Let her husband put her away, and let him continue by himself. But if he shall put away his wife, and marry another, he also doth commit adultery.'

This may be reckoned a probable, if not a manifest allusion to St. Luke.

XII. Our blessed Lord has several parables in the gospels of a vineyard, particularly Matth. xxi. 33—41. Mark xii. 1—9. Luke xx. 9—17. Hermas [Simil. v. sect. 2] has a similitude of a husbandman and his vineyard, which bears a considerable resemblance with those parables.

N. T.

XIII. John xiv. 6, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me." And our Lord compares himself to a 'door.' Ch. x. 7. 9.

HERMAS.

XIII. Simil. ix. sect. 12, 'The gate is the only way of coming to God. For no man shall go to God, but by his Son.'

Entering into the kingdom of God is a common expression in the gospels, and so likewise in Hermas. See particularly Simil. ix. sect. 12.

N. T.

XIV. Acts v. 41, "And they departed from the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for his name."

XV. Rom. ix. 4, "To whom pertaineth the adoption,—and the giving the law—and the promises. Ch. xi. 29. For the gifts and calling of God are without repentance."

XVI. 1 Cor. iii. 16, "Know ye not, that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you." And Rom. viii. 11, "shall quicken you by his Spirit that dwelleth in you." 2 Tim. i. 14, "by the Holy Ghost that dwelleth in us."

XVII. 1 Cor. iii. 17, "If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy."

XVIII. 1 Cor. vii. 11, "But and if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband: and let not the husband put away his wife.—15, But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart," &c.

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XIV. Simil. iv. sect. 28, 'But ye who suffer death for his name, ought to honour the Lord; that the Lord counts you [a] worthy to bear his name.'

XV. Vis. iii. sect. 2, 'However to both of them belong [b] gifts and promises.'

For a reference to this epistle see likewise below Number XXV.

XVI. Comm. v. sect. 1, 'If thou shalt be patient, the Holy [c] Spirit that dwelleth in thee shall be pure.'

XVII. Simil. v. sect. 7, 'For if thou defile thy body, thou shalt also at the same time defile the Holy Spirit. And if thou defile thy body, thou shalt not live.'

XVIII. Comm. iv. sect. 1, 'If therefore a woman perseveres in any thing of this kind, and repents not; depart from her, and live not with her: otherwise thou also shalt be partaker of her sin. But it is therefore commanded, that both the man and the woman should remain unmarried, because such persons may repent.'

Perhaps Hermas refers here to the seventh chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians.

N. T.

XIX. 2 Cor. vii. 10,——"But the sorrow of the world worketh death."

HERMAS.

XIX. Vis. iii. sect. 2, 'But the remembrance of injuries [or evils] worketh death: but the forgetting them life eternal.'

[a] ——quod dignos vos habet Dominus, ut nomen ejus feratis.

[b] Sed utrisque eis——sunt dona et promissiones.

[c] Το πνευμα το ἁγιον κατοικον εν σοι.

XX. Gal. iii. 27, "For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ."

XXI. Eph. iv. 30, "There is one body, and one spirit, even as ye are called with one hope of your calling.

XXII. Ephes. iv. 30, "And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God."

31, "Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, —be put away from you, with all malice."

XXIII. Philip. iv. 18, "But I have all, having received the things which were sent from you,—a [e] sacrifice acceptable, well-pleasing to God."

However there are several texts resembling this, as Rom. xii. 1. 1 Tim. ii. 3. 1 Peter ii. 5.

XXIV. Col i. 15, "Who is—the first born of every creature. 16, For by him were all things created—all things were created by him, and for him."

XXV. 1 Thess. v. 13, "And be at peace among yourselves."

Mark ix. 50, "And have peace one with another."

Rom. xv. 7, "Wherefore receive ye one another."

XXVI. 2 Tim. iv. 18, "And the Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly kingdom."

XXVII. Heb. xii. 17, "For he found no place of repentance."

XXVIII. James i. 5, "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him. 6, But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering."——

XXIX. James ii. 7, "Do not they blas-

XX. Simil. ix. sect. 13, 'So also they who have believed in God through his Son, have put on this spirit.'

XXI. Simil. ix. sect. 13, 'Behold there shall be one spirit, and one body, and one colour of their garments.'

XXII. Com. iii. 'And should not have grieved the holy and true spirit of God.' And Comm. x. sect. 1, speaking of anger, and doubting, and sadness, he says of the last: 'It [a] torments the Holy Spirit:' and afterwards, 'it [b] grieves the Holy Spirit.'

And farther he exhorts: 'Grieve [c] not the 'Holy Spirit that dwelleth in thee, lest he ask 'of God, and depart from thee.'

XXIII. Simil. v. sect. 3, 'Thy [d] sacrifice shall be acceptable in the sight of the Lord.'

XXIV. Vis. ii. sect. 4, 'She [f] [the church of God] is therefore, said he, an old woman, because she was the first of all the creation, and the world was made for her.' And Simil. ix. sect. 12, 'The Son of God is more ancient than any creature.'

XXV. Vis. iii. sect. 9, 'Now [g] therefore hearken unto me, and have peace one with another, and receive one another.—Wherefore admonish one another, and be at peace among yourselves.'

XXVI. Vis. ii. sect. 3, 'They who are such, shall prevail against all wickednesses, and continue unto eternal life.'

XXVII. Sim. viii. sect. 8, 'For [h] these there is no place of repentance.'

XXVIII. Sim. v. sect. 3, 'Whosoever is the servant of God, and hath the Lord in his heart, he asketh of him understanding, and obtaineth.——But [i] they that are indolent, and slow to pray, they doubt to ask of the Lord: although the Lord be of so inexhausted goodness, as to give all things without ceasing to them that ask him.'

XXIX. Simil. viii. sect. 6, 'Who among

[a] Εκλιπει το πνευμα το αγιον. et sect. 2. Ακουε ουν πως η λυπη εκλιπει το πνευμα. [b] Και λυπει το πνευμα το αγιον. [c] Και μη λυπει [al. θλιβε] το πνευμα το αγιον το εν σοι κατοικουν, μηποτε εντευξηται τω Θεω, και αποστη απο σου. Ibid. Vid. Wolf. Cur. ad Eph. iv. 30.

[d] Εστω η θυσια σου δεκτη ενωπιον κυριου. [e] Θυσιαν δεκτην, ευαρεστον τω Θεω. [f] Quoniam, inquit, omnium prima creata est, ideo anus: et propter illam mundus factus est. [g] Nunc ergo audite me, et pacem habete alius cum alio; et visitate vos alterutrum, et suscipite invicem——Commonete ergo vos invicem, pacatique estote inter vos. [h] His igitur non est locus pœnitentiæ.

[i] Quicunque vero inertes sunt, et pigri ad orandum, illi dubitant petere a Domino; cum sit Dominus tam profundæ bonitatis, ut petentibus a se cuncta sine intermissione tribuat.

pheme that worthy name by the which ye are called?"

XXX. James iii. 15, "This wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish——17, But the wisdom which is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits."

XXXI. James iv. 2, "Ye lust, and ye have not: ye kill, and desire to have, and cannot obtain: ye fight, and war, yet ye have not, because ye ask not. 3, Ye ask, and receive not, because ye ask amiss, that ye may consume it upon your lusts. 4, —know ye not, that the friendship of the world is enmity with God?"

XXXII. James iv. 7, "Submit yourselves therefore to God: resist the devil, and he will flee from you."

XXXIII. James iv. 12, "There is one lawgiver, who is able to save, and to destroy.

XXXIV. James v. 1. "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. 2, Your riches are corrupted, and your garments moth-eaten.——4, Behold, the hire of the labourers, which have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them that have reaped, have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth."

their other crimes, blaspheming the Lord, have denied his name, which had been called upon them.'

XXX. Comm. xi. 'Believe not the earthly empty spirit, which is from the devil, in which there is not faith, nor virtue. xii. sect. 1, The spirit which [a] is from above is quiet, and humble, and departs from all wickedness, and vain desire of this world, and makes himself more humble than any man.'

XXXI. Simil. iv. 'For they who are involved in much business, sin much, because they are taken up with their affairs, and serve not God. And how can a man that does not serve God, ask any thing of God and receive it?'

XXXII. Comm. xii. sect. 5, 'For if [b] ye resist him [the devil] he will flee from you with confusion.'

XXXIII. Comm. xii. sect. 6, 'Fear the Almighty Lord, who is able to save and to destroy you.'

XXXIV. Vis. iii. sect. 9, 'Wherefore this intemperance is hurtful to you who have, and do not communicate to them that want. Consider the judgment that is coming upon you.—Beware therefore, ye that glory in your riches, lest [c] perhaps they sigh who are in want, and their sighing ascend to the Lord, and ye be shut out with your goods without the gate of the tower.'

I suppose, all these passages are sufficient to prove the antiquity of the epistle of St. James, and that Hermas alluded to it, and had a high respect for it.

N. T.

XXXV. 1 Pet. i. 6, "Though now for a season, if need be, ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations. 7, That the trial of your faith being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto praise, and honour, and glory, at the appearing of Christ."

XXXVI. 1 Pet. iii. 15, "But sanctify the Lord God in your hearts, and be always ready to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you, with meekness and fear."

HERMAS.

XXXV. Vis. iv. sect. 3, 'The golden part are ye, who have escaped from this world. For as gold is tried by the fire, and made profitable, so are ye also tried who dwell among them [the men of this world]. They therefore who shall endure to the end, and be proved by them, shall be purged. And as gold is cleansed, and loses its dross; so shall ye also cast away all sorrow and trouble, and be made pure for the building of the tower.'

XXXVI. Comm. xii. sect. 4, 'Take care therefore, ye that are empty and light in the faith, to have the Lord your God in your heart: and ye shall perceive, that nothing is more easy, nor more gentle and holy than these commands.'

[a] Spiritus qui desursum est, quietus est.
[b] Si enim resistitis illi [diabolo] fugiet vobis confusus.
[c] Ne forte ingemiscant ii qui egent, et gemitus eorum ascendat ad Dominum—

XXXVII. 1 Pet. v. 7, "Casting all your care upon him, for he careth for you."

XXXVIII. 2 Pet. ii. 15. "Which have forsaken the right way."

v. 20. "For if after they have escaped the pollutions of the world," &c.

XXXIX. 1 John ii. 27. "But the anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you——and is truth, and is no lie."

XL. 1 John iv. 6. "Hereby know we the spirit of truth."

Ch. v. 6.——"because the spirit is truth."

He is called "the spirit of truth" also John xiv. 17. xv. 26. xvi. 13.

XLI. 2 John ver. 4. "I rejoice, that I found of thy children walking in truth."

3 John ver 3.—"as thou walkest in the truth." v. 4. "I have no greater joy than to hear, that my children walk in truth."

XLII. Jude ver. 21. "Keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life." 24. "Now unto him that is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of his glory." See also ver. 23.

XXXVII. Vis. iv. sect. 2, 'Cast your cares[a] upon the Lord, and he will direct them.' Again, Vis. iii. sect. 11.——'And did not cast your care from yourselves upon the Lord.

XXXVIII. Vis. iii. sect. 7. 'They are such as have believed indeed, but through their doubtings have forsaken the true way.'

Vis. iv. sect. 3. 'The golden parts are you who have escaped this world.'

XXXIX. Comm. iii. 'And the Lord may be glorified, who has given such a spirit to thee. Because[b] God is true in all his word, and in him there is no lie.'

XL. Comm. iii. 'For[c] they received the spirit of truth, and became habitations of the true spirit.'

XLI. Comm. iii. 'For thou oughtest, as the servant of God, to have walked in the truth.'

Indeed, the whole third command in Hermas, and the epistles of St. John, might be well compared together.

XLII. Vis. 4. sect. 3 'Because[d] the elect of God shall be pure and without spot unto life eternal.' And see what follows.

XLIII. It is very probable, that Hermas had read the book of St. John's Revelation, and imitated it. He has many things resembling it.

1. St. John is directed, ch. i. 11, "What thou seest, write in a book, and send it to the seven churches that are in Asia."—— Ver. 19, "Write the things which thou hast seen." Ch. ii. 1, "Unto the angel of the church of Ephesus write." And so of the rest. Hermas also in his visions receives orders to speak 'to those[e] who preside over the church, to order their ways 'in righteousness.' Again: 'After this I saw a vision in my house, and the old woman whom 'I had seen before came unto me, and asked me,[f] whether I had delivered the book [or her 'book] to the elders. And I answered, that I had not yet. She replied, thou hast well done.—'Thou shalt write two books [that is, two copies] and send one to Clement, and one to 'Grapte'

2. In the Revelation, ch. xii the church is represented under the figure of a woman, as we have already seen the church to be in Hermas; who is expressly told, that[g] old woman is the church, and he has the reasons of the figure given him. In the Revelation, that woman is persecuted by a dragon. Hermas also sees a great and terrible beast, which he is informed 'is[h] the figure of the trial which was coming.' St. John saw the "holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband." Ch. xxi. 2. Hermas says, 'Behold[i] there met me a virgin well adorned, as if she were just come out of 'the bride-chamber, clothed in white.—And I knew by my former visions, that it was the

[a] Immittite solicitudines vestras super Dominum, et ipse diriget eas.

[b] Quia Deus verax in omni verbo, et non est mendacium in ipso [c] Ελαβον γαρ πνευμα αληθειας, και εγενοντο οικητηρια αληθινα πνευματος. "Quoniam immaculati et puri erunt electi Dei in vitam æternam.

[d] Dices ergo eis qui præsunt ecclesiæ, ut dirigant vias suas in justitiâ. Vis. ii. sect. 2. [e] Interrogavit me, si jam libellum dedissem senioribus—scribes ergo duos libellos, et mittes unum Clementi, et unum Graptæ. Ibid. sect. 4.

[f] Anum illam——quam putas esse?——Est ecclesia Dei. Vis. ii. sect. 4. [g] Bestiâ hæc figura est pressuræ supervenientis. V. iv. sect. 2. [h] Ecce occurrit mihi virgo quædam exornata, tanquam de thalamo prodiens, tota in albis. Ibid.

'church.' St. John sees a city, the "foundations of the walls of which were garnished with all manner of precious stones." Ch. xxi. 19. Hermas sees 'a[a] tower built with bright square 'stones.' In the Revelation, v. 16, "the city lies four square." The tower in Hermas likewise is 'built upon[b] a square.'

3. Farther, the writer of the Revelation says, xxi. 14, "And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb." The woman in Hermas says to him: 'Hear now concerning the stones that are in the building. Those[c] square and 'white stones, which agree exactly in their joints, are the apostles, and bishops, and teachers, 'and ministers——'

4. St John is bid to write, ch. xix. 9, "Blessed are they which are called to the marriage-supper of the Lamb. And he saith unto me, These are the true sayings of God." Hermas is informed: 'When[d] the structure of the tower is finished, they shall feast together near the 'tower, and shall glorify God, because the structure of the tower is finished.' And soon after: 'Say unto them, that all these things are true, and that there is nothing in them that is not 'true.'

5. In the Revelation is frequent mention of the "book of life." Ch. iii. 5, "I will not blot his name out of the book of life." xii. 8, "whose names are not written in the book of life." See also xvii. 8. xx. 15.——Hermas is required to admonish his sons. 'For the[e] Lord knows 'they will repent with all their heart, and he will write thee in the book of life.' Others read, 'they shall be written in the book of life.' Again: 'Keep[f] the commandments of the Lord, 'and thou shalt be approved, and shalt be written in the number of those that keep his com-'mandments.'

6. In Rev. vii. 9, "After this I beheld, and lo a great multitude—stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands." Hermas says; 'Then[g] 'the angel of the Lord commanded crowns to be brought, made as of palms. And the angel 'crowned those men,——and commanded them to go into the tower.' The writer of the Revelation is soon after informed, who these are. v. 14. "He said to me; "These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." In Hermas we have a like explication. 'But[h] who then, Lord, said I, are they who 'enter into the tower crowned? He says to me; All who having striven with the devil, have 'overcome him, these are crowned. And these are they who have suffered hard things that 'they might keep the law.' Again; Rev. iii. 5. "He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment." vi. 11. "And white robes were given unto every one of them." Hermas says of the persons before mentioned, and of some others; 'For[i] they had the same garment, 'which was white as snow, with which he commanded them to go into the tower.' And presently after of some others; 'He gave them a white garment, and so sent them away into the 'tower.'

7. In the book of the Revelation is mention made of a new name, and a new city. Ch. ii. 17, "To him that overcometh will I give a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it." iii. 12. "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is new Jerusalem, and I will write upon him my new name." In Hermas: 'The[k] Son of God is indeed more ancient than 'any creature. But the gate is therefore new, because[l] he appeared in the last days in the[m] 'fulness of time, that they who shall attain to salvation may by it enter into the kingdom of 'God.—No man shall enter into the kingdom of God, but he who shall receive the name of 'the Son of God. For if you would enter into any city, and that city should be encompassed 'with a wall, and had only one gate; could you enter into that city, but by that one gate?—

[a] Nonne vides contra te turrim magnam, quæ ædificatur super aquas, lapidibus quadratis splendidis? V. iii. sect. 2.

[b] In quadrato enim ædificabatur turris. Ibid.

Lapides quidem illi quadrati, et albi, convenientes in commissuris suis, ii sunt apostoli, et episcopi, et doctores, et ministri. V. iii. sect. 5.

[d] Cum ergo consummata fuerit structura turris, omnes simul epulabuntur juxta turrim, et honorificabunt Deum.—Dic illis, quod hæc omnia sunt vera, et nihil extra veritatem est. V. iii. sect. 4.

[e] Vis. i. sect 3. [f] Sim. v. sect. 3. [g] Tunc nuntius Domini coronas jussit adferri. Allatæ sunt autem coronæ, velut ex palmis factæ; et coronavit eos viros nuntius——et jussit eos ire in turrim. Sim. viii. sect. 2. [h] Sim. viii. sect. 8. [i] Sim. viii. sect. 2. [k] Simil. ix. sect. 12.

[l] Quia in consummatione in novissimis diebus apparuit, ut qui assecuturi sunt salutem, per eam intrent in regnum Dei.

[m] And here is a reference to Gal. iv. 4. or rather to Eph. i. 9, 10. At least, it is the doctrine of those texts.

'So neither can any enter into the kingdom of God, but only by the name of his Son, who is 'most dear to him.'

8. I forbear to transcribe any more. But this book of Hermas may be of use to explain divers things in the first epistle of St. John, and the book of the Revelation. And one may divert to conclude, they were all written about the same time.

XLIV. The allusions which I have here produced from Hermas relate to these several books of the New Testament: the gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John. And for Mark's gospel Numb. XXV. may be observed; the Acts; the epistle to the Romans; first and second to the Corinthians; the epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians; first to the Thessalonians; second to Timothy; to the Hebrews; the epistle of James; first and second of Peter; the epistles of John, Jude, and the book of the Revelation.

If the reader is desirous to distinguish these allusions into those which are more, and those which are less probable; I hope he will be willing to place in the former rank the allusions to the gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, especially those to the two former. I would likewise willingly place here the allusions to the Acts, the epistle to the Romans, the first to the Corinthians, the epistle to the Ephesians, and the epistle of James. And all the rest deserve consideration; except that I think those to the Galatians, Philippians, first to the Thessalonians, second to Timothy, and the epistle to the Hebrews, some of the least material.

Here are certainly many allusions to our genuine books of the New Testament, which shew the great respect these writings were in, though they are not expressly cited. But the reason is, that it was not suitable to the nature of the work to quote books. The only quotation in Hermas is in this [a] manner: 'The Lord is nigh to them that turn to him, as it is written in 'Heldam and Modal, who prophesied to the people in the wilderness.' Compare Numb. xi. 26, 27. But it is reasonable to suppose, this is not a Christian, but a Jewish writing. Eldad and Modad are mentioned among the apocryphal books of the Old Testament in the Synopsis Scripturæ, ascribed to Athanasius, but not his. It was no unusual thing for the ancient Christians to quote Jewish as well as heathen books, without intending to give them any authority. Finally, I do not perceive in this work of Hermas any allusions to any apocryphal gospels, or other apocryphal books of the New Testament. It is certain, no such books are here quoted.

CHAP. V.

ST. IGNATIUS. HIS HISTORY.

Ignatius was bishop of Antioch in Syria, the latter part of the first, and the beginning of the second century. He is said by some to have been the child whom our Lord took in his arms and set in the midst of his disciples, as an emblem of humility. But for this story there is no foundation in the earliest antiquity.

Eusebius [b] in his Ecclesiastical History says, 'That Euodius having been the first bishop of 'Antioch, Ignatius succeeded him.' With whom St. Jerom [c] agrees. In his Chronicle, Eusebius places the ordination of Ignatius in the year 69, after the death of Peter and Paul at Rome. Nevertheless some think, that Ignatius was ordained by Peter; and suppose, that Euodius and Ignatius were both bishops of Antioch at one and the same time; the one of the Jewish, and the other of the Gentile Christians: but that after the death of Euodius they all came to be under Ignatius, as their bishop. If Ignatius only succeeded Euodius about the year of our Lord 70, it may be reasonably concluded, he was acquainted with several of the apostles. And St. [d] Chrysostom says, 'he conversed familiarly with them, and was perfectly acquainted with 'their doctrine;' and had the [e] hands of apostles laid upon him.

Beside the bishoprick, the martyrdom of this good man is another of those few things concerning him which are not contradicted. But the time of it, as well as some other things, is

[a] Vis. iii. sect. 3. [b] L. 3. cap. 22. [c] De Vir. Ill. n. 16. [d] T. i. Hom 42. in Ignat. p. 562. c. [e] Ib. p 563. B.

disputed. Du Pin places it in the tenth of Trajan, A. D. 107, as do[a] Tillemont and[b] Cave. But[c] Pearson, Loyd,[d] Pagi,[e] Le Clerc,[f] Fabricius, in 116.

Having given this general account of the age of Ignatius, I shall next transcribe the most ancient testimonies concerning him and his epistles. And then I shall make a few remarks.

We have this passage in[g] Irenæus; 'As one of our people, for his testimony of God con-'demned to wild beasts, said: I am the wheat of God, and ground by the teeth of wild beasts, 'that I may be found to be pure bread.' Which words are in sect. 4. of Ignatius's epistle to the Romans. And this passage is also cited from Irenæus by[h] Eusebius; who in another[i] place likewise says: 'Irenæus mentions Justin Martyr, and Ignatius, 'making use of testimonies out 'of their writings.'

We meet with Ignatius twice mentioned by Origen. 'Finally,' says[k] he, 'I remember, 'that one of the saints, Ignatius by name, has said of Christ: My love is crucified.' which words are in the same epistle to the Romans, sect. vii. Again: 'I have[l] observed it elegantly 'written in an epistle of a martyr, I mean Ignatius, second bishop of Antioch after Peter, that 'the virginity of Mary was unknown to the prince of this world.' See the epistle to Ephesians, sect. xix.

Eusebius,[m] beside what has been already taken from him, says in another place, after the mention of Polycarp and Papias, as contemporaries: 'At the same time also flourished Ignatius, 'who is still highly honoured, being the second in the succession of the church of Antioch 'after Peter. It is said, that he was sent from Syria to Rome to be devoured by wild beasts, 'for the testimony of Christ. And making his journey through Asia under a strong guard, he 'confirmed the churches in every city by his discourses, and especially cautioned them against 'the heresies then springing up, and gaining ground; and exhorted them to adhere to the tra-'dition of the apostles. And for the greater security, he also put down his instructions in 'writing. Therefore when he came to Smyrna, where Polycarp was, he wrote an epistle to the 'church at Ephesus, another to the church in Magnesia upon the [river] Meander——and 'another to the church at Trallium——and beside these, he wrote also to the church at Rome; '[from which Eusebius quotes a long passage.] These things he wrote from the forementioned 'city to those churches. Afterwards removing from Smyrna he wrote to the Philadelphians 'from Troas, and to the church of Smyrna, and in particular to their president Polycarp.' Eusebius proceeds there not only to refer to a passage of this epistle to Polycarp, but quotes also distinctly a passage from the epistle to the church of Smyrna; and then puts down a passage of the epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, in the latter part of which he says to them: 'The epistles of Ignatius sent by him to us, together with what other have come to our 'hands, we have sent to you, which are subjoined to this epistle; by which you may be greatly 'profited. For they treat of faith and patience, and of all things pertaining to edification in 'our Lord.' And thus we have seen also Polycarp's testimony in general to these epistles, who collected them.

To the same purpose St. Jerom in his book of[n] Illustrious Men: 'Ignatius, the third bishop 'of the church of Antioch after the apostle Peter, in the persecution under Trajan was con-'demned to wild beasts. And when he came to Smyrna, where Polycarp the disciple of John 'was bishop, he wrote an epistle to the Ephesians, another to the Magnesians, a third to the 'Trallians, a fourth to the Romans: and when he was gone thence, he wrote to the Philadel-'phians, the Smyrneans, and in particular to Polycarp.'

I shall transcribe no more testimonies of the ancients, but refer the reader for the rest to the Patres Apostolici of Le Clerc.

Beside those seven epistles mentioned by Eusebius and Jerom, there are several other epistles which have been ascribed to Ignatius. But they are now almost universally supposed by learned men to be spurious, and I think are plainly so.

Of these seven, mentioned by Eusebius and Jerom, there are two editions; one called the larger, and oftentimes the interpolated; and another, called the smaller. And, except Mr. Whiston, and perhaps some few others, who may follow him, it is the general opinion of learned

[a] Mem. Eccl. Tom. 2. p 2. Ignace, Art. ix. [b] Hist. Lit. [c] Dissertat. de Anno quo S. Ignatius condemnatus, [d] Critic. in Baron. 107. n. 3. &c. [e] Hist. E. 116 n. 7. [f] Bibl. Gr. T. v. p. 39. [g] Advers. Hær. l. v. cap. 28. [h] H. E. l. 3. c. 36. [i] L. v. c. 8. p. 173. [k] Prolog. in Cant. Cantic p. 496. T. i. Basil. 1571. [l] Hom. vi. in Luc. Tom. 2. p. 214. [m] H. E. l. 3. cap. 36. [n] Cap. 16.

men, that the larger are interpolated, and that the smaller have by far the best title to the name of Ignatius.

I have carefully compared the two editions, and am very well satisfied, upon that comparison, that the larger are an interpolation of the smaller, and not the smaller an epitome or abridgment of the larger. I desire no better evidence in a thing of this nature.

And the quotations of Ignatius in the most ancient Christian writers do also better agree with the smaller than the larger epistles, as may be seen in archbishop Usher's [a] Dissertations.

But whether the smaller themselves are the genuine writings of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, is a question that has been much disputed, and has employed the pens of the ablest critics. And whatever positiveness some may have shewn on either side, I must own, I have found it a very difficult question. I shall however deliver my opinion, formed upon the inquiry I have made into this controversy. And every one will be able to judge of it by the testimonies here alleged.

I make little doubt, but the smaller epistles, which we now have, are, for the main, the same epistles of Ignatius which were read by Eusebius, and which, it seems pretty plain from Origen, were extant in his time. As for the quotation from Irenæus, it is disputable, whether he there cites a passage of a writing, or only mentions some words or expressions of Ignatius, which might be spoken by him upon the near view of his martyrdom. But though that may bear some dispute, the testimony of Irenæus is not altogether without its weight in favour of the epistles.

Considering then these testimonies, which I have alleged from Irenæus, Origen, and Eusebius, and also the internal characters of great simplicity and piety, which are in these epistles, (I mean the smaller); it appears to me probable, that they are for the main the genuine epistles of Ignatius.

If there be only [b] some few sentiments and expressions which seem inconsistent with the true age of Ignatius, it is more reasonable to suppose them to be additions, than to reject the epistles themselves entirely; especially in this scarcity of copies which we now labour under. As the interpolations of the larger epistles are plainly the work of some [c] Arian, so even the smaller epistles may have been tampered with by the Arians, or the orthodox, or both: though I do not affirm, there are in them any considerable corruptions or alterations.

The time of these epistles of Ignatius is determined by that of his martyrdom. For they were written after he was condemned to the wild beasts, and while he was going a prisoner from Antioch to Rome. Concerning this I have already mentioned two different opinions. Pearson, Loyd, and Pagi, are positive for the year 115 or 116. Basnage however [d] puts the year of Ignatius's death among the obscurities of chronology. Indeed those learned men have for their opinion no other grounds but the testimony of Malala, an author of the sixth century, of no great account in other matters; and the Acts, or Martyrdom of Ignatius, which say, that he was condemned by Trajan in person at Antioch. But it being certain, as these learned men have shewn, that Trajan was not at Antioch before the year 112; therefore they conclude, that Ignatius was not condemned, at the soonest, before that year. But the genuineness of those Acts may be well disputed for [e] divers reasons. And these Acts themselves say, that Ignatius was martyred at Rome when Senecio and Sura were consuls, who were so in the year 107, the tenth of Trajan. Since therefore Eusebius says nothing of Ignatius being condemned by Trajan himself at Antioch, and his death is placed by him [f] in the tenth of Trajan, I the rather incline to that opinion; which indeed appears to me much the more probable.

These epistles are now extant in Greek, and in an ancient Latin version. The latter was published by A. B. Usher in 1664. In 1646, Isaac Vossius published six of the seven epistles in Greek from a manuscript at Florence. The epistle to the Romans, which was wanting there, has been since published in Greek by Ruinart [g] from a manuscript at Paris.

To conclude: As the epistles which we now have of Ignatius are allowed to be genuine by

[a] Cap. 3, 4. [b] Beausobre, though he favours the genuineness of the smaller epistles, suspects that even they have been interpolated. See Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 378. Note (3) and p. 380 Note (2). [c] Vid. Usser. Dissert. cap. 12. 15. Grabe Spicileg. Patrum, sec. ii. p. 225, 226. et Clerici Dissertat. alteram, sect. xi. apud Patres Apost. edit. 1724. [d] Annal. 107. sect. vi.

[e] Vid. Basnage Ann. Pol. E. 107. sect. 8. [f] See his Chronicle. [g] Ap. Acta Martyr. Sincera, p. 13. et seq. Extat etiam apud Grabe Spicileg. Patr. T. ii. Patres Apost. Cleric. edit. 1724.

a great number of learned men, whose opinion I think to be founded upon probable arguments, (as I have also shewn in the testimonies here alleged,) I now proceed to quote them as his.

His Testimony to the Books of the New Testament.

In all the epistles of Ignatius there is but one book of the N. T. expressly named by him, which is St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians. For writing to the Ephesians he says: sect. 12.

I. 'Ye[a] are the companions [in the mysteries of the gospel] of Paul the sanctified, the 'martyr, [or highly commended,] deservedly most happy,——who throughout all his epistle 'makes mention of you in Christ Jesus.'

He means plainly the epistle of Paul to the Ephesians, in which[b] the apostle praises and commends those Christians, and never reproves them.

Quotations and Allusions.

N. T.	Ignatius.
II. Matt. iii. 15, "For[c] thus it becomes us to fulfil all righteousness."	II. Smyrn. sect. 1, 'Baptised of John, that all[d] righteousness might be fulfilled by him.'
III. Matt. x. 16, "Be[e] ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves."	III. Polycarp. sect. 2, 'Be[f] wise as a serpent, in all things, and harmless as a dove.'
IV. Matt. xii. 33, "For[g] the tree is known by his fruit."	IV. Ephes. sect. 14, 'The[h] tree is manifest by its fruit.'

[a] Παυλε συμμυσται τε μεμαρτυρημενε, ος εν πασῃ επιστολῃ μνημονευει ὑμων εν Χριστῳ Ιησε.

[b] That is according to the sense of Valesius, whose note upon the place is to this effect: Frustra sunt——viri literati, non videntes εν πασῃ επιστολῃ esse in totâ epistolâ, ad Ephesios nimirum scriptâ, quâ illos laudat valde ac semper commendat, nunquam reprehendit apostolus, ut fuit ab Hieronymo observatum. Which interpretation, so far as I can see, Pearson has well defended, and more at large. Vindic. Ignat. P. 2. Cap. x. init. Indeed μνημονευω is seldom used in the sense in which it is here understood by these learned men, for praising or commending. But that sense of the verb seems to be preserved in the noun μνημονευμα in a passage of Aristotle cited by Stephanus in his Gr. Thesaurus V. Μνημονευω—In quem locum hæc scribit P. Victorius: Μνημονευματα, nisi fallor, appellat elogia, et quæ memoriam alicujus ornant. And the verb is used for remembering with affectionate regard in Hebr. xi. 15. Και ει μεν εκεινης, εμνημονευον, αφ' ης εξηλθον.—However, the very learned writer of a letter concerning the persons to whom St. Paul wrote what is called the epistle to the Ephesians, at the end of Dr. Benson's History of the first planting the Christian Religion, thinks that instead of ος μνημονευει—we should read ος μνημονευω ὑμων, meaning that Ignatius himself mentioned the Ephesians in every epistle. But that conjecture appears to be without ground; forasmuch as in all the editions of Ignatius's epistles the verb is in the third person; not only in the Greek of the smaller epistles, which I translate, but likewise in the old Latin version. Qui in omni epistolâ memoriam facit vestri in Jesu Christo. And in the Greek interpolated epistles: Ος πανταχε εν ταις δεησεσιν αυτε μνημονευει ὑμων. In like manner in the Latin version of the same: Qui semper in suis orationibus memor est vestri—referring, as may be supposed, to Eph. i. 16. and perhaps to some other parts of the same epistle. There is therefore no various reading. And a new one ought not to be admitted, unless the sense should require it; which it does not appear to do here. For Ignatius is extolling the Ephesians. And one part of their glory is, that the apostle throughout his epistle to them had treated them in an honourable manner. The same is observed by some other ancient writers, who supposed this epistle to have been sent to the Ephesians, as may be seen in Pearson. Indeed Ignatius has mentioned the Ephesians in every one of his epistles, except to Polycarp. But so he has likewise the church of Antioch, in every letter, not excepting that to Polycarp. It is likely therefore, that if Ignatius intended to say, that he mentioned the Ephesians in all his epistles, he would have added: 'As 'I do also the church of Antioch in Syria, of which I am not 'worthy.'

And what seems to determine this passage to belong to Paul, and not to himself, together with the constant unvaried reading of the place, is the style of Ignatius in many other places, where he carries on his sentences with divers ος, and ον, and ου. I shall give an instance or two. Vid. ad Magnes. sect. viii.—Ad Philad. sect. i. Ον επισκοπον εγνων εκ αφ' εαυτε,—αλλ' εν αγαπῃ Θεε παντος και κυριε Ιησε Χριστε, ε καταπεπληγμαι την επιεικειαν, ος σιγων πλειονα δυναται των ματαια λαλεντων. Et ib. sect. xi. Περι δε Φιλωνος τε διακονε απο Κιλικιας, ανδρος μεμαρτυρημενε, ος και νυν εν λογῳ Θεε ὑπηρετει μοι, αμα δε εω—ανδρι εκλεκτῳ, ος απο Συριας μοι ακολουθει, αποταξαμενος τῳ βιῳ. Οι και μαρτυρουσιν ὑμιν. Καγω τῳ Θεῳ ευχαριστω ὑπερ ὑμων, οτι εδεξασθε αυτες, ως και ὑμας ο κυριος. Which last passage shews also, that if, after having first spoken of Paul, Ignatius had said any thing of himself, particularly, that he mentioned them in all his epistles, he would have said, καγω: as indeed the nature of the thing requires he should.

All which therefore seems to render it probable, that Ignatius had a copy of this epistle with an inscription of it to the Ephesians. But that this will determine the controversy, concerning the persons to whom it was sent, I do not say.

[c] Ουτω γαρ πρεπον εστιν ημιν πληρωσαι πασαν δικαιοσυνην.

[d] Ινα πληρωθῃ πασα δικαιοσυνη ὑπ' αυτε.

[e] Γινεσθε φρονιμοι ως οι οφεις, και ακεραιοι ως αι περιστεραι.

[f] Φρονιμος γινε ως ο οφις, και ακεραιος ωσει περιστερα.

[g] Εκ γαρ τε καρπε το δενδρον γινωσκεται.

[h] Φανερον το δενδρον απο τε καρπε αυτε.

V. Matt. xv. 13, "Every [a] plant, which my heavenly Father has not planted, shall be rooted up."

V. Trall. sect. 11, 'These [b] are not a plant of the father.'

He has the same expression in [c] another epistle.

VI. Matt. xviii. 19, "If two of you shall agree on earth, as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven. 20, For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

VI. Ephes. sect. 5, 'For if the prayer of one or two be of such force; how much more that of the bishop, and the whole church?'

VII. Matt. xix. 12, "He [d] that is able to receive it, let him receive it.

VII. Smyrn. sect. 6, 'He [e] that receives it, let him receive it.'

Ignatius, however, is not speaking of the same thing with our Saviour, but of quite another matter.

VIII. To the Philadephians, sect. 6, he speaks of some, 'who seem to him to be but as monuments and sepulchres of the dead, upon which are written only the names of men.' Which may be thought to refer to Matth. xxiii. 27, &c. but I do not think it material.

IX. To the Magnesians, sect. 9: 'And therefore he, whom they [the prophets] justly 'waited for, being come, raised them up from the dead.'

He is here supposed to refer to Matth. xxvii. 52. But I have taken several passages that plainly refer to Matthew's gospel, and therefore need not insist upon it. Moreover Ephes. sect. 19. He speaks of a bright star, by which our Lord was manifested to the world: where he is supposed to refer to Matth. ii. and undoubtedly confirms that history.

N. T.

X. Luke xiv. 27, "If any man come to me, and hate not his father and mother,—yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple."

IGNATIUS.

X. Romans, sect. 5, 'Now I begin to be a disciple.'

It has been thought, that he refers to the opposite text in St. Luke. But I think, it can hardly be determined, what particular text he refers to.

XI. John iii. 8, "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof: but [f] canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the spirit."

XI. Philadelph. sect. 7.——'Yet the Spirit is not deceived, being from God: for [g] it knows whence it comes, and whither it goes, and reproves secret things.'

XII. John viii. 29, "And he that hath sent me is with me: the Father has not left me alone: [h] for I do always those things that please him."

XII. Magnes. sect. 8, 'That there is one God, who has manifested himself through Jesus Christ his Son:——who in [i] all things pleased him that sent him.'

Note: The words I omit here [k] are these: 'Who is his eternal word, not coming forth from 'silence.' Which last expression has afforded a strong objection to the genuineness of these epistles. If the whole be genuine, there is probably a reference to John i. 1. in that character of 'eternal word.' For my own part, I have [l] suspected the whole which I have omitted to be an interpolation. The connexion is best preserved without those words.

N. T.

XIII. John x. 9, "I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved," &c.

IGNATIUS.

XIII. Philad. sect. ix. 'He [Christ] is the door of the Father, by which enter in Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the apostles, and the church.'

[a] Πασα φυλεια——εκριζωθησεται.

[b] Ουτοι γαρ εκ εισιν φυλεια πατρος.

[c] Ad Philadelph. sect. 3.

[d] Ὁ δυναμενος χωρειν χωρειτω.

[e] Ὁ χωρων χωρειτω.

[f] Αλλ' εκ οιδας ποθεν ερχεται, και που υπαγει.

[g] Οιδεν γαρ ποθεν ερχεται και που υπαγει. κ. λ.

[h] Ὁτι εγω τα αρεστα αυτω ποιω παντοτε.

[i] Ὁς καλα παντα ενηρεστησε τω πεμψαντι αυτον.

[k] Ὁς εστιν αυτου λογος ἀιδιος, εκ απο σιγης προελθων.

[l] Vid. Voss. not. in. loc.

XIV. John xii. 49, "For I have not spoken of myself, but the Father which sent me, he gave me a commandment, what I should say, and what I should speak." See Ch. v. 19, x. 30. xiv. 11.

XV. John xvi. 28, "I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world: again, I leave the world, and go to the Father."

XVI. In John's Gospel, Ch. xii. 31. xiv. 30. xvi. 11, Satan is called the [a] "prince of this world."

XVII. Acts x. 41.—"Who [d] did eat and drink with him after he arose from the dead." Comp. Luke xxiv. 42, 43.

XVIII. Rom. xv. 7, "Wherefore [f] receive ye one another, as Christ also received us, to the glory of God."

XIV. Magnes. sect. 7, 'As therefore the Lord did nothing without the Father, being united to him; neither by himself, nor by his apostles,' &c.

XV. The same: 'As to one Jesus Christ who proceedeth from one Father, and exists in one, and is returned to him.'

XVI. Rom. sect. 7, 'The [b] prince of this world would fain carry me away.' He has the same expression in another epistle.[c]

XVII. Smyrn. sect. 3, 'But [e] after his resurrection he did eat and drink with them.'

XVIII. Philad. sect. 11, 'And I give thanks to God for you [g] that ye have received them, as the Lord you.'

Though the original word for 'receive' is not the same with that in Paul, that alone ought not to render the reference doubtful. Ignatius used his memory. And these two words, προσλαμβανομαι and δεχομαι are both used in this sense in the N. T.

XIX. In sect. v. of his epistle to the Romans is supposed to be an allusion to Rom. viii. 38, 39.

St. Paul, Rom. i. 3, 4, "Concerning his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who [h] was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, and declared to be the Son of God with power." Ignatius Smyrn. sect. 1. says: 'Our Lord was truly [i] of the race of David, according to the flesh, the 'Son of God, according to the will and power of God.' Again he says, Ephes. sect. 18. 'He 'was [k] of the seed of David.' Once more, ib. sect. 20, That he was, 'according to the flesh, of 'the race [or family] of David.' Whether he takes this from the epistle to the Romans, or from the genealogies in the gospels, I cannot say.

N. T.

XX. 1 Cor. i. 10, "Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that [l] ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment."

XXI. 1 Cor. i. 18. "For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish, foolishness: but unto us that are saved, it is the power of God. 19, For it is written, —— I will bring to nothing the [n] understanding of the prudent. 20, Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world? But we

IGNATIUS.

XX. Ephes. sect. 2, 'It is fitting therefore, that in all manner of ways ye should glorify Jesus Christ, who has glorified you, that [m] in one obedience ye may be perfectly joined together, in the same mind, and in the same judgment, and may all speak the same thing of the same thing.'

XXI. Ephes. sect. 18, 'Let my life be sacrificed for the doctrine [o] of the cross, which is a stumbling block unto unbelievers, but to us salvation, and life eternal. Where is the wise? Where is the disputer? Where is the boasting of them that are called prudent?'

[a] Ὁ αρχων τȣ κοσμȣ τȣτȣ.

[b] Ὁ αρχων τȣ αιωνος τȣτȣ διαρπασαι με βελεται.

[c] Φευγελε ενεδρας τȣ αρχοντος τȣ αιωνος τȣτȣ. Ad. Philad. sect. 6. Vid. et Ephes. sect. 17. 19.

[d] Οἵτινες συνεφαγομεν, και συνεπιομεν αυτῳ μετα το αναστηναι αυτον εκ νεκρων.

[e] Μετα δε την αναστασιν συνεφαγεν αυτοις και συνεπιεν.

[f] Διο προσλαμβανεσθε αλληλȣς, καθως και ὁ Χριστος προσελαβετο ημας εις δοξαν Θεȣ.

[g] —— ὅτι εδεξασθε αυτȣς ὡς και ὑμας ὁ κυριος.

[h] Τȣ γενομενȣ εκ σπερματος Δαβιδ κατα σαρκα.

[i] Ονλα εκ γενȣς Δαβιδ καλα σαρκα.

[k] Εκ σπερματος μεν Δαβιδ.

[l] —— ἱνα το αυτο λεγητε παντες, και μη ᾖ εν ὑμιν σχισματα, ητε δε κατηρτισμενοι εν τῳ αυτῳ νοι, και εν τῃ αυτῃ γνωμῃ.

[m] Ἱνα εν μια ὑποταγῃ ητε κατηρτισμενοι τῳ αυτῳ νοι, και τῃ αυτῃ γνωμῃ, και το αυτο λεγητε παντες περι τȣ αυτȣ

[n] Την συνεσιν των συνετων αθετησω—Ποȣ σοφος; ποȣ γραμματευς; ποȣ συζητητης τȣ αιωνος τȣτȣ—ἡμεις δε κηρυσσομεν Χριστον εσταυρωμενον, Ἰȣδαιοις σκανδαλον. κ. λ.

[o] —— Τȣ σταυρȣ, ὁ εστιν σκανδαλον τοις απιστȣσιν, ἡμιν δε σωτηρια, και ζωη αιωνιος. Ποȣ σοφος; ποȣ συζητητης; ποȣ καυχησις των λεγομενων συνετων;

preach Christ, unto the Jews a stumbling block, and unto the Greeks foolishness. 24, But unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God."

XXII. 1 Cor. iv. 4. "For I[a] know nothing by myself, yet am I not hereby justified."

XXIII. 1 Cor. v. 7. "Purge out therefore [c] the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened. For Christ our passover is sacrificed for us." 8. "Therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness."

XXIV. 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. "Be not[e] deceived: neither fornicators, —— nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, shall inherit the kingdom of God."

XXV. 1 Cor. xv. 8. "And last[g] of all, he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time."

XXVI. 2 Cor. v. 14. "For the love of Christ constrains us"—15. "And that he died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them, and rose again."

XXVII. Gal. i. 1. "Paul an apostle, not[i] of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father."

XXVIII. Gal. v. 4. "Christ is become of no effect unto you: whosoever of you are justified by the law, ye are fallen from grace."

XXII. Rom. sect. 5. 'But[b] I am not therefore justified.'

XXIII. Magnes. sect. x. 'Cast[d] away therefore the evil leaven which is waxed old and sour, and be transformed into the new leaven, which is Jesus Christ.'

XXIV. Ephes. sect. 16. 'Be not[f] deceived, my brethren, corrupters of houses [or families] shall not inherit the kingdom of God.' See also Philad. sect. 3. at the end.

XXV. Rom. sect. ix. 'For[h] I am not worthy, being the last of them, and one born out of due time. But I have obtained mercy to be some body, if I shall get to God.'

It is plain, he imitates Paul's style.

XXVI. Rom. sect. vi. 'Him I seek, who died for us: him I desire, who rose again for us.'

XXVII. Philadelph. sect. 1. 'Which bishop [of the Philadelphians] I know obtained the ministry for the public, not of himself, nor[k] by men, nor out of vain glory, but by the love of God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.'

XXVIII. Magnes. sect. viii. 'For if we still live according to Judaism, we confess we have not received grace.

XXIX. I think, that Ignatius in his salutation of the church of Ephesus alludes to Eph. i. 3, 4. and iii. 19. But as he has expressly owned the epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians [Numb. I.] and there are divers other allusions to that epistle to be taken notice of, I omit it.

N. T.

XXX. Eph. ii. 22. "In whom ye also are builded for an habitation of God through the Spirit." See ver. 20, 21.

IGNATIUS.

XXX. Ephes. sect. ix. 'As being stones of the temple of the Father, prepared for the building of God the Father: drawn up on high by the engine of Jesus Christ, which is the cross, using for a rope the Holy Ghost.'

Smyrn. sect. 1. He may allude also to the foregoing verses of Ephes. ii. when he says, 'that

[a] Αλλ' ουκ εν τουτῳ δεδικαιωμαι.

[b] Αλλ' ουκ αρα τουτο δεδικαιωμαι.

[c] Εκκαθαραται εν την παλαιαν ζυμην, ινα γενε νεον φυραμα —— ὡστε ἑορταζωμεν, μη εν ζυμῃ παλαιᾳ, μηδε εν ζυμῃ κακιας και πονηριας. κ. λ.

[d] Υπερθεσθε ουν την κακην ζυμην την παλαιωθεισαν, και ενοξισασαν, και μεταβαλεσθε εις νεαν ζυμην, ὁ εστιν Ιησους χριστος.

[e] Μη πλανασθε —— βασιλειαν Θεου ου κληρονομησουσιν.

[f] Μη πλανασθε —— οι οικοφθοροι βασιλειαν Θεου ου κληρονομησουσιν.

[g] Εσχατον δε παντων, ὡσπερει τῳ εκτρωματι ὡφθη καμοι.

[h] —— ὡν εσχατος αυτων, και εκτρωμα· αλλ' ηλεημαι τις ειναι, εαν Θεου επιτυχω. Conf. 1. Cor. vii. 25. 1 Tim. i. 13. 16. et Ignat. Smyrn. sect. xi. εσχατος αυτων ων.

[i] Ουκ απ' ανθρωπων, ουδε δι' ανθρωπου.

[k] Ουκ αφ' εαυτου, ουδε δι' ανθρωπων. κ. λ.

'Christ by his passion and resurrection had lifted up a sign for all ages, to his holy and faith-'ful people, whether they be Jews or Gentiles, in one body of his church.'

N. T.	Ignatius.
XXXI. Ephes. iv. 3. "Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace." 4. "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling." 5. "One Lord, one faith."	XXXI. Magnes. sect. vii. 'Coming together into one place, let there be one [a] prayer, one supplication, one mind, one hope in charity and joy undefiled. There is one Lord Jesus Christ.'
XXXII. Eph. v. 2. "And walk in love, as Christ also has loved us, and has[b] given himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God, for a sweet smelling savour."	XXXII. Ephes. sect. 1. 'That I may become the disciple of him,[c] who offered himself for us to God, an offering and a sacrifice.'
XXXIII. Eph. v. 25. "Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church."	XXXIII. Polycarp. sect. v. 'In like manner exhort my brethren, in the name of Jesus Christ, to love their wives, as[e] the Lord the church.'
29. "For no man hateth his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, as[d] the Lord the church."	
30. "For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones."	Ephes. sect. v. 'That he may acknowledge by the things ye do, that ye are members of his Son.'
XXXIV. Ephes. vi. 13. "Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God." 14. "Stand therefore having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousness." 16. "Above all taking the shield of faith."—17. "And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God."	XXXIV. Polycarp. sect. 6. 'Let none of you be found a deserter, but let your baptism remain as [your] arms, faith as a helmet, love as a spear, patience as whole armour.'
XXXV. Philip. i. 21. "For me to live is Christ, and to die[f] is gain."	XXXV. Rom. sect. vi. 'He[g] is the gain that is laid up for me.'

And that he refers to this text of the Philippians, is farther evident, in that he is here intreating the Romans not to desire his life, and prevent his suffering for Christ: and would have them consider the 'things[h]' that straiten' him, or how he was straitened, as Paul[i] also says he was, ver. 23.

N. T.	Ignatius.
XXXVI. Philip. ii. 3. "Let[k] nothing be done through strife." 5. "Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus."	XXXVI. Philadelph. sect. viii. 'I beseech you, that[l] ye do nothing through strife, but according to the instruction of Christ.'
XXXVII. Col. i. 7. "As ye also learned	XXXVII. Eph. sect. ii. 'For what con-

[a] Μια προσευχη, μια δεησις. The Archbishop: 'Have one common prayer, one supplication.' Which is according to the larger, or interpolated epistles. But as his lordship professes to translate the smaller, I think, with submission, it had been better to follow them here also; though by putting the word *common* in Italic he has hinted, that it is not in the original.

[b] Και παρεδωκεν εαυτον υπερ ημων προσφοραν και θυσιαν τω Θεω.

[c] Τε υπερ ημων εαυτον ανενεγκοντος Θεω προσφοραν και θυσιαν.

[d] Καθως και ὁ κυριος την εκκλησιαν.

[e] Ὡς ὁ Κυριος την εκκλησιαν.

[f] Και το αποθανειν, κερδος.

[g] Ὁ δε τοκελος μοι επικειται. Ille lucrum mihi adjacet. Vers. Lat.

[h] Ειδως τα συνεχοντα με.

[i] Συνεχομαι γαρ εκ των δυο.

[k] Μηδεν κατα εριθειαν——τειθο γαρ φρονειτε εν ὑμιν ὁ και εν Χριστῳ Ιησου.

[l] Παρακαλω δε ὑμας, μηδεν καια εριθειαν πρασσειν, αλλα κατα χριστομαθιαν.

of Epaphras[a] our dear fellow servant, who is for you a faithful minister of Christ." See iv. 7.

cerns Burrhus my[b] fellow servant, and according to God your deacon, blessed in all things.

XXXVIII. 1 Thess. v. 17. "Pray without[c] ceasing."

XXXVIII. Polyc. sect. 1. 'Be at leisure[d] to pray without ceasing.'

And to the Ephes. sect. x. he writes: 'Pray also for other men[e] without ceasing.' Which are the very words of St. Paul's advice.

N. T.

XXXIX. 2 Tim. i. 16. "The Lord give mercy to the house of Onesiphorus, for he[f] oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain."

18. "The Lord grant unto him, that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day."

IGNATIUS.

XXXIX. Eph. sect. ii. And Crocus—has in[g] all things refreshed [or comforted] me, as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ shall also refresh him.

He has more to the same purpose, Smyrn. sect. 9, 10. and says: 'My soul be for yours, 'and my bonds, which ye have not despised, 'nor been ashamed of.'[h]

XL. 2 Tim. ii. 4. "No man[i] that warreth, entangleth himself with the affairs of this life, that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier."

XL. Polycarp. sect. vi. 'Please[k] him, under whom ye war, and from whom ye receive your wages.'

XLI. Tit. ii. 3. "The[l] aged women, that they be in behaviour as becometh godliness."

XLI. Trall. sect. iii. 'Whose[m] very behaviour is an excellent instruction [speaking of their bishop.]

The only reason of taking notice of this place is the word καλαστημα, 'behaviour,' which is no where in the N. T. but this place to Titus.

N. T.

XLII. Philem. ver. 20. "Yea,[n] brother, let me have joy of thee in the Lord."

IGNATIUS.

XLII. Ephes. sect. ii. 'And[o] may I always have joy of you.'

This phrase of St. Paul to Philemon occurs in several[p] of Ignatius's epistles.

N. T.

XLIII. Heb. x. 28. "He that despised Moses' law, died without mercy, under two or three witnesses." 29. "Of how much sorer punishment shall he be thought worthy, who has trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing?"

IGNATIUS.

XLIII. Ephes. sect. xvi. 'If therefore they who do these things according to the flesh have died [or suffered death,] how much more shall he who by wicked doctrine corrupts the faith of God, for which Jesus Christ was crucified? Such a one being defiled, shall go into fire unquenchable, as shall he who hears him.'

XLIV. Hebr. xiii. 9. [q] "Be not carried about with divers and strange doctrines: for it is a good thing, that the heart be established with grace, not with meats, which have not profited them which have been occupied therein."

XLIV. Magnes. sect. viii. "Be[r] not deceived with heterodox opinions, nor with old fables, which are unprofitable. For if we still continue to live according to the Jewish law, we confess we have not received grace.'

[a] Τε αγαπητε συνδουλε ημων, ος εστι πιστος υπερ υμων διακονος τε Χριστε.

[b] Περι δε τε συνδουλε με Βορρε, τε κατα Θεον διακονε υμων εν πασι ευλογημενε.

[c] Αδιαλειπτως προσευχεσθε.

[d] Προσευχαις σχολαζε αδιαλειπτοις.

[e] Και υπερ των αλλων δε ανθρωπων αδιαλειπτως προσευχεσθε.

[f] Ὁτι πολλακις με ανεψυξε, και την αλυσιν με ουκ επησχυνθη.

[g] Κατα παντα με ανεπαυσεν, ως και αυτον ο Πατηρ Ιησε Χριστε αναψυξει.

[h] Και τα δεσμα με, ους υπερηφανησατε, ουδε επησχυνθητε.

[i] Ουδεις στρατευομενος εμπλεκεται ταις τε βιε πραγματειαις, ινα τω στρατολογησαντι αρεση.

[k] Αρεσκετε ω στρατευεσθε.

[l] Πρεσβυτιδας ωσαυτως εν καταστηματι ιεροπρεπεις.

[m] Ου αυτο το καταστημα μεγαλη μαθητεια.

[n] Εγω σε οναιμην εν Κυριω.

[o] Οναιμην υμων δια παντος.

[p] Magnes. sect. xii. Polycarp. sect. vi.

[q] Διδαχαις ποικιλαις και ξεναις μη περιφερεσθε· καλον γαρ χαριτι βεβαιουσθαι την καρδιαν, ου βρωμασιν, εν οις ουκ ωφεληθησαν οι περιπατησαντες.

[r] Μη πλανασθε ταις ετεροδοξιαις, μητε μυθευμασιν τοις παλαιοις ανωφελεσιν ουσιν. κ. τ. λ.

The larger or interpolated epistles of Ignatius are in this place thus: 'Be not deceived with 'heterodox opinions, nor give heed to fables and endless genealogies [1 Tim. i. 4], and to the 'Jewish pride. Old things are passed away: behold, all things are become new.' [2 Cor. v. 17.] Whence I think it must be owned, that by 'old fables which are unprofitable,' the author was led to think of 1 Tim. i. 4. and was therefore induced to put down that place distinctly. Nevertheless, I think the whole passage of the smaller epistles contains a probable allusion to Heb. xiii. 9.

XLV. Ignatius, Ephes. sect. v. 'For it is written: God resisteth the proud.' Which words are indeed in James iv. 6. and 1 Pet. v. 5. But it is most probable, that Ignatius refers to Prov. iii. 34.

N. T.	Ignatius.
XLVI. 1 Pet. v. 5. "Yea,[a] all of you, be subjected one to another."	XLVI. Magnes. sect. xiii. 'Be[b] subject to the bishop, and to one another.'
XLVII. 1 John i. 2, "And the life was manifested—and—we shew unto you that eternal life, which[c] was with the Father, and was manifested unto us."	XLVII. Magnes. sect. vi.—'Jesus Christ,[d] who was with the Father before the world was, and in the end appeared.'

This is the doctrine of the New Testament. But the same thing being said likewise in other texts, as Tit. i. 3. 1 Pet. i. 20. one can hardly say positively, that Ignatius refers to the epistle of John.

N. T.	Ignatius.
XLVIII. 3John 2. "Beloved, I wish above all things that thou mayest prosper, and be in health, even as thy soul prospereth."	XLVIII. Magnes sect. xiii. 'That[f] whatever ye do, ye may prosper in flesh and spirit,' &c.

When Ignatius writes, Smyrn. sect. x. 'Ye have well done, that ye have received Philo, and 'Reus Agathopus, who followed me for the word of God, as the servants [or deacons] of Christ 'our God:' there is a great resemblance with ver. 5, 6, 7, 8. of this third epistle of John.

XLIX. Beside these allusions and references to particular books, or texts, of the New Testament; it has been observed by[g] some learned men, that this ancient writer has made mention of the scriptures of the N. T. under some general names and divisions.

L. Philadelph. sect. 5. 'Fleeing[h] to the gospel, as the flesh of Jesus, and to the apostles as 'the presbytery of the church. Let us also love the prophets, because that they also spoke of 'the gospel, and hoped in him [or Christ], and expected him.'

In this place Grabe and Mill understand by 'the gospel,' the book or volume of the gospels; by 'the apostles,' the book or volume of their epistles: as by 'the prophets,' the volume, or whole canon of the OldTestament. And[i] Le Clerc, who assents to the truth of the observation of these learned men, has farther commented upon this passage in this manner: 'Which 'words,' says he, 'as it seems, are to be understood of the evangelic and apostolic writings. So 'that what Ignatius intends is this: that in order to understand the will of God, he fled to the 'gospels, which he believed no less than if Christ himself, in the flesh, that is, in the condition 'he was in on earth, present and still living among men, delivered with his own mouth those 'discourses which are contained in the gospels. As also, he fled to the writings of the apostles, 'whom he esteemed as the presbytery of the whole Christian church, under Christ the uni-'versal bishop, which [presbytery] taught all Christian societies what they ought to believe. 'Whence it is sufficiently manifest, how much the sacred books of the N. T. were esteemed at 'that time. He adds: "Let us also love the prophets." Which words intend the Old Testa-'ment as written: for the prophets could not be otherwise known to Ignatius. Nor ought it 'to be passed by without observation, that he in the first place mentions the writings of the 'N. T. by which we are Christians, as his "refuge:" and in the second place the books of the 'O. T. because the New may be confirmed out of them.'

[a] Πανλες δε αλληλοις ὑποτασσομενοι.
[b] Ὑποταγηῖε τῳ επισκοπῳ και αλληλοις.
[c] Ἡτις ην προς τον Παλερα, και εφανερωθη ἡμιν.
[d] Ὁς προ αιωνων παρα Παῖρι ην, και εν τελει εφανη.
[e] Ευχομαι σε ευοδωσθαι και ὑγιαινειν, καθως και ευοδωῖαι σε ἡ ψυχη.
[f] Καῖευοδωθηῖε σαρκι και πνευμαῖι.
[g] Vid. Millii Prolegom. n. 198, 199.
[h] Προσφυγων τῳ ευαγγελιῳ, ὡς σαρκι Ιησε, και τοις αποστολοις, ὡς πρεσβυῖερίῳ εκκλησιας· και τους προφηῖας δε αγαπωμεν.
[i] Vid. Histor. Ec. An. D. 116. sect. 25.

LI. Again: Philadelph. sect. ix. 'But [a] the gospel has somewhat in it more excellent, the 'appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ, his passion and resurrection. For the beloved prophets 'referred to him, but the gospel is the perfection of incorruption.'

Smyrn. sect. vii. 'Ye [b] ought to hearken to the prophets, but especially to the gospel, in 'which the passion has been manifested to us, and the resurrection perfected.'

In these two places Mill supposes to be meant the book of the gospels. And in the following passage by 'gospel' he supposes to be meant the canon of the New Testament in general.

LIII. Smyrn. sect. v. 'Whom [c] neither the prophecies, nor the law of Moses have per-'suaded: nor yet the gospel even to this day, nor the sufferings of every one of us.'

LIV. Philadelph. sect. viii. 'Because [d] I have heard of some who say, unless I find it in 'the ancients [some are for archives,] I do not believe in the gospel: and I said unto them, 'It is written: they answered me, It is not mentioned. But to me instead of all ancients is 'Jesus Christ. And the uncorrupted ancient [doctrines] are his cross, and his death, and his 'resurrection, and the faith which is by him.'

This difficult text I have rendered as near as I could according to the sense in which it is understood by Le Clerc,[e] which I think to be the most likely meaning. He supposes it to be an answer to the Jews, who refused to believe the gospel, for want of some clearer prophecies in the Old Testament. I have thought proper to take this notice of this passage, to prevent any wrong conclusions from it, as it stands in the Archbishop's translation.

LV. We are to observe one place more. Smyrn. sect. iii. 'And when he [Christ] came to 'those who were with Peter, he [f] said unto them: Take, handle me, and see that I am not an 'incorporeal dæmon:' or in other words, I am not a spirit.

Eusebius [g] has quoted this passage of Ignatius, and says, he did not know whence Ignatius took these words of our Saviour. But Jerom [h] says, it was taken out of the gospel according to the Hebrews. If these ancient writers, and some learned moderns, had not suspected these words to be taken out of some particular writing; I think one might have supposed, that Ignatius only quoted Luke's gospel in a loose manner, where is exactly the same sense. Chap. xxiv. 39, "Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me and see, for a spirit has not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.' And if it had not been a disputed point, I should have inserted this passage above, as a quotation of the gospel of St. Luke, or a reference to it. I find Mr. Le Clerc so much of the same mind, that I shall place his words [i] in the margin. And I would also add, that it was the opinion of [k] Isaac Casaubon, and bishop Pearson, that Ignatius did not quote these words out of the gospel of the Hebrews, but that they were afterwards inserted in it.

Having shewn the opinion of these learned men, I beg leave to detain the reader a little longer, while I set before him this passage with the context more at large. In opposition to some heretics, Ignatius says: 'Christ truly suffered, as he also truly raised up himself: not 'as some unbelievers say, that he only seemed to suffer, they themselves only seeming to be. 'And [l] as they think, so shall it happen to them, to be incorporeal and phantastical [in the 'original, literally, "incorporeal and dæmoniac."] But I know, that after the resurrection he

[a] Εξαιρετον δε τι εχει το ευαγγελιον, την παρουσιαν τε Κυριου ημων Ιησε Χριστε, το παθος αυτε, και την αναστασιν· οι γαρ αγαπητοι προφηται κατηγγειλαν εις αυτον· το δε ευαγγελιον απαρτισμα εστιν αφθαρσιας. [b] Προσεχειν δε τοις προφηταις, εξαιρετως δε τω ευαγγελιω, εν ω το παθος ημιν δεδηλωται, και η αναστασις τετελειωται. [c] Ους ουκ επεισαν αι προφητειαι, ουδ' ο νομος Μωσεως, αλλ' ουδε μεχρι νυν το ευαγγελιον, ουδε τα ημετερα των κατ' ανδρα παθηματα. [d] Επει ηκουσα τινων λεγοντων ὁτι εαν μη εν τοις αρχαιοις ευρω, εν τω ευαγγελιω ου πιστευω· και λεγοντος μοι αυτοις, ὁτι γεγραπται, απεκριθησαν μοι ὁτι προκειται. [al. ου προκειται. Vid. Voss. in loc.] εμοι δε αρχεια εστιν Ιησους Χριστος· τα αθικτα αρχεια ο σταυρος αυτε, και ο θανατος και η αναστασις αυτε, και η πιστις η δι' αυτε.

[e] Vid. Hist. E. 116. 26. et. ad loc. Ignat. ap. Patr. A. ed. 1724. [f] Εφη αυτοις· Λαβετε, ψηλαφησατε με, και ιδετε, ὁτι ουκ ειμι δαιμονιον ασωματον. [g] H. E. l. 3. c. 36. p. 108. A. [h] De Vir. Ill. n. 16. in Ignatio. Vid. et Grabe Spicil. T. i. p. 25. [i] Quæ crediderim quidem Hieronymo fuisse in evangelio Hebræorum; sed videntur esse paraphrasis verborum, quæ sunt Lucæ, cap. xxiv. 39. quâ uti potuit Ignatius, pro more antiquissimorum patrum, qui persæpe scripturæ sensum potius quam verba laudant. Certe Ignatius ea verba Matthæo non tribuit; et Nazaræi etiam historiam, quæ apud Lucam exstabat, potuerunt suo exemplari Matthæi nonnihil immutatam inserere; ita ut utrique ex eodem fonte hauserint, non Ignatius ex Nazaræis. Dissertat. iii. quæ est de iv. Evangeliis: ad calcem Harmoniæ Evangelicæ. [k] Quin est fortasse verius, non ex evangelio Hebraïco Ignatium illa verba descripsisse, verum traditionem allegâsse, non scriptam, quæ postea in literas fuerit relata, et Hebræorum evangelio, quod Matthæo tribuebant, inserta. Casaub. Exerc. ad Baron. xvi. Num. 126. Pearson having cited this passage approves it: Et hoc quidem multo mihi verisimilius videtur. Vindic. Ign. P. 2. Cap. 9. And again afterwards: Quidni pariter et S. Ignatius [inquit Pearsonus,] qui cum apostolis et eorum discipulis versatus est, præsertim eo tempore, quo scriptis evangeliis uti forte ei non licebat, eandem historiam quam narrat S. Lucas aliis verbis explicaret? Ibid.

[l] Και καθως φρονουσιν, και συμβησεται αυτοις, ουσιν ασωματοις και δαιμονικοις.

'was in the flesh, and I believe him to be so still. And when he came to those who were with 'Peter, he said to them: Take, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal phantom.' From whence I think it appears, Ignatius was wont to use the words dæmon and dæmoniac, as equivalent to phantom or spirit, and fantastical. This being his style, if he had not St. Luke before him (as it is very likely, in his circumstances, he had not;) it was very natural for him to represent the sense of that text of St. Luke's gospel, just as we see in this passage.

I shall now make two observations:

1. That this is the first place of the apostolical fathers, in which we have a passage, I do not say quoted from, but found in, an apocryphal book of the New Testament. And this is the first in Grabe's collection of the fragments of the gospel according to the Hebrews. It will not be improper for me to confirm this observation by the judgment of Mr. Le Clerc, who has been so conversant with these writers. He says then [a] expressly, 'that he has not observed in 'any of the apostolical fathers, (he means those already here quoted, and St. Polycarp, who will 'next follow,) any quotations of apocryphal books, concerning the doctrine or history of Christ, 'except only this one passage of Ignatius; in which he may seem to quote the gospel of the 'Nazarenes: but I rather think, says he, the place taken from St. Luke.'

2. I would observe concerning the Gospel according to the Hebrews, that this passage of it affords an argument, that it was composed after our genuine gospels; because it appears to be taken out of St. Luke's gospel, only with a little alteration; in conformity, perhaps, to this very place of Ignatius. I think I could argue the same thing from some other passages of that Gospel of the Hebrews. But we may have a better opportunity of shewing more at large, that the ground-work of that gospel is St. Matthew's gospel; to which have been made additions of things taken out of St. Luke's, (and perhaps other gospels) and other matters that had been delivered by oral tradition.

LVI. Thus I have given an account of the testimony which Ignatius affords to the books of the New Testament, without any respect to the larger epistles, except in Numb. XLIV. where I have particularly mentioned them. The larger epistles would have supplied me with many more, and express quotations of the gospels and epistles, if we could allow them to be genuine. But beside the many other arguments against their genuineness, this may be one, that there are more quotations out of the Old and New Testament, than could be well expected. The larger epistles were plainly composed by a man at leisure. Ignatius at his writing was very much straitened for time, being at once a traveller, and a prisoner under a strong guard; and, at the places where he rested, much engaged by the kind and respectful visits of the Christians there, and from the neighbouring cities, and in giving them exhortations by word of mouth. I have endeavoured to take nothing but what is genuine. The Greek edition, even of the smaller epistle to the Romans, as now published by Ruinart, would have afforded me two references or quotations more than I have taken; one of Matthew xvi. 26, the other of 2 Cor. iv. 8, the words of which texts are there at length. But Grabe [b] has honestly and ingenuously owned, he suspects them to be additions, they being wanted in the ancient Latin version of that epistle.

LVII. We may now sum up the testimony of Ignatius. And in the first place, he has expressly ascribed the epistle to the Ephesians to St. Paul. In the next place, here are plain allusions to the gospels of St. Matthew and St. John. Whether he has alluded to the gospel of St. Luke, is doubtful, unless we allow him to refer to it in the passage at Numb. LV. The other allusions here taken from Ignatius relate to the Acts of the Apostles, the epistle to the Romans, first and second to the Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, first to the Thessalonians, second to Timothy, to Titus, Philemon, Hebrews, first epistle of Peter, first and third epistles of John. And most of these allusions, I apprehend, will be allowed manifest. The least considerable seem to be those to the Colossians, Titus, and the Hebrews. And if any think, likewise, the agreement between Ignatius and some of the other books not material, I shall not contend about it. Every one is now able to judge for himself. But I think, there are some references to the greatest part of these books, which will not be disputed.

[a] Non animadverti ulla uspiam evangelia, aut scripta apocrypha ad historiam aut doctrinam Christi pertinentia, ab iis laudari; excepto uno illo Ignatii, in quo videri possit laudare evangelium Nazaræorum; sed quem ex Luca expressum potius existimaverim, ut jam dixi. Le Clerc Harmon. Evangel. p. 542. b.

[b] Neque tamen dissimulare possum, et istud non omnino sincerum, sed loca scripturæ, 2 Cor. iv. et Matth. xvi. aliaque, addita videri, quæ a vetere versione absunt. Grabe Spicil. Patr. T. 2. p. 8.

And besides, here are terms used by him, importing a collection of the gospels, and of the epistles of the apostles, and of the books of the New Testament in general.

CHAP. VI.

ST. POLYCARP. HIS HISTORY.

THE character and age of Polycarp, and the genuineness of his remaining epistle to the Philippians, will appear from some passages of Irenæus, bishop of Lyons in Gaul. These passages will also serve to shew at the same time the age, and consequently the authority, of Irenæus himself, and the value of his testimony, when we shall come to make use of it.

Irenæus[a] says in his excellent work against all heresies: 'And Polycarp teaches the same 'things, who was not only taught by the apostles, and had conversed with many who had seen 'Christ, but was also by the apostles appointed bishop of the church of Smyrna in Asia. Whom 'also I saw in my early age (for he lived long, and at a great age had a glorious and splendid 'martyrdom:) I say Polycarp always taught these things, which he had learned from the 'Apostles, which he delivered to the church, and which alone are true. To this bear wit-'ness all the churches in Asia, and they who to this time have succeeded Polycarp; that he is 'a more credible and sure witness of the truth than Valentinus and Marcion, and other authors 'of corrupt opinions. Who also, when he came to Rome in [b] the time of Anicetus, converted 'many of the before mentioned heretics to the church of God, declaring that to be the one and 'only truth which had been received from the apostles, and was delivered by the church. 'And there [c] are those who have heard him say, that John, the disciple of the Lord, going to 'bathe at Ephesus, and seeing Cerinthus already in the bath, came out again in haste without 'bathing, saying to those who were with him: "Let us flee hence, lest the bath should fall, while 'Cerinthus the enemy of the truth is within." And Polycarp himself, Marcion once coming 'in his way, and saying to him, "Do you own me?" he answered: "I own you to be the first-'born of Satan."——There is also a most excellent epistle of Polycarp, written to the Philip-'pians; from which they who are willing, and are concerned for their own salvation, may learn 'both the character of his faith, and the doctrine of the truth.'

This passage has been transcribed by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical [d] History, who immediately adds: 'Polycarp, in the forementioned epistle to the Philippians, which is still extant, 'has made use of some testimonies from the first epistle of Peter.'

Irenæus also, in a [e] letter to Florinus, who had embraced the errors of Valentinus, has these words: 'Those opinions, the presbyters before us, who also conversed with the apostles, have 'not delivered to you. For I saw you, when I was very young, in the lower Asia with Poly-'carp——For I better remember the affairs of that time, than those which have lately happened; 'the things which we learn in our childhood growing up with the soul, and uniting themselves

[a] L. 3. c. 3. sect. 4. Edit. Mass. et apud Euseb. H. E. l. iv. cap. 14. [b] The occasion of Polycarp's journey to Rome is said to be some controversy about the time of keeping Easter. See Euseb. H. E. l. 4. c. 14. Hieron. de Vir. Ill. c. 17. But learned men are not agreed about the time of it. It must be determined by that of Anicetus being bishop of Rome. Bishop Pearson, as he places the bishoprick of Anicetus in the beginning of the reign of Antoninus the Pious, places this journey accordingly about the year 142. Oper. Post. Diss. ii. c. 14. Others in 153. Basnage Ann. 153. sect. 64. Others in 158, or 160. See Pagi Crit. 165. n. v. Du Pin Bibl. Polycarpe. [c] The same story is told with different circumstances by Epiphanius, H. 30. c. 24. But the truth of it has been sometimes called in question. It is observable, that Irenæus, though personally acquainted with Polycarp, does not say, that he had it himself from him; but that there were some, who heard him say as much: και εισιν οι ακηκοοτες αυτε. It is not at all likely, that the apostle John should go to a public bath. Epiphanius, or whoever formed the story, as related by him, saw this impropriety; and therefore says, that 'John was moved by the Spirit to go thither:' Ηναγκασθη υπο τε αγιε πνευματος προελθειν εως τε βαλανειε. And Theodoret says, that 'John went thither, because of an indisposition 'he happened to labour under:' συνεβη γαρ και αυτον δι' αρρωστιαν χρησθαι τω βαλανειω. Theod. H. F. l. 2. c. 3. Irenæus and Theodoret say, it was Cerinthus: Epiphanius, that it was Ebion, who was in the bath. And there are other different circumstances in the relations of this matter, and also other objections against this whole story, which may be seen in Lampe Prolegom. de Vit. Joann. Evang. lib. I. cap. v. n. 1. 2. to whom I refer. And indeed some of the ancients who mention it, speak of it only as an uncertain report, particularly Theodoret, before quoted. Τελον, ως φασιν, ο θεσπεσιος Ιωαννης ο ευαγγελιστης λεομενον θεασαμενος· κ. λ. ubi supra.

[d] L. iv. cap. 14. [e] The letter itself is not extant. But Eusebius has preserved a fragment of it, L. v. c. 20.

'to it. Insomuch that I can tell the place in which the blessed Polycarp sat and taught, and his 'going out and coming in, and the manner of his life, and the form of his person, and the dis- 'courses he made to the people; and how he related his conversation with John, and others 'who had seen the Lord; and how he related their sayings, and what he had heard from them 'concerning the Lord; both concerning his miracles, and his doctrine, as he had received 'them from the eye-witnesses of the Word of Life: all which Polycarp related agreeable to the 'scriptures. These things I then, through the mercy of God toward me, diligently heard and 'attended to, recording them not on paper, but upon my heart. And through the grace of 'God I continually renew the remembrance of them. And I can affirm in the presence of 'God, that if this blessed and apostolical presbyter had heard any such thing, he would have 'cried out, and stopped his ears, and, according to his custom, would have said: Good God, 'to what times hast thou reserved me, that I should hear such things! And he would have 'fled from the place in which he was sitting or standing, when he heard such words. And as 'much may be perceived from his epistles, which he sent to neighbouring churches, establish- 'ing them; or to some of the brethren, instructing and admonishing them.'

We have now seen in Irenæus Polycarp's age and character, particular mention of his letters to the Philippians and other churches, and to some of the brethren, or particular persons.

Eusebius, speaking of those who flourished in the time of Trajan, as Ignatius and Papias, [a] says: 'At that time flourished in Asia Polycarp, disciple of the apostles, who received the 'bishoprick of the church in Smyrna from the eye-witnesses and ministers of the Lord.'

St. Jerom in his book [b] of Illustrious Men says: 'Polycarp, the disciple of John the apostle, 'and by him ordained bishop of Smyrna, was the prince of all Asia. Forasmuch as he had 'seen and been taught by some of the apostles, and those who had seen the Lord.——After- 'wards, in the reign of Marcus Antoninus and L. Aurelius Commodus, in the fourth persecu- 'tion after Nero, he was condemned to the flames at Smyrna, the proconsul being present, and 'all the people in the amphitheatre demanding his death. He wrote to the Philippians a very 'useful epistle, which to this day is read in the assembly of Asia.'

His martyrdom happened, according to bishop [c] Pearson, who supposes he suffered under Antoninus the Pious, in the year 148: according to Du Pin, Tillemont, and many other learned men, in the year 167, or thereabouts, in the seventh year of Marcus Antoninus the philosopher: according to Basnage, [d] in the year 169, which was also [e] archbishop Usher's opinion. These latter opinions seem to me much nearer the truth than bishop Pearson's, because Eusebius and Jerom place it in the time of Marcus Antoninus: though to determine the exact year of this martyrdom is very difficult, as [f] Pagi has observed.

So I said in the first edition. I must now add, that [g] there is an ancient inscription, which very much favours Pearson's argument for the early date of St. Polycarp's martyrdom.

We have the relation of his martyrdom in a letter of the church of Smyrna, to the church of Philadelphia and other churches. In this relation Polycarp says to the proconsul: 'Eighty and six years have I now served Christ.' Understand this of his life; and, according to every calculation of the time of his death, he lived a good while in the first century. Understand it of his Christianity, as [h] Tillemont does, and being martyred, as he says, in the year 166, his conversion to Christianity happened in the year 80. Understand it of his serving Christ in the ministry; and he was bishop of Smyrna from the year 84, according [i] to Basnage. He is thought by many to be the angel of the church of Smyrna, to whom the epistle in the Revelation is sent.

But though we should not be able precisely to settle the time of Polycarp's birth, or death; it is evident from the testimonies here alleged, that he was a disciple of John; appointed bishop of Smyrna by him, if not also by some other apostles joining with him therein; and that he had conversed with several who had seen the Lord.

Irenæus assures us, Polycarp had written divers letters. The loss of the writings of such a person cannot but be lamented. And I think it somewhat likely, that Eusebius and Jerom had seen nothing of his, beside the epistle to the Philippians.

There is scarce any doubt or question among learned men about the genuineness of this

[a] H. E. l. 3. c. 36. [b] Cap. 13. [c] Op. Post. Diss. ii. c. 15, 16, 17. [d] Ann. 169. sect. vi. et seq.
[e] Vid. Not. ad. Cap. xi. Ep. Polyc. ad Philip. [f] Critic. in Bar. 167. sect. 4, 5. [g] See Chishull's Travels, p. 11.
[h] Mem. E. T. 2. Part 2. Polycarp Art. 1. [i] Annal. 84. sect. 3. 169. sect. 12.

epistle of Polycarp, though there have been exceptions taken to a passage or two of it, as if they were additions and interpolations. Indeed, the epistle we still have well answers to the apostolical character of Polycarp himself: and agrees with the character given of his epistle by Irenæus, and the observation of Eusebius, that he had therein quoted the first epistle of Peter, and not the second. It has also the passages expressly quoted from it [a] by Eusebius. It ought therefore to be received, and respected as his, without hesitation.

It is certain this epistle was written after the death of Ignatius, and, as is generally supposed, soon after it. Basnage [b] indeed denies, that there is any proof of this. However I shall place it here in the year next after the death of Ignatius, A. D. 108.

The former and larger part of this epistle we have in its original Greek. The tenth, eleventh, and twelfth sections (of which there are thirteen in the whole) are now extant only in an ancient Latin version; which is entire, and contains the whole epistle.

The Relation of the Martyrdom of Polycarp, written by the church of Smyrna, of which he was bishop, is an excellent piece; which may be read with pleasure by the English reader in the archbishop of Canterbury's collection of the apostolical fathers. As there are in it some quotations of the books of the New Testament, or references to them, I shall give an account of it when I have made my collections out of Polycarp's epistle to the Philippians. The greatest part of that relation is inserted by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical [c] History; and it [d] is preserved elsewhere entire.

There are some fragments called Responsiones, ascribed to St. Polycarp; in which the four evangelists, and the characters of their gospels, are distinctly mentioned. These fragments were first published by Feuardentius in his Irenæus, from Victor of Capua, a writer of the sixth century, and have been since several times republished by [e] others. But we have already observed it to be somewhat likely, that there was nothing remaining of Polycarp in the time of Eusebius and Jerom, beside his epistle to the Philippians. Du Pin [f] says plainly, there is a good deal of reason to think, these fragments are supposititious. And our most reverend Metropolitan, [g] having observed that, beside the great distance of Victor Capuanus, the first collector of them, from the time of Polycarp, he has given, upon other occasions, manifest proofs of his little care and judgment in distinguishing the works of the ancient fathers who lived any long time before him; and that the passages themselves ascribed to St. Polycarp, are little agreeable to the apostolical age, concludes: "All these considerations have justly restrained learned men 'from giving any credit to those fragments, or from receiving them as belonging in any wise 'to so ancient an author.' They will therefore be no farther taken notice of here. I proceed to consider the testimonies of the only remaining piece of this father.

In St. Polycarp's short epistle to the Philippians are many texts of the New Testament, though but few books cited, or expressly named. However, of these in the first place.

Books of the New Testament quoted by Polycarp.

N. T.	Polycarp.
I. 1 Cor. vi. 2. "Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world?"	I. Ch. xi. 'Do [h] we not know, that the saints shall judge the world? as Paul teaches.'
II. Eph. iv. 26. "Be ye [i] angry, and sin not: let not the sun go down upon your wrath."	II. Ch. xii. 'For I trust that ye are well exercised in the holy scriptures——As in these scriptures it is [k] said: Be ye angry, and sin not. And, Let not the sun go down upon your wrath.'

It is true, the first of these directions is the same with that Ps. iv. 4. "Stand in awe, and sin not;" which in the Septuagint version is: Οργιζεσθε, και μη αμαρτανετε, 'Be angry, and sin not.' But as the later advice is no where in the Old Testament, and both these precepts are together

[a] H. E. l. 3. c. 36. p. 108. [b] Annal. 110. sect. 4, 6. [c] L. iv. c. 15. [d] Apud Patr. Apost. Cotel. v. ii. Ruinart Act. Martyr. et alibi. [e] Ap. Grabe Irenæ. p. 205. et. Patres Apost. T. 2. p. 203.

[i] Οργιζεσθε, και μη αμαρτανετε· ὁ ἡλιος μη επιδυετω επι τω παροργισμω υμων.

[f] Il y a bien de l'apparence, que ce sont des choses supposées. Bibl. Eccl. en Polycarpe. [g] Discourse concerning the treatises of his Collection. Ch. 3. sect. 14. [h] An nescimus, quia sancti mundum judicabunt? sicut Paulus docet.

[k] Ut his scripturis dictum est: Irascimini, et nolite peccare. Et, Sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram.

in the epistle to the Ephesians; it seems to me, that Polycarp does expressly refer the Philippians to St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians, and calls it scripture. If this be so, then we see, that the writings of the New Testament had now the name of 'sacred writings,' or 'holy scriptures,' and that they were much read by Christians in general.

III. Chap. iii. 'For neither I, nor any one like me, can come up to the wisdom of the 'blessed and renowned Paul, who—when absent [a] wrote to you letters: [an epistle, A. B. 'Wake] into which if ye look, you will be able to edify yourselves in the faith which has been 'delivered to you.'

Ch. xi. 'But I have neither perceived nor heard any such thing to be in you, among [b] 'whom the blessed Paul laboured, who are in the beginning of his epistle: for he glories in 'you in all the churches, which then alone knew God.'

In the former of these two passages the original Greek word, which I have rendered 'letters,' is in the plural number. But thereby some understand only an epistle, and so it is rendered by the archbishop in his excellent translation. And it is [c] certain, that the original word is sometimes used in the plural number for only one epistle. Understand it so here, and we have at least an express testimony for the epistle of Paul to the Philippians. But comparing these two passages together, I am [d] apt to think, that by 'epistles' Polycarp intends the epistle to the Philippians, and also both the epistles to the Thessalonians. For in this last passage he seems to quote these words, 2 Thess. i. 4. "So that we ourselves glory in you in the churches of God." Nor is at all unlikely that Polycarp might consider the epistles directly sent to the Thessalonians, as written likewise to the Philippians; they being also in the same province of Macedonia, of which Thessalonica was the capital city.

And though the word in the first passage should be limited to one epistle, that directly to the Philippians; yet this latter passage is so clear for the second to the Thessalonians, that we are in a manner obliged to understand Polycarp to suppose the Philippians concerned in those epistles.

Words of the New Testament, and allusions, without the name of the book or writer.

N. T.	Polycarp.
IV. Matth. v. 3. "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. v. 7. Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. 10. Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."	IV. Ch. ii. 'But [e] remembering what the Lord said teaching: Judge not, that ye be not judged: forgive, and ye shall be forgiven: be ye merciful, that ye may obtain mercy: with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again. And, Blessed are the poor, and they that are persecuted for righteousness sake: for theirs is the kingdom of God.'
Matth. vii. 1. "Judge not, that ye be not judged. 2. And with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.	
Luke vi. 20. "Blessed be ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God. 36. Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful. 37. Judge not, and ye shall not be judged.——Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven. 38.——For with the same measure that ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."	
V. Matth. v. 44. "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you."	V. Ch. xii. 'And pray for those that persecute you, and hate you, and for the enemies of the cross.'
VI. Matth. vi. 12. "And forgive us our	VI. Ch. vi. 'Not severe in judgment,

[a] Ὃς καὶ ἀπὼν ὑμῖν ἐγραψεν ἐπιστολας, εἰς ἃς ἐαν ἐγκυπτητε. κ. λ. [b] In quibus laboravit beatus Paulus; qui estis in principio epistolæ ejus. De vobis etenim gloriatur in omnibus ecclesiis, quæ Deum tunc solæ cognoverunt. [c] Vid. Coteler. in loc. [d] This was the opinion of Salmeron. Vid. Usser. Notas ad h. l. [e] Μνημονευοντες δε ὠν ειπεν ὁ Κυριος διδασκων. κ. λ.

debts, as we forgive our debtors. 14. For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you. 15. But if ye forgive not," &c.

knowing that we are all debtors in point of sin: if therefore we pray the Lord, that he will forgive us, we ought also to forgive."

VII. Matth. vi. 13. "And lead us not into temptation."[a]

VII. Ch. vii. 'With supplication beseeching the all-seeing God,[b] not to lead us into temptation.'

VIII. Matth. xxvi. 41. "The[c] spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak." See also Mark xiv. 38.

VIII. Ch. vii. 'As the Lord[d] hath said: The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.'

I have put down in the margin the original words of these two last passages, and of the corresponding texts in Matthew, to be compared as a specimen of the agreement between the originals. It would be too tedious to do so all along, without some special reason. But in the other places there is also a like agreement in the originals with what appears in the translations.

We have in divers of these passages words of our Lord, with a mark of reference, 'The Lord hath said,' though no historian or evangelist is expressly named.

N. T.

IX. Acts ii. 24. "Whom[e] God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death."

X. Rom. xiii. 9.—"And if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. 10. Love worketh no ill to his neighbour, therefore love is the fulfilling of the law."

XI. Rom. xiv. 10. "We[g] shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ. 12. So then every one of us shall give an account of himself to God."

POLYCARP.

IX. Ch. i. 'Whom[f] God hath raised, having loosed the pains of hell.'

X. Ch. iii. 'Led on by love toward God, and Christ, and toward our neighbour: for if any man has these things, he has fulfilled the law of righteousness: for he that has love is far from all sin.'

XI. Ch. vi. 'And[h] must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, and every one give an account for himself.'

In 2 Cor. v. 10, is much the same sense, and some of the same words. But he who compares the places together will perceive, this is the place which Polycarp had an eye to particularly.

N. T.

XII. 1 Cor. v. 11. "But now I have written unto you, not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater—with such a one, no not to eat."

XIII. 1 Cor. vi. 9. "Neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, 10. —shall inherit the kingdom of God."

XIV. 2 Cor. iv. 14. "Knowing[i] that he which raised up the Lord Jesus, shall raise up us also by Jesus."

XV. 2 Cor. vi. 7.——[k] by the armour of righteousness."

POLYCARP.

XII. Ch. xi. 'If any one does not keep himself from covetousness, he shall be polluted with idolatry, and shall be judged as if he were a gentile.'

XIII. Ch. v. 'And neither fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, shall inherit the kingdom of God.'

XIV. Ch. ii. 'But[k] he who raised up him from the dead will raise us up also, if we do his will.'

XV. Ch. iv. 'Let us arm ourselves with the armour of righteousness."

[a] Και μη εισενεγκης ημας εις πειρασμον.

[b] Μη εισενεγκειν ημας εις πειρασμον.

[c] Το μεν πνευμα προθυμον, η δε σαρξ ασθενης.

[d] Καθως ειπεν ο Κυριος· το μεν πνευμα προθυμον, η δε σαρξ ασθενης.

[e] Ον ο Θεος ανεστησε, λυσας τας ωδινας του θανατου.

[f] Ον εγειρεν ο Θεος, λυσας τας ωδινας του αδου.

[g] Παντες γαρ παρασταθησομεθα τω βηματι του Χριστου. Αρα ουν εκαστος ημων περι εαυτου λογον δωσει Θεω.

[h] Και παντας δει παραστηναι τω βηματι του Χριστου. και εκαστον υπερ εαυτου λογον δουναι.

[i] Ειδοτες οτι ο εγειρας τον Κυριον Ιησουν, και ημας δια Ιησου εγερει.

[k] Ο δε εγειρας αυτον εκ νεκρων, και ημας εγερει.

XVI. 2 Cor. viii. 21. "Providing [a] for honest things, not only in the sight of the Lord, but in the sight of men."

XVI. Ch. vi. 'Always [b] providing what is honest in the sight of God and men.'

Part of this advice is given also Rom. xii. 17, "Provide things honest in the sight of all men." But any one may see, he rather refers to the text in the Corinthians.

This also, with many other places, may afford proof of the first Christian writers citing, or referring to, texts of scripture by memory, without looking upon them. For which reason Polycarp says, 'what is honest,' in the singular number, instead of 'honest things.'

N. T.	Polycarp.
XVII. Gal. i. 1. "But by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead."	XVII. Ch. xii. 'Who shall believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and in his Father, who raised him from the dead.'
XVIII. Gal. iv. 26. "For Jerusalem, which is above, is free, which is the mother of us all."	XVIII. Ch. iii. ——'edified in the faith delivered to you, which is the mother of you all.' Perhaps, says Dr. Young, it should be 'us all,'
XIX. Gal. vi. 7. "Be [c] not deceived, God is not mocked."	XIX. Ch. v. [d] 'Knowing therefore that God is not mocked.'
XX. Ephes. ii. 8, 9. "For [e] by grace are ye saved, through faith, and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God——not of works."	XX. Ch. i. 'Knowing, [f] that by grace ye are saved, not of works, but by the will of God through Jesus Christ.'
XXI. Philip. ii. 10. "That at the name of Jesus every knee [g] should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth. 11. And that every tongue should confess."	XXI. Ch. ii. 'To whom all things are made subject, that are in [h] heaven, and that are in earth, whom every living creature serves.'
Ver. 16. "That I may rejoice in the day of Christ, that I have not run in vain."	Ch. ix. 'Being persuaded that all these have not run in vain.' Speaking of Paul, and the other apostles, and some others.
XXII. Col. i. 28. "That we may present every man perfect in Christ."	XXII. Ch. xii. 'That your fruit may be manifest in all, and ye may be perfect in him.'
XXIII. 1 Thess. v. 17. "Pray [i] without ceasing."	XXIII. Ch. iv. 'Praying [k] without ceasing for all.
Ver. 22. "Abstain [l] from all appearance of evil."	Ch. ii. 'Abstain [m] from all evil.'
XXIV. 2 Thess. iii. 15. "Yet [n] count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother."	XXIV. Ch. xi. Giving advice about one who had offended, he says: 'Be ye also moderate in this, and do not [o] count such as enemies but call them back as suffering and erring members.'
XXV. 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. "I exhort therefore that supplications——and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and all that are in authority."	XXV. Ch. xii. 'Pray for all the saints: pray also for kings, and powers, and princes.'

[a] Προνοεμενοι καλα, εμπροσθεν ενωπιον Κυριε, αλλα και ενωπιον ανθρωπων.

[b] Προνοενλες αει τα καλα ενωπιον Θεε και ανθρωπων.

[c] Μη πλανασθε, Θεος ε μυκηριζεται.

[d] Ειδολες εν οτι Θεος ε μυκηριζεται.

[e] Τη γαρ χαριτι εστε σεσωσμενοι δια της πιστεως——και εξ εργων.

[f] Ειδολες οτι χαριτι εστι σεσωσμενοι, και εξ εργων.

[g] Παν γονυ καμψη επουρανιων και επιγειων——και πασα γλωσσα εξομολογησηται.

[h] Ω υπεταγη τα παντα επουρανια και επιγεια· ω πασα πνοη λατρευει.

[i] Αδιαλειπτως προσευχεσθε.

[k] Ενλσχυνασας αδιαλειπτως περι παντων.

[l] Απο παντος ειδες πονηρε απεχεσθε.

[m] Abstinete vos ab omni malo.

[n] Και μηκως εχθρον ηγεισθε, αλλα νεθετειτε ως αδελφον.

[o] Et non sicut inimicos tales existimetis, sed sicut passibilia membra et errantia eos revocate.

XXVI. 1 Tim. vi. 7. "For [a] we brought nothing with us into this world, and it is certain, that we can carry nothing out.——10. For the love of money is the root of all evil."

XXVI. Ch. iv. 'But [b] the love of money is the beginning of all troubles. Knowing therefore, that as we brought nothing into the world, so neither can we carry any thing out.'——

Here Polycarp transposeth the order of the words. He used his memory.

XXVII. In the fifth chapter of this epistle Polycarp adviseth, that deacons should not be 'double tongued,' as St. Paul does 1 Tim. iii. 8. And in that and the following chapter Polycarp gives divers other directions to presbyters and deacons, resembling those in the third chapter of the first epistle to Timothy: but they need not, I apprehend, be transcribed in this place.

N. T.

XXVIII. 2 Tim. ii. 11. "It is [c] a faithful saying—12. If we suffer, we shall also reign with him."

XXIX. 2 Tim. iv. 10. "For [e] Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world."

XXX. Heb. iv. 12. "And is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. 13, Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight: but all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do."

POLYCARP.

XXVIII. Ch. v. 'According as he has promised us, that he will raise us up from the dead, and that if we walk worthy of him, we shall also reign [d] with him.'

XXIX. Ch. ix. 'For [f] they loved not this present world.'

XXX. Ch. iv. 'Knowing, that he sees all things, and that nothing is hid from him, not the reasonings, nor the intents, nor any secrets of the heart.'

The author of the epistle to the Hebrews useth in this place metaphorical expressions, borrowed from sacrifices, which were flayed, divided, and laid open from the neck to the rump, downwards. Polycarp here says, that 'widows are to be free [g] from all faults, knowing, 'that they are the altars of God, and that he sees——' This, together with the resemblance of expressions, renders it probable, that Polycarp alludes to this text in the epistle to the Hebrews.

Again: Polycarp, Ch. xii. 'Now [h] the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and he 'himself our everlasting high priest, the Son of God, Jesus Christ, build you up in faith and 'truth.' Compare Heb. iv. 14. vi. 20. vii. 3.

N. T.

XXXI. 1 Pet. i. 8. "Whom [i] having not seen ye love: in whom, though now you see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable, and full of glory."

Ver. 13. "Wherefore, gird up the loins of your mind, be sober"——

Ver. 21. "Who by him do believe in God, that raised him up from the dead, and gave him glory."

POLYCARP.

XXXI Ch. i. 'In [k] whom, though you see him not, ye believe, and believing ye rejoice with joy unspeakable, and full of glory.'

Ch. ii. 'Wherefore, girding up the loins, serve the Lord in fear and truth——having believed in him that raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, and gave him glory, and a seat at his right hand.'

[a] Ουδεν γαρ εισηνεγκαμεν εις τον κοσμον, δηλον ὁτι ουδε εξενεγκειν τι δυναμεθα. 10. Ριζα γαρ παντων των κακων εστιν ἡ φιλαργυρια.

[b] Αρχη δε παντων χαλεπων φιλαργυρια. Ειδοτες ουν ὁτι ουδεν εισηνεγκαμεν εις τον κοσμον, αλλ' ουδε εξενεγκειν τι εχομεν.

[c] Ει ὑπομενομεν, και συμβασιλευσομεν.

[d] Και συμβασιλευσομεν αυτῳ.

[e] Αγαπησας τον νυν αιωνα.

[f] Ου γαρ τον νυν ηγαπησαν αιωνα.

[g] Και παντος κακου, γινωσκοντας ὁτι εστι θυσιαστηρια Θεου, και ὁτι παντα ἡμων σκοπειται [A. B. Wake reads παντα μωμοσκοπειται, and translates it, 'sees all blemishes.' Vid. Usser. Not. in h. l.] και λελησθεν αυτον ουδεν, ουτε λογισμων, ουτε ενθυμησεων ουτε τι των κρυπτων της καρδιας.

[h] Deus autem et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et ipse sempiternus pontifex, Dei Filius, Christus Jesus, ædificet vos in fide et caritate.

[i] Ον ουκ ειδοτες αγαπατε, εις ὁν αρτι μη ὁρωντες, πιστευοντες δε, αγαλλιασθε χαρᾳ ανεκλαλητῳ και δεδοξασμενῃ.

[k] Εις ὁν ουκ ιδοντες πιστευετε, πιστευοντες δε αγαλλιασθε χαρᾳ ανεκλαλητῳ και δεδοξασμενῃ.

XXXII. 1 Pet. ii. 11. "I beseech you, [a] abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul."

Ver. 12. "Having your conversation honest among the Gentiles, that whereas they speak against you as evil doers, they may by your good works, which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of visitation."

Ver. 17. "Love [c] the brotherhood."

Ver. 22. "Who [e] did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth. 24. Who his own-self bare our sins in his own body on the tree."

XXXIII. 1 Pet. iii. 9. "Not [g] rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing."

Ver. 14. "And if ye suffer for righteousness sake, happy are ye"—

XXXIV. 1 Pet. iv. 5. "Who shall give account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead."

Ver. 7. "Be ye therefore sober, and [i] watch unto prayer."

XXXV. 1 Pet. v. 5. "Yea, all of you be subject one to another."

XXXVI. 1 John ii. 7. "The old commandment is the word, which ye have heard from the beginning."

XXXVII. 1 John iv. 3. "And [l] every spirit, that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God: and this is that spirit of Antichrist, whereof you have heard," &c.

XXXVIII. Jude, ver. 3. "——[n] earnestly contend for the faith, which was once delivered to the saints."

XXXII. Ch. v. Polycarp says, 'young men ought to restrain themselves from all evil, ——[b] because every lust wars against the spirit.'

Ch. x. 'Having your conversation unreprovable among the Gentiles, that by your good works both ye yourselves may receive praise, and the Lord may not be blasphemed through you.'

Ch. x. 'Lovers [d] of the brotherhood.'

Ch. viii. 'Let us, therefore, without ceasing, stedfastly adhere to our hope——[f] which is Jesus Christ: who bare our sins in his own body on the tree: who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth."

XXXIII. Ch. ii. 'Not [h] rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing.'

Ch. viii. 'But suffered all for us, that we might live through [in] him. Let us therefore imitate his patience: and if we suffer for him, we shall glorify him.'

XXXIV. Ch. ii. 'Who comes [as] the judge of the quick and the dead.'

Ch. vii. 'Watching [k] unto prayer.'

XXXV. Ch. x. 'Be all of you subject one to another.'

XXXVI. Ch. vii. 'Let us return to the word that was delivered to us from the beginning.'

XXXVII. Ch. vii. "For [m] whoever confesseth not, that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is Antichrist.'

XXXVIII. Ch. iii. 'To edify [o] yourselves in the faith delivered [given] to you.'

XXXIX. He has this declaration, which seems to respect the writings of the N. T. in general. 'And [p] whosoever perverts the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts, and says there is 'neither resurrection nor judgment, he is the firstborn of Satan.' And we before saw the epistle to the Ephesians referred to under the term of 'holy scriptures.' Numb. II.

XL. Thus I have given (omitting however some lesser things) a large and distinct account of Polycarp's testimony to the writings of the N. T. So many exhortations in the words of

[a] Παρακαλω—απεχεσθαι των σαρκικων επιθυμιων, αἱτινες στρατευονται κατα της ψυχης.

[b] Ὁτι πασα επιθυμια κατα τα πνευματος στρατευεται.

[c] Την αδελφοτητα αγαπατε.

[d] Fraternitatis amatores.

[e] Ὁς ἁμαρτιαν ουκ εποιησεν, ουδε ευρεθη δολος εν τω στοματι αυτου. 24. Ὁς τας ἁμαρτιας ἡμων αυτος ανηνεγκεν εν τω σωματι αυτου επι το ξυλον.

[f] Ὁς ανηνεγκεν ἡμων τας ἁμαρτιας τω ιδιω σωματι επι το ξυλον· ὁς ἁμαρτιαν ουκ εποιησεν, ουδε ευρεθη δολος εν τω στοματι αυτου.

[g] Μη αποδιδοντες κακον ανθ κακου, η λοιδοριαν ανθ λοιδοριας.

[h] Μη αποδιδοντες κακον ανθ κακου, η λοιδοριαν ανθ λοιδοριας.

[i] Και νηφετε εις τας προσευχας.

[k] Νηφοντες εις προσευχας.

[l] Και παν πνευμα ὁ μη ὁμολογει τον Ιησουν Χριστον εν σαρκι εληλυθοτα, εκ του Θεου ουκ εστι. και τουτο εστι το του αντιχριστου. κ. λ.

[m] Πας γαρ ος αν μη ομολογη Ιησουν Χριστον εν σαρκι εληλυθεναι ανθιχριστος εστι.

[n] Επαγωνιζεσθαι τῃ απαξ παραδοθειση τοις αγιοις πιστει.

[o] Οικοδομεισθαι εις την δοθεισαν υμιν πιστιν.

[p] Και ὁς αν μεθοδευη τα λογια του Κυριου προς τας ιδιας επιθυμιας, και λεγη· μητε αναστασιν, μητε κρισιν ειναι, ουτος πρωτοτοκος εστι του Σατανα. c. vii.

Christ and his apostles, in so short a letter, are a lively evidence, of the respect which Christians had for these books, and that these things were deeply engraved on their memories. For it is from thence chiefly, as I apprehend, Polycarp borrowed these expressions, without looking into the books themselves.

XLI. We have then in St. Polycarp quotations of the first epistle to the Corinthians, the epistles to the Ephesians and Philippians, and both the epistles to the Thessalonians. Words of our Lord, found in St. Matthew's and St. Luke's gospels are quoted as spoken by him. And beside these, we have references, which may be reckoned undoubted, to the Acts of the Apostles, the epistles to the Romans, first and second to the Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, first and second to the Thessalonians, first and second to Timothy, first of St. Peter, and first of St. John, and a probable reference to the epistle to the Hebrews. Those to the epistles to the Colossians, and the epistle of St. Jude, are only doubtful.

The respect for the books of the New Testament appears in the great number of allusions to them, and in some particular expresssions, in which they are called 'sacred scriptures,' and 'oracles of the Lord.'

CHAP. VII.

The relation of St. Polycarp's martyrdom; and general observations on the testimony of the Apostolical Fathers.

I NOW proceed to give a brief account of the notice taken of the books of the N. T. by the church of Smyrna, in their epistle concerning Polycarp's martyrdom. Though it was not written until a considerable time after the epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians (as we have before shewn,) yet it will very properly stand here. For the testimony of Polycarp is also the testimony of his church: and their testimony is likewise to be considered as his, the epistle having been written presently after his death.

I. sect. 1. They say at the beginning: 'All things that went before were done, that [a] the 'Lord might shew us from above [or from the very first] a martyrdom according to the gospel. 'For he expected to be delivered up, as the Lord also did, that we likewise might be imitators 'of him.'

Undoubtedly here is a reference to the history of our Lord's sufferings, and to his being betrayed and apprehended, as shewn at the latter end of the several gospels. But as Polycarp had retired from Smyrna for a while, and was taken in the place of his retreat; I think it likely, that there is also a reference to Matt. x. 23, "But when they persecute you in one city, flee ye into another." And sect. 4, speaking of a Christian who had offered himself to the proconsul, and afterwards was affrighted at the sight of the wild beasts, they say: 'We do not com-'mend [b] those who offer themselves: forasmuch as the gospel teaches us no such thing.' Refer-'ring perhaps to the same text, as well as to other things: however, in both these places calling the history of Jesus Christ and his doctrine, 'the gospel.'

II. sect. 7. They say: 'The serjeants and other officers who went to look for Polycarp, 'went [c] with their usual arms, as against a thief.' Referring perhaps to Matt. xxvi. 55.

III. sect. 2. They make use of the words of 1 Cor. ii. 9. 'And with the eyes of the soul 'looked to those good things, which are reserved for those that endure, which neither ear has 'heard, nor eye seen, nor have entered into the heart of man.' And though the like sense is also in Isai. lxiv. 4, yet I think it plain they refer to the epistle to the Corinthians.

IV. sect. 10. There seems to be a reference to Rom. xiii. 1, and Tit. iii. 1.

V. sect. 14. Polycarp in a prayer of his there inserted, says: 'I praise and glorify thee [d] through the eternal high priest, Jesus Christ, thy well-beloved Son.' This character may be thought to be borrowed from the epistle to the Hebrews, where Christ is said to be "made an high priest for ever," ch. vi. 20, and to have an "unchangeable priesthood," ch. vii. 24. Indeed, in the Greek copy of this epistle in Cotelerius this place stands thus: 'I [e] glorify thee

[a] Ἵνα ἡμῖν ὁ Κυριος ανωθεν επιδειξῃ το καῖα το ευαγγελιον μαρτυριον.

[b] Επειδὴ ουχ ούτως διδασκει το ευαγγελιον.

[c] Μεῖα των συνηθων ὅπλων, ὡς επι λῃστην τεχονῖες.

[d] Δια τȣ αιωνιȣ αρχιερεως Ιησȣ Χριστȣ. Apud Euseb. H. E. p. 133. D.

[e] Συν τῳ αιωνιῳ και επȣρανιῳ Ιησȣ Χριστῳ.

with the eternal and heavenly Jesus Christ.' But in Eusebius it is as I have given the place at first. And with him the old Latin version, published by Usher, agrees in the main, saying: 'By [a] the eternal high priest, the all-powerful Jesus Christ.'

VI. sect. 17. When they say, 'Christ [b] suffered, who was without spot, for sinners,' they may be thought to refer to 1 Pet. iii. 19. But I think the place not very material. Nor are those words in Eusebius, or his translator Rufinus, or the ancient Latin version, as Usher observes.

VII. In the salutation at the beginning of this epistle, are these words: 'Mercy [c] and 'peace, and love from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied.' This is very agreeable to Jude, ver. 2, "Mercy unto you, and peace and love be multiplied." However, compare 1 Pet. i. 2, "Grace unto you and peace be multiplied." 2 Pet. i. 2, "Grace and peace be multiplied unto you."

VIII. Any one is able to add this testimony to that of Polycarp in his epistle, of which we there gave a summary view. The principal thing to be observed here is, that the church of Smyrna has more plainly given the title of 'gospel' to the history of our Lord by the evangelists: [d] and perhaps in the [e] second place, where that word was used by them, they intend the New Testament in general. They may be reckoned likewise to give some confirmation to the supposition, that St. Polycarp was acquainted [f] with the epistle to the Hebrews.

IX. Having now gone through all the apostolical fathers, it will not be disagreeable to conclude our extracts out of them with some general observations. Le Clerc's Dissertation on the Four Gospels, already mentioned, will afford us several. He speaks of these fathers in this order: Clement, Barnabas, Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp. I shall however put down his observations in the order I have quoted these writers, which is not very different from his. I shall take no particular notice here of the fragment, called St. Clement's Second Epistle; because we have shewn, it does not belong to this time.

1. 'Barnabas,' says [g] Le Clerc, 'has many more passages out of the Old Testament than 'the New: but then almost throughout that epistle he argues against the Jews, against whom 'it was in vain to allege the New.'

I think, there is another very obvious reason of this, arising from the time and character of the writer, as I have shewn in my remarks upon him.

2. 'Clement [h] has more passages out of the Old Testament, and oftener alludes to it than 'the New. But yet he quotes this more than once, and often refers to it.——Indeed, he does 'not mention the names of the writers of the New Testament. Nor is it his custom to mention 'the names of the books or writers of the Old Testament.'

3. 'Hermas [i] quotes neither the Old nor the New Testament. The reason is, because he 'only relates his visions, and delivers precepts as received from angels.'

4. 'Ignatius [k] does not quote the Old Testament oftener than the New. Nay, he seems to 'refer or allude to this oftener than to the other.'

Le Clerc speaks of the smaller epistles, the same we have made use of, without any regard to the larger or interpolated, which he utterly rejects. But he speaks modestly. For I think, that Ignatius has alluded much oftener to the New Testament than to the Old.

5. 'Polycarp [l] has alluded above twenty times to texts of the New Testament, or recited 'the very words of them, and scarce once refers to any passage of the Old Testament.'

These are Le Clerc's observations, which appear to me very much to our purpose.

X. I would observe farther, first, that all these are but short pieces. The largest is the Shepherd of Hermas, which is as large as several of the other, and almost as large as all the rest put together. But it was inconsistent with the nature of that work for the writer to quote books.

[a] Per æternum pontificem omnipotentem Jesum Christum. Vid. Notas Usser in loc. apud Coteler. Patr. Apost.

[b] Αμωμον ὑπερ ἁμαρτωλων. [c] Ελεος, ειρηνη, και αγαπη απο Θεου Πατρος και του Κυριου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου πληθυνθειη.

[d] Numb. I. [e] In sect. 4. in the remark on Numb. I.

[f] See here Numb. V. and compare it with Polycarp in the foregoing ch. Numb. XXX. [g] Barnabas multo plura habet ex Vetere Testamento quam ex Novo; sed per totam ferme epistolam contra Judæos ratiocinatur; contra quos Novum proferre non potuit, nisi illis ludibrium debere vellet. Dissertat. iii. de Quatuor Evang. p. 543. b. [h] Ex hisce autem [scriptoribus] Clemens sæpius quidem attulit loca deprompta e Veteri Testamento, atque ad id allusit, quam ad libros Novi, ex quo etiam pauciora profert. Sed tamen non semel posterius hoc laudat, nec raro ad id respicit.——Non profert quidem nomina scriptorum Novi Testamenti; sed nec Veteris librorum aut scriptorum nomina solet proferre. Ibid.

[i] Hermas nec Vetus nec Novum Testamentum laudat, quia visiones suas narrat, et præcepta, veluti ab angelis accepta, exponit. Ibid. [k] Ignatius non frequentius laudat Vetus Testamentum quam Novum, atque ad hoc crebrius respicere videtur. Ibid. [l] Polycarpus pluries quam vigesies alludit ad loca Novi Testamenti, aut ea verbo tenus laudat: vix semel respicit ad locum Veteris. Ibid.

2. All these pieces, except the Shepherd of Hermas, are epistles written to Christians; who, it is likely, needed not at that time to be particularly informed what books they ought to receive; but only to be admonished to attend to the things contained in them, and to maintain their respect for them, as is here often done.

3. Considering the shortness and the nature of these pieces; it is reasonable to suppose, that most, or all of these writers, and those they write to, received more books, or writings of the New Testament, as sacred, or canonical, than those expressly named, or clearly alluded to by them. For as these several pieces are short, so they never design to give a list or catalogue of the books, either of the Old or the New Testament, received by Christians. All the mention made of either is only occasional. Beside that, we have lost divers letters written by St. Polycarp, both to churches, and particular persons. It cannot therefore by any means be concluded, that his one remaining epistle to the Philippians gives us full information of all the books received by him. It is most reasonable to suppose, it contains quotations, or allusions to a part only of those books which he received and owned, as the rule of Christian belief and practice.

4. In the writings of these apostolical fathers, there is all the notice taken of the books of the New Testament that could be expected. Barnabas, though so early a writer, appears to have been acquainted with the gospel of St. Matthew. Clement, writing in the name of the church of Rome to the church of Corinth, on occasion of some dissention there, desires them to 'take 'into their hands the epistle of the blessed apostle Paul,' written to them; and refers them particularly to a part of that epistle, in which he admonished them against strife and contention. He has likewise in his epistle divers clear and undeniable allusions to St. Paul's epistle written to the church over which he presided, and in whose name he wrote. Not to mention at present other things.

5. Quotations there could not be, as we have often observed, in the book of Hermas. But allusions there are to the books of the New Testament, such as were suitable to his design.

6. Ignatius, writing to the church of Ephesus, takes notice of the epistle of Paul written to them, in which he 'makes mention of them in Christ Jesus.'

7. Lastly Polycarp, writing to the Philippians, refers them to the epistle of the 'blessed and renowned Paul,' written to them: if not also, as I imagine, to the epistles sent to the Thessalonians, Christians of the same province. Not to mention now his express quotations of other books of the New Testament, or his numerous and manifest allusions to them.

8. From these particulars here mentioned it is apparent, that they have not omitted to take notice of any book of the N. T. which, as far as we are able to judge, their design led them to mention. Their silence therefore about any other books can be no prejudice to their genuineness, if we shall hereafter meet with credible testimonies to them. And we may have good reason to believe, that these apostolical fathers where some of those persons, from whom succeeding writers received that full and satisfactory evidence, which they appear to have had concerning the several books of the New Testament.

9. And though I do not here design to sum up the whole evidence given by these writers, from their allusions, and other particulars, but only to mention some general observations; yet it ought to be here remembered, that Ignatius has made use of terms denoting a code, or, collection of 'gospels' and 'epistles.'

CHAP. VIII.

EVANGELISTS IN THE REIGN OF TRAJAN.

EUSEBIUS [a] in the history of things in the reign of Trajan has this remarkable passage:

'Among those who were illustrious at that time was Quadratus, who, together with the 'daughters of Philip, is said to have enjoyed the gift of prophecy. And beside these there 'were at that time many other eminent persons, who [b] had the first rank in the succession of

[a] H. E. l. 3. c. 37.

[b] Την πρωτην ταξιν της των αποστολων επεχοντες διαδοχης.

'the apostles: who, being the worthy disciples of such men, every where built up the churches, 'the foundations of which had been laid by the apostles; extending likewise their preaching 'yet farther, and scattering abroad the salutary seeds of the kingdom of heaven all over the 'world. For many of the disciples of that time, whose souls the Divine Word had inspired 'with an ardent love of philosophy, first fulfilled our Saviour's precept, distributing their sub-'stance to the necessitous. Then travelling abroad they performed the work of evangelists, 'being ambitious to preach Christ,[a] and deliver the scripture of the divine gospels.'

I presume, I have not improperly placed this passage here. Eusebius, as I just said, is writing the history of things under Trajan. In the foregoing chapter he had given an account of Ignatius and his writings, who died in the tenth of Trajan. And in the two following chapters he speaks of Clement of Rome, and Papias. Though therefore Eusebius does not always place things in his Ecclesiastical History in the exact order of time; yet I think it must be allowed, that he was fully persuaded, that before the end of the reign of Trajan, who died in 117, the gospels were well known, and collected together: and they, who preached the doctrine of Christ to those who had not heard it, carried the gospels with them, and delivered them to their converts. They must therefore have been before this for some time in use, and in the highest esteem in the churches planted by the apostles. It must have been no difficult thing at that time to know the genuineness of writings which were of so great authority with them. And certainly they were well assured of it, or they had not so highly esteemed them. The persons of whom Eusebius here speaks were the immediate successors of the apostles, and had the first rank among them: and they lived a good part of their time in the very first century, as well as St. Ignatius and St. Clement.

There can be, I think, but one exception to my placing this passage here, in the reign of Trajan, at the year 112, which is, that this is not a passage of any ancient writer of this time, but of Eusebius, an author of the fourth century. To which I would answer, that it is reasonable to suppose, Eusebius had good ground, from ancient authors, for what he here says. And that the gospels were before now well known, and in great esteem, and collected together, appears probable from what we ourselves have seen in the apostolical fathers still remaining, particularly in Ignatius. If this does not satisfy, I would add: that I do not intend to bring forward many more passages of Eusebius, or any other writer, in this manner.

CHAP. IX.

PAPIAS.

PAPIAS is placed by Cave[b] at the year 110. According to others, he flourished about the year[c] 115, or[d] 116. How long he lived, is uncertain. He is said by some[e] to have been a martyr. But as this is not mentioned by Eusebius or Jerom, I think it need not be much regarded. Irenæus[f] speaks of him as a hearer of John, and companion of Polycarp; and by John seems to intend the apostle and evangelist.

Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, has a whole chapter concerning him, beside what he says of him in other places. There is no part of that chapter, which we shall not have occasion for at one time or other. I think therefore, though it be long, it will be the shortest course to take it all here at once.

'There are,' says[g] Eusebius, 'five books of Papias, entitled, An Explication of the Oracles of 'the Lord. These Irenæus makes mention of, as the only books written by him, after this manner: "These things Papias, who was a hearer of John, and a companion of Polycarp, an[h] ancient "man, attests in his fourth book: for there are five books composed by him." Thus speaks

[a] Και την των θειων ευαγγελιων παραδιδοναι γραφην. [b] Hist. Lit. Papias. [c] Basnage Ann. P. E. 115. n. 8.
[d] Pagi Crit. in Bar. A. D. 116. Cleric. H. E. [e] Vid. Cave ibd [f] L. v. c. 33.
[g] H. E. l. 3. c. 39. [h] Αρχαιος ανηρ.

'Irenæus. But Papias in the preface of his books does by no means say, that[a] he heard 'or saw any of the holy apostles: but only, that he had received the things concerning 'the faith from those who were well acquainted with them, which he shews in these words: "I shall not think much to set down together with my interpretations, what I have 'learned[b] from the elders [or presbyters,] and do well remember, confirming the truth by 'them. For I took no delight, as most men do, in those that talk a great deal, but in 'those that teach the truth, nor in those that relate strange precepts, but in them that 'relate the precepts which the Lord has entrusted us with, and which proceed from the 'truth itself. And if at any time I met with one who had conversed with the elders, I 'enquired after the sayings of the elders; what Andrew or what Peter said; or what Philip, 'what Thomas, or James had said: what John or Matthew, or what any other of the disciples 'of the Lord were wont to say: and what Aristion, or John the presbyter, disciples of the 'Lord, say: for I was of opinion, that I could not profit so much by books [c] as by the living." 'Where it is proper to observe, that he twice mentions the name of John; the former of whom 'he reckons with Peter, James, Matthew, and the rest of the apostles, manifestly intending the 'evangelist. Then making a distinction in his discourse, he places the other John with the 'others who are not of the number of apostles, putting Aristion before him; and he expressly 'calls him presbyter. By which too is shewn the truth of their account, who have said, that 'there were two in Asia of that name; and that there were two sepulchres at Ephesus, and that 'each of them are still said to be the sepulchre of John. This is worthy of our remark. For it 'is likely, that the Revelation, which goes under the name of John, was seen by the second, if 'not by the first. This Papias then, of whom we have been speaking, confesseth, that he 'received the apostles' sayings from those who conversed with them; and says, that he 'was a hearer of Aristion, and John the presbyter. And indeed he often mentions them by 'name, and puts down in his writings the traditions he had received from them. Nor will our 'mention of these things, I suppose, be judged unprofitable. It will be worth while to add here 'to the fore-cited words of Papias some other of his passages, in which he mentions some 'miracles, and other things, which had come to him by tradition. That Philip the apostle 'resided with his daughters at Hierapolis, has been shewn in some things we have[d] already 'produced. Now we are to observe how Papias, who lived at the same time, mentions a won-'derful relation he had received from Philip's daughters. For he relates, that in his time a 'dead man was raised to life. He also relates another miracle of Justus surnamed Barsabas: 'that he drank deadly poison, and by the grace of the Lord suffered no harm. Now that this 'Justus, after the ascension of our Saviour, was sent forth by the holy apostles together with 'Matthias, and that they prayed, that one of them might be allotted to fill up their number in 'the room of Judas the traitor, the scripture of the Acts relates in this manner, ch. i. 23, 24. '"And they appointed two, Joseph called Barsabas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias. 'And they prayed, and said." And other things the same writer has related, which he received 'by unwritten tradition, and some strange parables of our Saviour, and sermons of his, and 'several other things of a fabulous kind. Among which he says likewise, that there shall be a 'thousand years after the resurrection of the dead, wherein the kingdom of Christ shall corpo-'rally subsist upon this earth. Which opinion, I suppose, he was led into by misunderstanding 'the apostolical narrations; and for want of seeing into those things which they spoke mysti-'cally, and in figures. For he[e] was a man of no great capacity, as may be conjectured from 'his writings. Yet he gave occasion to a great many ecclesiastical writers after him to be of 'the same opinion, who respected the antiquity of the man; as Irenæus, and the rest who have 'maintained that opinion. In the same writing he delivers many other narrations of the fore-'mentioned Aristion of the words of the Lord, and traditions of John the presbyter; to which 'we refer the curious reader. But it is requisite we should subjoin to his fore-cited passages a 'tradition, which he has concerning Mark, who wrote the gospel, in these words: "And this 'the presbyter [or elder] said: Mark being the interpreter of Peter wrote exactly whatever 'he remembered: but not in the order in which things were spoken or done by Christ. For

[a] It is therefore still a question, whether Papias was a hearer of John the apostle, as Irenæus seems to intimate, or only of John the elder. See this question considered by Grabe Spic. T. 2. p. 26. &c. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. 2. p. 2. St. Papias, Note i. Pagi Crit. in Baron. 116. n. 5. Basnag. Ann. 115. n. ix. Beausobre Hist. des Manich. liv. 2. ch. 2. p 352. Note (2.)

[b] Παρα των πρεσβυτερων.

[c] Οσον τα παρα ζωσης φωνης και μενουσης.

[d] L. 3. c. 31.

[e] Σφοδρα γαρ τοι σμικρος ων τον νουν, ως αν εκ των αυτου λογων, τεκμηραμενον εικοτως, φαινεται.

'he was neither a hearer, nor a follower of the Lord; but, as I said, afterwards followed Peter, 'who made his discourses for the profit of those that heard him, but not in the way of a regular 'history of our Lord's words. Mark however committed no mistake in writing some things, 'as they occurred to his memory. For this one thing he made his care, to omit nothing which 'he had heard, and to say nothing false in what he related." Thus Papias writes of Mark. Con- 'cerning Matthew he says: "Matthew wrote the [divine] oracles in the Hebrew tongue, 'and every one interpreted them as he was able." He also brings testimonies out of the first 'epistle of John, and of Peter in like manner. He relates also another story of a woman 'accused of many crimes before the Lord, which is[b] contained in the Gospel according to the 'Hebrews.'

It should be just observed, that in another place[c] Eusebius, speaking of Ignatius and Polycarp, says: 'At the same time flourished Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, an eloquent man, and 'skilful in the scriptures.' But Valesius in his notes offers divers reasons for believing this last character to be an interpolation; it being wanting in several manuscripts, and also in the translation of Rufinus, and contrary to what Eusebius says in the above cited chapter.

I need not put down distinctly what Jerom in his Catalogue says of Papias, it being little more than a transcript of Eusebius. Only we may observe, that he assures us, he was bishop of Hierapolis in Asia, and that he wrote five books, called An Explication of the Words of the Lord.

Omitting now the confirmation which Papias affords to the facts of the evangelical history, in what he says of our blessed Lord and his apostles; there are divers things in the foregoing chapter of Eusebius to be taken notice of, very much to our present purpose. We must by all means observe what is here said, or hinted, concerning St. Matthew's and St. Mark's gospels, the Acts of the apostles, some other books of the N. T. and the story contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

1. *Of St. Matthew's Gospel.*

1. Here is an authentic testimony to the genuineness of the gospel of St. Matthew. It was well known in the time of Papias. No one doubted but it was written by him.

2. Papias says, this gospel was written in Hebrew. The same thing we shall hereafter find often affirmed by ancient Christian writers. Nevertheless, some very learned men have disputed this. They think, succeeding writers have taken this account upon trust from Papias, without duly considering the matter. I think it must be allowed, there are not in our Greek gospel of St. Matthew any marks of a translation: but of this I shall say no more here.

3. The particular observation concerning St. Matthew's gospel, that it was written in Hebrew, seems to imply, that it is the only gospel that was written originally in that language.

4. He says, 'every one interpreted it as he was able.' Which some have thought to be one specimen of this man's weak capacity: for it requires some knowledge in the Hebrew tongue, to interpret a book written in that language.

5. Allowing St. Matthew's gospel to have been written in Hebrew, it does not follow from what Papias says, that there was then no Greek gospel of St. Matthew, or that Papias knew of no such. Papias collected accounts of former things from any persons whom he thought credible. What he says, therefore, of every one interpreting it as he was able, may relate only to some short time after it was written. All that can be concluded from what Papias says, is, that he thought the gospel of Matthew was written originally in Hebrew; and that for some time, till a Greek translation was published, every one interpreted it as he could.

That at the time of Papias, and before, there was extant a Greek gospel of St. Matthew, is apparent from the quotations or allusions of the apostolical fathers, particularly those of Ignatius and Polycarp; there being a great agreement between them and our Greek gospel, not only in sense, but also in the very words.

[a] Ὡς τε ᾐδεν ἡμαρτε Μαρκος, εἰως ενια γραψας ὡς απεμνημονευσεν· ἑνος γαρ εποιησατο προνοιαν, τε μηδεν ὧν ηκουσε παραλιπειν, η ψευσασθαι τι εν αυτοις. [b] Ην το καθ' Ἑβραιους ευαγγελιον περιεχει. [c] H. E. l. 3. c. 36. in.

2. *Of St. Mark's Gospel.*

1. Here is an authentic testimony to the gospel of St Mark. What Papias writes concerning it, he had received from the presbyter, meaning undoubtedly the presbyter John. The presbyter said, Mark was the interpreter and follower of Peter, and the gospel written by him was composed out of Peter's sermons. And better materials no man could have. Nor could any man, not an apostle himself, have better advantages for writing a gospel, than frequent hearing the apostle, and intimate conversation with him.

2. But we need not be determined absolutely by the judgment of the elder, that Mark did not write in the order in which things were spoken or done by Christ. For though Peter in his sermons might not always deliver things in the order of time in which they happened, nor in each sermon every particular here related: yet there was usually in his sermons some regard to the order of time. And Mark, who long attended on him, and often heard him preach, would certainly be able to put the whole together, when he came to write, very much in the order of time in which things were spoken or done. And if Peter's public instructions had not fully qualified him for writing a regular history, he had in his conversation with Peter frequent opportunities of making farther enquiries about any matters he doubted of.

3. The presbyter, according to this account, put the credit and authority of Mark's gospel upon its being a true and faithful relation of the preaching, or sermons, of the apostle Peter. This is manifest from every particular there mentioned.

4. However, it ought by no means to be overlooked, that in another place Eusebius, after he had put down what Clement of Alexandria says of Mark's gospel, adds: 'And[a] Papias, 'bishop of Hierapolis, agrees with him.'

What St. Clement says there is to this purpose: that St. Peter's hearers at Rome were desirous of having his sermons written down for their use: that they made their request to Mark, to leave them a written memorial of the doctrine they had received by word of mouth: that they did not desist from their intreaties, till they had prevailed upon him: that when the apostle Peter knew what had been done, he was pleased with the zeal of the men, and[b] confirmed that writing by his authority, that it might be read in the churches. 'This is related,' says Eusebius, 'by Clement in the sixth book of his Institutions; and Papias, bishop of Hiera-'polis, agrees with him.'

From this passage of Eusebius it has been concluded by learned men, that Papias had related not only what we have before seen in the foregoing chapter from the elder, but likewise that Peter had confirmed Mark's gospel. So thought Mr.[c] Richardson, who has written with so much judgment on the canon of the New Testament. 'And we learn,' says he, 'from Euse-'bius, that both Papias, and Clement of Alexandria, attested, that the Romans having prevailed 'with St. Mark to write his gospel, what he had done was revealed to St. Peter by the Holy 'Ghost, who thereupon authorized the work, and appointed it to be read publickly in the 'church.'

But to this I crave leave to say two things.

First, That this same passage from Clement of Alexandria is related by Eusebius in another[d] place differently, and I think in some respects more accurately than here. There Eusebius informs us, that Clement says, when Mark had 'composed his gospel, he delivered it to them 'that had asked it of him. Which when[e] Peter knew, he neither forbid it nor encouraged it.' But of this I say no more here. When we come to Clement himself, we shall farther consider these two accounts of Eusebius: how they may be reconciled, and which is the most accurate.

Secondly, Which soever of these two accounts is the more accurate: supposing that Clement did write, that when Peter 'knew what was done, he confirmed the writing by his autho-'rity, that it might be read in the churches;' yet it cannot be inferred from Eusebius, that Papias had said all this. Eusebius says: 'And Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, agrees with Cle-'ment.' Such observations as these are, in my opinion, to be interpreted cautiously. These

[a] Hist. Ec. l. 2. c. 15. [b] —κυρωσαι τε την γραφην εις ενισχυσιν ταις εκκλησιαις—συνεπιμαρτυρει δ' αυτω και ο Ιεραπολιης επισκοπος, ονομαλι Παπιας. [c] The Canon of the N. T. vindicated, p. 34. ed. third, 1619. [d] H. Ec. l. vi. c. 14. [e] Οπερ επιγνονια τον Πετρον, προτρεπτικως μητε κωλυσαι, μητε προτρεψασθαι. p. 216. B.

words of Eusebius do not imply, that Papias had expressly related every thing there said by Clement: but only in general, that the two accounts of St. Mark's gospel given by Clement and Papias are agreeable to each other. They agree in the author of that gospel, that he was a disciple and companion of St. Peter, and that it was composed out of that apostle's sermons. But because Papias is said to agree with Clement, it is by no means necessary to suppose, he had delivered every particular contained in that passage of Clement.

3. *Of the Acts of the Apostles.*

Papias does undoubtedly give some confirmation to the history of the Acts of the apostles, in what he says of Philip; and especially in what he says of Justus, called Barsabas. But I think it cannot be affirmed, that he did particularly mention, or refer to, the book of the Acts. For I reckon, it is Eusebius himself who adds that quotation out of the Acts, upon occasion of what Papias had written of the before-mentioned Barsabas.

4. *Of the Epistles of Peter and John.*

1. Papias evidently confirms the genuineness and authority of the first epistle of Peter, and the first of John.

2. Papias had written nothing of the second epistle of Peter, or of the other epistles of John. If he had, Eusebius would certainly have taken notice of it. These epistles were doubted of, and contradicted, by some in his time. He therefore diligently observed whatever he met with concerning them in ancient writers, and fails not of informing his readers of it.

3. Nevertheless, nothing can be inferred from the silence of Papias to the prejudice of the genuineness of these epistles. He no where designed to give a catalogue of the writings of these apostles. All Eusebius says is, 'Papias brought testimonies out of the first epistle of 'John, and the first of Peter likewise.' That he has alleged no passages out of the other, is not at all strange. Papias dealt chiefly in unwritten traditions, and had no particular occasion to quote any other epistles of those apostles. He confirms these, therefore, without prejudicing the rest.

5. *Of the Revelation.*

I think it also highly probable, that Papias had read the book of the Revelation. And this may be confirmed from the passage of Irenæus, where he mentions him. But I apprehend too that it may be fairly concluded from what Eusebius says of the two Johns, that Papias had no where in these five books expressly said, that the Revelation was written by John the apostle. However, I do not take the silence of Papias in this matter to be any objection to that supposition. Who was the author of that book, was well known in his time: but he might have no particular occasion to mention him.

And it is observable, that Andrew, bishop of Cæsaria in Cappadocia, who is [a] supposed to have flourished about the year 500, in the preface to his Commentary upon the Revelation, mentions Papias, together with others who had borne testimony to this book, in this manner: 'But [b] we judge it needless,' says Andrew, 'to enlarge on the divine inspiration of this book, 'to which so many blessed men bear a credible testimony: as Gregory the divine, and Cyril, 'and others more ancient than they; I mean, Papias, Irenæus, Methodius, and Hippolytus.'

6. *Of the Gospel according to the Hebrews.*

Papias gives no confirmation to this gospel. Eusebius says, he had a history, 'which is 'contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews.' The words of Eusebius are remarkable.

[a] Vid. Cav H. L. T. i.

[b] Περι μεντοι τȣ θεοπνευςȣ της βιβλȣ περιττον μηκυνειν τον λογον ἡγȣμεθα, των μακαριων, Γρηγοριȣ τȣ θεολογȣ,—προσετι δε και αρχαιοτερων, Παπιȣ, Ειρηναιȣ, Μεθοδιȣ, και Ἱππολυτȣ, ταυτῃ προσμαρτυρȣντων το αξιοπιςον. Andr. Proleg. ad Apoc. p. 3. B. C. ad calcem. T. 8. Opp. S. Chrys. Ed. Morell.

He does not say, that this story was taken out of that gospel, or that Papias had quoted, or brought testimonies out of it. This gospel seems to have contained several stories and relations, or circumstances of things, added to the gospel of St. Matthew. It is not at all wonderful, that Papias, who collected unwritten traditions, should have one story found, or 'contained,' in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. When these additions were inserted in that gospel, is uncertain: possibly about the time of Papias, possibly after it; and if they were a little before, it is not very material. I conclude however that Papias had no where quoted that gospel. And I infer therefore likewise, that when Papias spoke of St. Matthew's gospel, he spoke of his Greek gospel, which he was well acquainted with. He had received some tradition by word of mouth, that it was written originally in Hebrew. But as for any Hebrew gospel of Matthew in his time, he knew nothing of it, being a perfect stranger to that language.

It may be thought, that I have been too particular in my remarks upon Papias, a man of small capacity. But I esteem the testimony very valuable, which he has given to the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and to the first epistle of St. Peter, and St. John. If Papias had been a wiser man, he had left us a confirmation of many more books of the New Testament.

CHAP. X.

JUSTIN MARTYR.

I. *His history.* II. *His works, with extracts out of the Quæstiones et Responsiones ascribed to him.* III. *His testimony to the Scriptures of the New Testament, particularly the Gospels.* IV. *The Acts of the Apostles.* V. *St. Paul's Epistles.* VI. *The second Epistle of St. Peter.* VII. *The Revelation.* VIII. *Of Apocryphal Scriptures supposed to be quoted by him.* IX. *The sum of his testimony to the Scriptures of the New Testament.*

THE history of Justin may be collected partly from his own writings, partly from other ancient authors.

He was born [a] in Flavia Neapolis, anciently called Sichem, a city of Samaria in Palestine. His father's name was Priscus, his grandfather's Bacchius.

He was early a lover of truth, and studied philosophy under several masters: first, under a Stoic, next a Peripatetic, then a Pythagorean, and lastly a Platonic: whose principles and sentiments he preferred above all other, until he became acquainted with the Christian religion; which he then embraced, as the 'only [b] certain and useful philosophy.' Of his conversion to Christianity he gives an account in his Dialogue with Trypho. All these particulars we have from himself.

The exact time of his conversion is uncertain. Cave conjectures [c] it happened about the year 132 or 133. Tillemont [d] is of much the same opinion, who supposes he was born in 103, and was about thirty years of age when he embraced Christianity in the reign of Adrian, A. D. 133. The course of his life, after his conversion, is thus briefly digested by Cave.[e] In the beginning of the reign of Antoninus the Pious he came to Rome, and in the year 140 presented his first Apology to that emperor. Afterwards he went into Asia, where he had the celebrated conference with Trypho the Jew; and then returned again to Rome, where he wrote his second Apology, inscribed to Marcus Antoninus the philosopher, and suffered martyrdom about the year 164. Tillemont [f] is rather inclined to place his death in the year 167 or 168. Fabricius [g] supposes he was born in 89, and suffered martyrdom in the 74th year of his age, A. D. 163.

[a] Apol. i. init. Paris. p. 55. [b] Ταύτην μόνην ἀσφαλῆ τε καὶ σύμφορον. p. 225. C. in Dial. [c] See Justin's Life, sect. v. in Lives of the Primitive Fathers, and Historia Liter. p. 36. [d] Mem. Ecc. T. 2. Part. ii. v. Not. 4. [e] Histor. Lit. Art. 22. [f] Ubi supra Vie de Justin M. Art. 2. Not. 1. & Art. [g] Biblioth. Gr. T. v. p. 51, 52.

Grabe [a] is also of the same opinion about the time of his birth, and that his martyrdom happened in the year 163 or 165, the 74th or 76th year of his age.

Justin is mentioned by many ancient Christian writers; by his disciple Tatian, by Irenæus,[b] Tertullian,[c] Methodius, Eusebius, Jerom, Epiphanius, Photius, and others. I shall put down some of their testimonies.

Tatian[d] calls him an 'admirable man.' Methodius [e] says, he was a man not far removed from the apostles in time or virtue. Eusebius [f] says he flourished not long after the times of the apostles. Photius [g] says, 'he was well acquainted with the Christian philosophy, and 'especially with the Heathen; rich in the knowledge of history, and other parts of learn-'ing. But he took little care to set off the native beauty of philosophy with the ornaments of 'rhetoric. For which reason his discourses, though weighty and learned, want those allure-'ments which are apt to attract the vulgar.' He adds: 'He [h] shewed himself a philosopher 'not only in words, but in his actions, and his habit.'

II. Eusebius, beside the accounts he had before given [i] of Justin's books against Marcion, and all heresies, and his Apologies, gives also [k] this distinct enumeration of his works. He says, that 'Justin left behind him a great number of very useful works: as his Apology to 'Antoninus the Pious, and his sons, and the Roman senate, and another to his successor: a 'book against the Greeks [or Gentiles]: another book against the Gentiles, called Elenchus [or a Confutation]: another of the Monarchy of God: another, entitled Psaltes: of the Soul: 'a Dialogue against the Jews, which he had at Ephesus with Trypho. There are also,' says Eusebius, 'many other books of his, which are in the hands of the brethren.' Jerom's [l] account of Justin's works agrees with this of Eusebius.

The principal works of Justin are his two Apologies, and his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, in two parts.

The first and larger Apology was addressed, as has been already hinted, to Titus Antoninus the Pious, Marcus Antoninus, and Lucius Verus, the senate and people of Rome.[m] Tillemont and Grabe [n] think it was not presented to the emperor before the year 150. Cave says, in 140: Pagi [o] and Basnage,[p] in the year 139: Massuet,[q] about 145. The Benedictine editors of Justin's works, in their preface, support Tillemont's opinion in a very plausible manner.

The Dialogue with Trypho was written not long after, and, according to Pagi and Basnage, in 140; according to [r] Massuet and the fore-mentioned Benedictines, about the year 155.

The second Apology seems to have been presented to Marcus Antoninus in the beginning of his reign, in the year 162.

The larger Apology is still extant entire. The beginning of the second Apology is wanting: as is the conclusion of the first, and beginning of the second part of the Dialogue with Trypho.

Beside these there are two discourses to the Gentiles, which are generally allowed to be Justin's: one called, An Oration to the Gentiles; the other, Παραινεσις, or, An Exhortation to the Gentiles, which is supposed [s] to be the Elenchus mentioned by Eusebius.

The piece we now have of the Monarchy of God, seems to be a fragment of the genuine work of Justin with that title.

The epistle to Zena and Serenus is at best doubtful, and I think not Justin's.

The epistle to Diognetus is generally supposed to be Justin's, though it is doubted of by some, because the style is more elegant than that of his other pieces. For my own part, I cannot persuade myself to quote it as Justin's; since the style is allowed to be superior to his, and there is no mention made of it by Eusebius or Jerom. It would indeed be to my purpose to suppose it genuine, because it has more references to St. Paul's epistles than all the other works of Justin. But this is another exception, it not being very usual for Justin to express himself in the style of the New Testament, as this writer does. Nor can there be any particular reason

[a] Spicileg. Patrum, T. ii. p. 146, 147. [b] Adv. Hær. l. iv. cap. 6. et lib. v. cap 26. [c] Adv. Valent. cap. v [d] Justinus Philosophus et Martyr. Ὁ Σαμαρειτης Ἰουστινος. Cont. Gr. p. 157. c. [e] Apud Phot. cod. 234. p. 921. [f] H. Ec. l. 2. c. 13. [g] Cod. 125. [h] Φιλοσοφων και τοις λογοις, και τω βιω, και τω σχηματι, ibid. [i] H. E. l. 4. cap. 11, 12, 16. [k] Cap. 18. [l] De Vir. Ill. cap. 23. [m] Vie de Justin, as above, art. 13. & note 3. [n] Spicileg. sec. ii. p. 150 [o] Crit. in Bar. A. D. 148, n. 5. [p] Ann. P. E. 139. sect. 5. [q] Vid. Diss. i. in Irenæ. num. ii. p. xv. [r] Ibid. [s] Vid. Grabe Spic. Patr. T. 2. p. 149.

for it in this epistle, written to a Gentile, and not to a Christian. And how can one pretend to ascribe to any author a small piece, not mentioned among his works by the ancients, different from the ordinary style of all his other allowed pieces, when there is no character in the title or conclusion to determine whose it is? Tillemont, [a] who is sensible the style is abundantly superior to Justin's, endeavours to prove it more ancient, and written before the destruction of Jerusalem. Those arguments are fully confuted by [b] Basnage, who is willing to think the epistle genuine. The Christians, before the writing of this epistle, had suffered several persecutions; which could not be said of them before Jerusalem was destroyed. It is an excellent epistle. And as, at the time of writing it, the Christians were in [c] a suffering condition, it must have been written before the reign of Constantine. I think, therefore, that the author of it is some anonymous ancient Christian writer, whose age cannot be exactly settled. I shall quote him as such; and, after I have made my extracts out of Justin, shew what testimony this writer bears to the books of the New Testament.

The Quæstiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos, and some other pieces usually joined with Justin's works, are allowed to have the marks of a later time.

It may not be improper however, for me to take notice of those Quæstiones et Responsiones, the work of a learned and laborious author.

Cave [d] thinks him a writer of the fifth century. Du Pin [e] observes, that some ascribe it to Theodoret: and he argues, that the writer lived in the fifth or sixth century. Beausobre thought this [f] work to be rightly ascribed to Diodorus of Tarsus. The Benedictine editors of Justin Martyr have examined this point with so much care, that their observations deserve to be briefly inserted here. They say, it [g] is needless to prove it not to be a work of Justin, the thing is so evident. They think it probable, that the author was a Syrian; which might lead us to Theodoret: nevertheless, there are strong reasons against that supposition. In the end, they conclude the author to have been a Pelagian of that country in the fifth century.

In this work most of the writers of the New Testament are quoted, and particularly the four evangelists by name. In like manner the author quotes the [h] epistle to the Hebrews, and [i] the second epistle of Peter. He reckoned [k] both the genealogies to be Joseph's, one of his natural, the other of his legal father. And he says, that [l] both the writers of the genealogies, meaning Matthew and Luke, were Hebrews, and took their accounts from the public registers. As he supposed Luke to have been a Jew, it is likely, that he did not think him to be the physician mentioned by the apostle Paul, Col. iv. 14.

It is beside my design to give any farther account of those works of Justin which are not extant: though every one must lament the loss of them; as his book against all heresies, which he particularly refers to in his first Apology; and his book against Marcion; and likewise that part of his book of the Monarchy of God, which is not extant; especially if he therein argued from the scriptures of the New, as well as of the Old Testament. The words of [m] Eusebius are, 'Of the Monarchy of God, which he proved, not only out of our scrip-'tures, but also the books of the Gentiles.'

III. We are now to take a different method from what we have used with the apostolical fathers. For it is impossible to transcribe all the places of Justin, in which he has quoted the gospels, in his Apologies and Dialogue, though always without expressly mentioning the names of the evangelists. I shall endeavour to take passages enough, to shew his manner of quoting.

Quotations and Allusions.

1. 'At [n] the same time an angel was sent to the same virgin, saying: "Behold, thou shalt 'conceive in thy womb by the Holy Ghost, and thou shalt bring forth a son, and he shall be

[a] Le stile si magnifique et si eloquent de cette lettre s'elève beaucoup ou dessus de celui de St. Justin. Vie de Justin, Art. 12. p. 371. [b] A. D. 165. sect. ix.

[c] See Du Pin Bibl. Basnage as above.

[d] Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. in Justin. M. et Irenæ. et Conf. Dodwell. Diss. Iren. iii. n. 22. [e] Bib. Ecc. T. i. p. 58. [f] Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 288. n. (1.)

[g] Admonit. in Q. et R. p. 434—437.

[h] Qu. 99. p. 480. D. E. et passim. Ed. Bened.

[i] Καθα φησιν ὁ αποστολος Πετρος εν τη δευτερα αυτου καθολικη επιστολη. Qu. 94. p. 478. C. [k] Vid. Qu. 131, 132, 133. Et Conf. Qu. 66. Vid. et Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. 1. p. 354, 355. [l] Ἑβραιοι γαρ ησαν εξ Ἑβραιων, οἱ τας γενεαλογιας συγγραψαμενοι ευαγγελιστ-αι. Qu. 133. p. 491. E. [m] Ην ᾳ μονον εκ των παρ' ἡμιν γραφων, αλλα και εκ των Ἑλληνικων συνιστ-ησι βιβλιων. H.E. p. 140. A.

[n] Apol. i. p. 75. B. Paris. 1636.

'called the Son of the Highest. And thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people 'from their sins:' as they have taught, who have written the history of all things concerning 'our Saviour JesusChrist. And we believe them." Matth. i. 20, 21. Comp. Luke i. 31. Thus he writes in his first Apology.

2. Again, in the same Apology: 'But lest [a] we should seem to deceive you, it may be fit 'to lay before you some of the doctrines of Christ. His words were short and concise. For 'he was no sophist, but his word was the power of God. Of chastity he spoke in this manner: "Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, has committed adultery with her already 'in his heart, in the sight of God. And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out. For it is 'better for thee to enter into the kingdom of heaven with one eye, than having two eyes to 'be cast into eternal fire. And he who marries her who is divorced from another man com-'mitteth adultery." Matth. v. 28, 29, 32.

3. In his Dialogue. 'And it is [b] written in the gospel, that he said: "All things are 'delivered to me of the Father. And no man knoweth the Father, but the Son: neither the 'Son, save the Father, and they to whom the Son will reveal him." Matth. xi. 27.

4. 'And [c] the virgin Mary having been filled with faith and joy, when the angel Gabriel 'brought her good tidings, that the 'Spirit of the Lord should come upon her, and the power 'of the Highest overshadow her, and therefore that holy thing born of her should be the Son 'of God: answered, "Be it unto me according to thy word." Luke i. 35. 38.

5. It it undoubted that the gospels of Matthew and Luke are chiefly quoted by him, and Mark's but seldom. However, I shall take a part of a passage, in which within the compass of half a page these three gospels are quoted.

'And in [d] other words he says, "Depart from me into outer darkness, which the Father 'has prepared for Satan and his angels." Matth. xxv. 41. And again he said in other words: 'I give unto you power to tread upon serpents, and scorpions, and venomous [e] beasts, and 'upon all the power of the enemy." Luke x. 19. '——And before he was crucified, he said: "The Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the scribes and pharisees, and 'be [f] crucified, and rise again the third day."' Mark viii. 31.

These last words are exactly quoted by Justin again [g] in another place. In St. Luke ix. 22, is a text very resembling: but in this place Justin appears to have used St. Mark. In St. Luke it is,—"and [h] be slain, and raised the third day."

6. That Justin had read St. John's gospel, might be concluded from his calling Christ the 'Word,' and the word and reason of God. However, it will not be amiss to observe a quotation, or a reference or two.

7. 'But [i] he is the first power next after God the Father and Lord of all, and Son, and 'the Word. And in what manner being made flesh he became man, I shall shew hereafter.' John i. 14.

8. Speaking of John the Baptist: 'They [k] suspected him to be the Christ: to whom he 'said: "I am not the Christ, but the voice of one crying, There will come one mightier than 'me, whose shoes latchets I am not worthy to bear." John i. 20. 23. 27. Compare Matth. iii. 11. Luke iii. 16.

9. 'For [l] Christ himself has said: "Unless ye are born again, ye shall not enter into the 'kingdom of heaven." John iii. 3, 4, 5. But it is manifest to all, that it is impossible for those 'who have been once born, to enter into the wombs of them that bare them.'

10. 'For thus he [m] said: "He that hears me, and does the things I say, he hears him that 'sent me." John xiv. 24.

11. Justin often speaks of the gospels under the title of Memoirs, or [n] Commentaries; Commentaries [o] of the apostles; His, [p] or Christ's Memoirs; Memoirs of the apostles and their companions; and we have before seen him use the word gospel, as he does also gospels.

12. Speaking of the eucharist: 'For the [q] apostles, in the memoirs composed by them,

[a] P. 61. E.
[b] Και εν τω ευαγγελιω δε γεγραπται, ειπων. 326. D.
[c] Dial. Par ii. p. 327. C.
[d] P. 301. D.
[e] Και σκολοπενδρων.
[f] Και σταυρωθηναι, και τη τριτη ημερα αναστηναι.
[g] P. 327. A.
[h] Και, αποκτανθηναι, και τη τριτη ημερα εγερθηναι.
[i] Apol. i. p. 74. B.
[k] Dial. p. 316. C.
[l] Apol. p. 94. A.
[m] P. 64. A.
[n] Ως απο των απομνημονευματων εμαθομεν. p. 332. C.
[o] Οπερ εν τοις απομνημονευμασι των αποστολων αυτε γεγραπται. 332. B. et alibi.
[p] Εν τοις απομνημονευμασιν αυτε. p. 333. D.
[q] Ap. i. p. 98. B. Α καλειται ευαγγελια.

'which are called gospels, have thus delivered it, that Jesus commanded them to take bread 'and give thanks.' Matth. xxvi. 26. Mark xiv. 22. Luke xxii. 19, 20.

13. 'For [a] in the commentaries, which, as I have said, were composed by the apostles, and 'their followers [or companions], it is written: that his sweat fell like drops of blood, as he 'prayed, saying: "If it be possible, let this cup pass from me."

There can be no doubt but he here intends particularly Luke xxii. 42. and Matth. xxvi. 39.

14. And upon the whole, it must be plain to all, that he owned, and had the highest respect for, the four gospels; written two of them by apostles, and the other two by companions and followers of the apostles of Jesus Christ; that is, by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.

15, Farther, these gospels were publicly read in the assemblies of the Christians every Lord's day, by a person appointed for that purpose, whom he calls 'reader.' For giving an account of the Christian worship to the emperor, in the first Apology, he says; 'The [b] memoirs 'of the aposles, or the writings of the prophets, are read, according as the time allows; and 'when the reader has ended, the president makes a discourse, exhorting to the imitation of so 'excellent things.'

16. Trypho the Jew in the Dialogue says [c] to Justin: 'I am sensible, that the precepts in 'your gospel, as it is called, are so great and wonderful, that I think it impossible for any man 'to keep them. For I have been at the pains to read them.'

Whether the Dialogue be real, or only a fictitious discourse, this is a proof, the gospels were open to all, and were well known in the world. For it is reasonable to suppose, that Justin chose to write in character.

IV. Let us in the next place observe some references to the Acts of the Apostles.

N. T.	Justin.
1. Acts vii. 22. "And [d] Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."	1. 'Moses was [e] thought worthy to partake of all the learning of the Egyptians,' &c.
2. Acts xiii. 27. "But they that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew [f] him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets which are read every sabbath day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him."	2. 'For the Jews who had the prophecies, and always expected the coming of Christ, knew him not, [g] and not only so but killed him. But the Gentiles, who had never heard of Christ, untill the apostles setting out from Jerusalem taught them the things concerning him,——being filled with joy and faith——gave themselves up to the unbegotten God through Jesus Christ.'

I think it plain, there is here a reference to the history in the Acts. See Ch. xiii. from ver. 44. to the end.

N. T.	Justin.
3. Acts xxvi. 22, 23, "Saying none other things, than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come: that [h] Christ should suffer, and that he should be the first that should rise from the dead," &c.	3. 'For though it had been obscurely declared by the prophets, that [i] Christ should suffer, and after that be Lord of all,' &c.

V. We will now proceed to St. Paul's epistles.

[a] Εν γαρ τοις απομνημονευμασιν, ἁ φημι ὑπο των αποστολων αυτε και των εκεινοις παρακολουθησαντων συντεταχθαι, ὁτι ἱδρως. κ. λ. p. 331. C. D. [b] Και τα απομνημονευματα των αποστολων, η τα συγγραμματα των προφητων αναγινωσκεται μεχρις εγχωρει· ειτα παυσαμενε τε αναγινωσκοντος. κ. λ. p. 98. D. [c] Εν τω λεγομενω ευαγγελιω——εμοι γαρ εμελησεν ἐντυχειν αυτοις p. 227. C.

[d] Και επαιδευθη πασῃ σοφια Αιγυπτιων.

[e] Αλλα και πασης της Αιγυπτιων παιδευσεως μετασχειν ἀξιωθη. Ad Græc. Cohort. p. 11. B.

[f] Τετον αγνοησαντες, κ. λ.

[g] Ηγνοησαν. Ap. i. p. 85. A.

[h] Ει παθητος ο Χριστος, κ. λ.

[i] Παθητος μεντοιγε ὁ Χριστος. Dial. p. 302. A.

N. T.

1. Rom. i. 4. "Or despiseth thou [a] the riches of his goodness, and forbearance, and long suffering, not knowing, that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance?"

JUSTIN.

1. 'For [b] the goodness and kindness of God, and the immensity of his riches, esteem, as Ezekiel declares, him that repents of his sins, as one who is righteous, and has not sinned.' See Ezek. xxxiii. 15, 16."

The first words have a great resemblance with Paul's, Rom. ii. 4. Dr. Thirlby in his Notes refers also to Rom. xi. 33. Eph. ii. 7. iii. 8.

2. 'Nor was Abraham declared righteous by God because of circumcision, but because of 'faith. For before that he was circumcised, it was said of him: "Abraham believed God, 'and it was imputed to him for righteousness." [Gen. xv. 6.] Wherefore we also in the cir-'cumcision of our flesh believing in God through Christ, and having the circumcision which 'is useful to them that have it, that is, of the heart, hope to appear righteous, and acceptable 'to God.' In these last words is a great resemblance with Rom. ii. 28, 29. as in the first with Paul's argument, Rom. iv. Gal. iii.

For Rom. xi. 2, 3, 4, may be seen Dialog. p. 257. D. But I do not think it worth while to insert the passage here.

N. T.

3. 1 Cor. v. 7. "For [c] even Christ our passover is sacrificed for us."

4. 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19.——"I [e] hear that there are divisions among you, and I partly believe it. For there must be also heresies among you."

5. 1 Cor. xii. 8 9, 10, "For to one is given by the spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same spirit; to another faith by the same spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits."

6. 1 Cor. xv. 12. "How [h] say some among you, that there is no resurrection of the dead?"

7. Gal. iv. 12, "Brethren, I beseech [k] you, be as I am: for I am as ye are."

JUSTIN.

3. 'For Christ [d] was the passover, who was afterwards sacrificed for us.'

4. For he said——[f] 'And, there shall be schisms and heresies.'

5. 'One [g] receives the spirit of understanding, another of counsel, another of power [or miracles,] another of healing, another of foreknowledge, another of doctrine, another of the fear of God.'

6. 'Who also say [i] that there is no resurrection of the dead."

7. 'In his oration to the Greeks: Be you as I am, for I also was as you are.'

8. The Jew in the Dialogue allows, that the Messiah might suffer; but it seems incredible to him, that he should be so ignominiously [m] crucified: 'For,' says he, 'we read in the 'law, that he who is crucified is accursed:' referring to Deut. xxi. 23, which is also observed Gal. iii. 13. Justin afterwards [n] answers this; but his respect to the epistle to the Galatians is not very manifest.

N. T.

9. Eph. ii. 20. "And are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus [o]

JUSTIN.

9. 'But our circumcision manifested next after yours has been [p] made by sharp stones,

[a] Η τε πλεθε της χρηστοτητος αυτε——καταφρονεις——;

[b] Ἡ γαρ χρηστοτης, και ἡ φιλανθρωπια τε Θεε, και το αμεμπτον τε πλεθε αυτε. Dial. p. 266. D.

[c] Και γαρ το πασχα ἡμων ὑπερ ἡμων εἰυθη, Χριστος.

[d] Ην γαρ το πασχα ὁ Χριστος, ὁ τυθεις ὑστερον. Dial. p. 338. C.

[e] Ακεω, σχισματα εν ὑμιν ὑπαρχειν——Δει γαρ και αιρεσεις εν ὑμιν ειναι.

[f] Και εσονται σχισματα και αιρεσεις, p. 253. B.

[g] Dial. p. 258. A.

[h] Πως λεγεσι τινες εν ὑμιν, ὁτι αναστασις νεκρων εκ εστιν;

[i] Οι και λεγεσι μη ειναι νεκρων αναστασιν. Dial. p. 307. A.

[k] Γινεσθε ὡς εγω, ὁτι καγω ὡς ὑμεις.

[l] Γινεσθε ὡς εγω; ὁτι καγω ημην ὡς ὑμεις. p. 40. D.

[m] P. 317. A.

[n] P. 322, 323.

[o] Οτος ακρογωνιαιε αυτε Ιησε Χριστε.

[p] Δια λιθων ακροτομων, τετεστι, δια των λογων των δια των αποστολων τε ακρογωνιαιε λιθε. p. 342. A.

Christ himself being the chief corner stone."

He [a] argues from the words of Ps. lxviii. 18, that is, by the words of the apostles of the chief corner stone.' which are quoted Eph. iv. 8, but his reference to that epistle is not very clear.

N. T.

10. Philip. iv. 8, "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest,—just,—pure,—lovely,—think of these things."

JUSTIN.

10. Justin says, [b] 'that in the law of Moses are enacted those things that are by nature good, pious, and just.'

11. Col. i. 15, "Who [c] is the first-born of every creature."

11. Justin says: 'Christ is [d] the first-born 'of all things made.' Again: '[e] The first-'born of every creature.' Once more: '[f] The 'first-born of God, and before all the crea-'tures.'

12. 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4, "For that day shall not come, except there be [g] a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth, and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped."

12. Justin, speaking of Christ's second coming, says, 'He shall appear from heaven in 'glory, when also [h] the man of apostacy, who 'speaking great things against the Most High, 'shall vex us Christians.'

13. Hebr. v. 9, 10, "And being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him. Called of God an high-priest after the order of Melchisedec." Ch. vi. 20, "Made an high-priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec." See Ch. vii. 11. Ps. cx. 4.

13. 'This is he [i] who after the order of Melchisedec is king of Salem, and eternal priest of the Most High. He calls Christ [k] elsewhere also, God's eternal priest and king.' See hereafter Numb. VII.

14. In another place Justin says of Christ, the Word, and Son of God: 'That [l] he is also 'called both angel and apostle.' As Christ is no where in the scriptures of the Old and New Testament called 'apostle,' except in Hebr. iii. 1, Grabe thinks, it [m] may be hence not unfairly collected, that Justin knew and approved of that epistle.

N. T.

VI. 2 Pet. iii. 8, "But, beloved, be not ignorant of this one thing, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." See Ps. xc. 4.

JUSTIN.

VI. 'We have also [n] understood, that the saying, that 'a day of the Lord is a thousand 'years,' belongs to this matter.'

VII. 'And [o] a man from among us, by name John, one of the [p] apostles of Christ, in the 'revelation made to him, has prophesied, that the believers in our Christ shall live a thousand 'years in Jerusalem; and after that shall be the general, and in a word the eternal resurrec-'tion and judgment of all men together. [See Revel. ch. xx.] The same thing, which also 'our Lord has said: "That they shall neither marry, nor be given in marriage, but shall be 'equal to the angels, and shall be the children of God, being [the children] of the resurrec-'tion." Luke xx. 35, 36.

It deserves to be considered likewise, whether the expression of 'eternal resurrection and

[a] P. 258. B.

[b] Dial. p. 263. D.

[c] Πρωτοτοκος πασης κτισεως.

[d] Πρωτοτοκον των παντων ποιημαλων. p. 310. B.

[e] Πρωτοτοκε πασης κτισεως, p. 311. B.

[f] Πρωτοτοκον τε Θεε, και προ παντων των κτισμαλων, p. 326. D.

[g] Ὁτι εαν μη ελθη αποστασια πρωτον, και αποκαλυφθη ὁ ανθρωπος της ἁμαρτιας, κ. λ.

[h] Ὁταν και ὁ της αποστασιας ανθρωπος, κ. λ. p. 336. D.

[i] P. 341. in.

[k] Και αιωνιον τε Θεε ἱερεα, και βασιλεια, και Χριστον μελλοντα γινεσθαι, p. 323. C.

[l] Και αγγελος δε καλειται, και αποστολος. Ap. i. p. 95? D.

[m] Vid. ejusd. Annot. ad Justin. loc. ed. Oxon. 8vo. cap. 82. p. 121.

[n] Συνηκαμεν και το ειρημενον, ὁτι ἡμερα Κυριε ὡς χιλια ετη, εις τετο συναγει, p. 308. A.

[o] Και επειδη και παρ' ἡμιν ανηρ τις ᾧ ονομα Ιωαννης, εἰς των αποστολων τε Χριστε, εν αποκαλυψει γενομενη αυτῳ, κ. λ. p. 308. A.

[p] Eusebius may be supposed to refer to this very passage, when in his account of Justin's works he observes: Μεμνηται δε και της Ιωαννε αποκαλυψεως, σαφως τε αποστολε αυτην ειναι λεγων. Hist. Ec. l. 4. c 18. p. 140. D.

'judgment' do not allude to Heb. vi. 2, "And of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment."

St. Jerom [a] seems to say, that Justin and Irenæus explained, or wrote commentaries upon, the Revelation. But perhaps we misunderstand him. He may only mean, that they had quoted it, and made some remarks upon it, in their works. If he intends any commentary of theirs, he must have been mistaken. Divers learned men have shewn there is no ground to think, that either of those fathers wrote any commentary upon that book. I shall place in the margin a note of [b] Fabricius. Huet [c] also writes to the same purpose.

VIII. Thus far of quotations, or allusions of Justin Martyr to our books of the New Testament, commonly received. There is likewise a passage or two, in which some have supposed him to refer to apocryphal writings.

1. In his Dialogue with Trypho he says: 'Wherefore [d] also our Lord Jesus Christ has 'said: "In whatsoever [things, or actions, or ways] I shall find you, in the same I will also 'judge you."'

I think I need not stay long upon this passage. Possibly Justin designed not to quote any text, but to represent the sense of many of our Lord's sayings. Fabricius [e] has observed, that this saying has been quoted by many writers, and that Justin is the only one who ascribes it to our Lord; and that there are words resembling these in Ezekiel: "I will judge them according to their ways," Ez. vii. 3, 8; and xviii. 30; xxiv. 14; xxxiii. 20. Moreover Justin had but just before expressly quoted Ezekiel. Mr. Jones [f] conjectures, that Justin wrote only, the 'Lord hath said;' and that some scribe, ignorantly imagining these to be the words of Christ, inserted in his copy the words 'our,' and 'Jesus Christ.'

2. In another place, in the same Dialogue, Justin [g] says: 'And then when Jesus came to 'the river Jordan, where John was baptizing, as Jesus descended into the water, a fire also was 'kindled in Jordan: and when he came up out of the water, the apostles of this our Christ have 'written, that the Holy Ghost lighted upon him as a dove.'

Somewhat like this there was in the gospel made use of by the Nazarenes, or Ebionites. Epiphanius,[h] in his account of the Ebionites, says, that in their gospel it is written, 'that when 'Jesus came up out of the water, the heavens were opened, and he saw the Holy Spirit of God 'in the shape of a dove descending and entering into himself. And there was a voice out of 'heaven, saying: "Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased." And again: "I 'have this day begotten thee." And [i] immediately a great light shone round about the place.'

Ittigius [k] observes, that the accounts given of our Lord's baptism by Justin and the Nazarene gospel are different; and concludes therefore, that Justin did not take his account from thence. It is plain, I think, they differ, in that Justin says, 'as Jesus descended into the water,' there was a great light kindled in Jordan: whereas, according to that gospel, the light appeared after Jesus was come up out of the water, and after the 'voice from heaven.' Mr. Jones [l] has observed another disagreement. The one speaks of a 'fire kindled in the river:' the other, of 'a great light encircling, or shining round all the place.'

Grabe [m] has an observation, which, I think, is not contemptible: that Justin does not say,

[a] Scripsit [Joannes] Apocalypsim, quam interpretantur Justinus Martyr et Irenæus. De Vir. Ill. Joannes, c. ix.

[b] Hieronymus in chronico: 'Sub eo [Domitiano] apostolus Joannes in Patmum insulam relegatus Apocalypsim vidit, 'quam Irenæus interpretatur.' In Græco Eusebii est, ὡς ὄφελον Εἰρηναῖος. Itaque nec de Justini nec Irenæi commentario in Apocalypsin cogitandum quem nec Hieronymus infra, ubi horum scripta persequitur, neque alius quisquam veterum, memorat. Subesse illud interpretatur, sive ut Græcus interpres, μεθήρμοσεν, non potest ut idonilis locis scriptorum Justini M. et Irenæi intelligi, in quibus Apocalypseos Joannis mentionem faciunt, vel verba quædam illius explicant. Vide Tillemontium, Tom. I. Mem. Ec. p. 637. [St. Jean l'evangeliste, Note x] et Spicilegium Patrum J. E. Grabe. T. II. p. 170. Fabric. ad loc. Hieron. de Vir. Ill. [c] Demonst. E. Propos. i. sect. 9. [d] Διο και ὁ ἡμετερος Κυριος Ιησους Χριστος ειπεν· Εν οἱς αν ὑμας καταλαβω, εν τουτοις και κρινω. Apol. p. 267. A. [e] Cæterum non putem apocryphum Ezechielis librum ab autore vitæ Antonii, vel Joh. Climacho inspectum esse; sed potius ex prophetiâ Ezechielis, qualis hodie extat, ab aliquo exculptam, et deinde pluribus repetentibus invaluisse, licet non eadem plane verba apud Ezechielem legantur. Deinde, nisi Justinum M. memoriâ lapsum dicere velimus, qui solas verba illa Christo tribuit, et plus simplici vice in allegandis scriptoribus hallucinatus est, probabile sane fuerit ab eo lecta esse in apocrypho aliquo evangelio. Cod. Apocr. N. T. p. 333. [f] New and Full Method, V. i. p. 549. [g] Και τοτε ελθοντος του Ιησου επι τον Ιορδανην ποταμον, ενθα ὁ Ιωαννης εβαπτιζε, καταβαντος του Ιησου επι το ὑδωρ, και πυρ ανηφθη εν τω Ιορδανη· και αναβαντος αὐτου απο του ὑδατος, ὡς πεπιστευκασιν το ἁγιον πνευμα επιπτηναι επ' αὐτον, εγραψαν οἱ αποστολοι αὐτου τουτου του Χριστου ἡμων. Dialog. Part 2. p. 315. D. [h] Hær. 30. sect. 13. [i] Και ευθυς περιελαμψε τον τοπον φως μεγα. [k] Appendix ad Diss. de Hæres. p. 24. [l] As before, V. i. p. 549. [m] Verum Justinus ipsâ verborum constructione, quasi studio, indicâsse videtur, verba, 'scripserunt apostoli' posteriorem propositionem de columbæ descensu, quem Matthæus et Johannes apostoli memoriæ prodiderunt, non item priorem de igne splendescente, spectare, siquidem illa solum in modo in-

the apostles have related any thing of this fire, but only, that when he came up out of the water, the Holy Ghost lighted upon him as a dove. This account therefore of the fire in the river of Jordan, seems to be only a story which Justin had received by tradition. And perhaps it is only a conclusion from those words in our gospels, that the 'heavens were opened to him,' or a particular explication of them.

But I think we need not any farther concern ourselves with these passages. It is plain from his numerous quotations, that our gospels are the books Justin made use of, as authentic histories of Jesus Christ.

IX. It is time we sum up the evidence of this writer. He has numerous quotations of our gospels, except that of St. Mark, which he has seldom quoted. He quotes them, as containing authentic accounts of Jesus Christ, and his doctrine. He speaks of 'memoirs,' or records, written by 'apostles' and 'their companions;' plainly meaning the apostles and evangelists, Matthew and John; and by companions, or disciples of apostles, Mark and Luke. These gospels were read and expounded in the solemn assemblies of the Christians, as the books of the Old Testament were; and as they had been before in the Jewish synagogues. Whether any other books of the New Testament were so read, he does not inform us. This reading of the gospels he mentions in his first Apology to Antoninus the Pious. He must have been well assured of the truth of what he says; and, it is likely, knew it to be the ordinary custom of the Christian churches he had visited in his travels. If it had not been a general practice, or had obtained in some few places only, he must have spoken more cautiously, and made use of some limitations and exceptions. For if there were Christian churches in which the 'memoirs' he speaks of were not read; upon enquiry made by the emperor, or his order, he had run the hazard of being convicted of a design to impose upon all the majesty of the Roman empire; and that, not in an affair incidentally mentioned, but in the conduct and worship of his own people concerning whom he professeth to give the justest information. The general reading of the gospels, as a part of divine worship, at that time, about the year 140, or not very long after, is not only a proof, that they were well known, and allowed to be genuine, but also that they were in the highest esteem. These gospels were not concealed. Justin appeals to them in the most public manner, and they were open to all the world; read by Jews and others.

The other passages of Justin here alleged relate to the Acts of the Apostles, the epistle to the Romans, the first to the Corinthians, the epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and the Colossians, second to the Thessalonians, the epistle to the Hebrews, the second of Peter, and the book of the Revelation; which last he expressly ascribes to John, the apostle of Christ. I shall leave it to the reader to consider, how many of the references to any of the other books are full and clear. I think, it was not the method of Justin to use allusions in his style so often as some other writers do.

CHAP. XI.

THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.

I SHALL now shew, as I promised, how the words of the New Testament are adapted and applied by the author of the epistle to Diognetus. It is plain, he was acquainted with the gospels of Matthew and John. I have observed no references to the Acts of the Apostles But whereas in all Justin's works hitherto quoted, several of which are of considerable length, there are very few expressions borrowed from the epistles of the New Testament and those generally obscure, here we shall find many in an epistle of about nine folio pages. I shall put them down, and leave every one to judge, how different this is from Justin's manner in those works we have hitherto made use of. But though this epistle be not Justin's, the testimonies it affords to the books of the New Testament are very valuable.

I. 'Christ has taught us,' he[a] says, 'not to be solicitous [or take any thought] about raiment or food.' See Matth. vi. 25—31.

finitivo expressa ad το 'scripserunt' relationem habet, non prior, quæ modo indicativo posita est, ideoque merito in impressis exemplaribus per colon distincta. Spicil. T. I p. 19, 20.

[a] Περι ενδυσεως και τροφης μη μεριμναν. p. 500. D.

II. The author says, 'God [a] has sent from heaven the truth, and the holy word:' and he says, 'he was from the beginning:' and calls Christ the 'Word' several [c] times; which character he may be well supposed to have learned from the beginning of John's gospel. He says [d] likewise, that 'Christians live in the word, but they are not of the world.' See John xvii. 14, 15, 16.

III. 'For [e] what could cover our sins but his righteousness? By whom could we, who were wicked and ungodly, be justified, but by the only Son of God? O delightful exchange, O unsearchable contrivance, O unexpected benefit! that the iniquity of many should be hid by one righteous person, and the righteousness of one justify many wicked.'

Herein is an allusion to the whole fifth chapter of the epistle to the Romans. See also ch. xi. 33.

N. T.	The Epistle to Diognetus.
IV. 1 Cor. iv. 12. "—— being [f] reviled we bless."	IV. 'They [g] are reviled and bless.'
V. 1 Cor. viii. 1. "—— knowledge [h] puffeth up, but charity edifieth."	V. 'The apostle [i] says: Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth.'
VI. 1 Cor. ix. 10. "—That he that ploweth, should plow in hope: and that he that thresheth in hope, should be partaker of his hope. Comp. ver. 7. Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof?"	VI. 'But he who [k] with fear knows, and seeks life, planteth in hope, expecting fruit.'
VII. 2 Cor. x. 3. "For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh."	VII. 'They are in the flesh, but they live not after the flesh.—[l] They are unknown [he speaks of Christians in his own time all along,] and yet are condemned. They are put to death, and yet are revived. They are poor, and make many rich. They want all things, and abound in all things. They are in dishonour, and in dishonour are glorified. They are evil-spoken of, and are justified.——Being put to death, they are made alive.'
2. Cor. vi. 8. "By honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report.——9. As unknown, and yet well known: as dying, and behold we live: as chastened, and not killed. 10, As sorrowful, and yet always rejoicing: as poor, yet making many rich: as having nothing, yet possessing all things."	

The whole passage (of which I have transcribed here but a part) is a most beautiful representation of the suffering circumstances and virtues of the Christians of the author's own time, in allusion to these and other words of the N. T. Therefore a part of it has been already transcribed, and more of it will appear in some following numbers.

N. T.	The Epistle to Diognetus.
VIII. Philip. iii. 20. "For [m] our conversation is in heaven."	VIII. 'They dwell [n] on earth, but they converse in heaven.'
IX. 1 Tim. iii. 16. "And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory."	IX. 'Who [the disciples] being esteemed [o] by him, were acquainted with the mysteries of the Father. For which cause he sent the Word, that he might appear to the world: who having been rejected of the people, preached by the apostles, was believed on by the Gentiles.'
X. 2. Tim. i. 11. "Whereunto I am appointed a preacher, and an apostle, and [p] a teacher of the Gentiles."	X. 'And being [q] a disciple of the apostles, I become a teacher of the Gentiles.' [So the author speaks of himself.]

[a] Αυτος απ' ουρανων την αληθειαν και τον λογον τον ἁγιον και απερινοητον ανθρωποις ενιδρυσαι. P. 498. B. [b] Ουτος ὁ απ' αρχης. P. 501. D. [c] P. 501. C. D. [d] Και Χριστιανοι εν κοσμῳ οικουσιν. ουκ εισι δε εκ του κοσμου. P. 497. D. [e] P. 500. B. C.

[f] Λοιδορουμενοι, ευλογουμεν.

[g] Λοιδορουνται και ευλογουσιν. P. 497. C.

[h] Ἡ γνωσις φυσιοι, ἡ δε αγαπη οικοδομει.

[i] Αποστολος—λεγει· ἡ γνωσις φυσιοι, ἡ δε αγαπη οικοδομει. P. 502. C.

[k] P. 502. C.

[l] P. 497. B. C.

[m] Ἡμων γαρ το πολιτευμα εν ουρανοις ὑπαρχει.

[n] Επι γης διαιτωμενοι, αλλ' εν ουρανῳ πολιτευονται. P. 497. B.

[o] P. 501. D.

[p] Και διδασκαλος εθνων.

[q] Αλλ' αποστολων γενομενος μαθητης, γινομαι διδασκαλος εθνων. P. 501. C.

XI. 1 Pet. ii 20. "—— but if[a] when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God."

XII. 1 Pet. ii. 24. "Who[c] his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree."

XIII. 1 Pet. iii. 18. "For Christ also has once suffered for our sins, the[c] just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God."

XIV. 1 John iv. 9. "In this was manifested the love of God to us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world."

10. "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us."

16. "And we have known and believed the love that God has to us."

17. "Herein is our love made perfect."

19. "We love him, because he first loved us."

XI. 'When they[b] do well, they are punished as evil.'

XII. 'Saying himself: He[d] took our sins. This is evidently a quotation, and only by a different pointing may be read thus: saying, He himself took our sins. But perhaps it may be doubtful, whether he refers to this text of Peter, or to Isa. ch. liii.

XIII. 'He delivered up[f] his own Son a ransom for us, the holy for the transgressors, the innocent for the guilty, the just for the unjust.'

XIV. For God loved mankind——to whom he sent his only begotten Son, to whom he has promised a kingdom in heaven, and will gve it to them that love him. And[g] when you know him, with how great joy will you be filled? And how will you love him, who so loved you before? And having loved him, you will be an imitator of his goodness."

XV. Speaking of the state of things after the coming of Christ, he has this passage, in which he seems to speak of the volume of the gospels, and of the epistles of the apostles.

'The[h] fear of the law is sung, and the grace of the prophets is known, and the faith of the gospels is established, and the tradition of the apostles is kept, and the grace of the church 'rejoiceth exceedingly.'

XVI. The passages alleged from this epistle relate to the gospels of St. Matthew and St. John; the epistle to the Romans, the first and second to the Corinthians; the epistle to the Philippians; the first and second to Timothy; and the first epistle of St. Peter, and first of St. John. And in most of them the allusion is plain. Words of the first epistle to the Corinthians are expressly cited as the apostle's, meaning Paul. The author seems likewise to speak of a code, or collection, of gospels and apostolical epistles, which he joins together with the law and the prophets.

CHAP. XII.

DIONYSIUS OF CORINTH.

Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, flourished, according to Cave,[i] about the year 170. Eusebius in his Chronicle,[k] at the eleventh year of Marcus Antoninus (which is the year 171 of our Lord), says, 'Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, a sacred man, was 'then in reputation.' He wrote seven letters, called by Eusebius[l] Catholic, or general, they being sent to divers churches, and another to a Christian woman. These epistles are mentioned[m] by Eusebius in the following order: One to the Lacedemonians: another to the Athenians: the third to the faithful of Nicomedia,

[a] Αλλ' ει αγαθοποιουντες, κ. λ.
[b] Αγαθοποιουντες, ως κακοι κολαζονται. 497. C.
[c] Ος τας αμαρτιας ημων αυτος ανηνεγκεν.
[d] Λεγων αυτος, τας ημετερας αμαρτιας ανεδεξατο. 500. B.
Δικαιος υπερ αδικων.
[f] Αυτος τον ιδιον υιον απεδοτο λυτρον υπερ ημων, τον αγιον υπερ ανομων, τον ακακον υπερ των κακων, τον δικαιον υπερ των αδικων. 500. B.
[g] P. 501. A.
[h] Ειτα φοβος νομου αδεται, και προφητων χαρις γινωσκεται, και ευαγγελιων πιστις ιδρυται, και αποστολων παραδοσις φυλασσεται, και εκκλησιας χαρις σκιρτα. p. 502. A.
[i] Hist. Lit.
[k] Διονυσιος επισκοπος Κορινθου ιερος ανηρ εγνωριζετο.
[l] Καθολικαις προς τας εκκλησιας επιστολαις. H. E. l. 4. c. 23. p. 143. C.
[m] Eod. cap.

which was the capital city of Bithynia: the fourth to the church at Gortyna, and the rest of the churches of Crete: the fifth to the church in Amastris, together with the churches throughout Pontus: the sixth to the Gnossians, likewise in Crete: the seventh to the Romans, inscribed to Soter then bishop. 'And beside these,' says Eusebius, 'there is extant another 'sent to Chrysophora, a most faithful sister.' Of these epistles, nothing remains, except some fragments in[a] Eusebius.

St. Jerom's[b] account of Dionysius contains an enumeration of these letters. And he says, 'he was a man of great eloquence and industry: and that he flourished under M. Antoninus and 'Commodus.' He has been called a martyr by some, but without[c] any foundation in antiquity.

I shall now put down a few particulars, suitable to our present design, out of the fragments of these epistles preserved by Eusebius.

'The letter to the Athenians,' says Eusebius, 'is[d] exhortatory to the faith, and a conversation according to the gospel:' meaning by gospel the doctrine and precepts of the Christian religion, or the books of the New Testament, in whole or in part. However, it must be owned, these are properly the words of Eusebius.

In this epistle 'he relates[e] moreover,' says Eusebius, 'that Dionysius the Areopagite, who 'was converted to the faith by the apostle Paul, according to the account given in the Acts of 'the apostles, was appointed the first bishop of the church of the Athenians.'

How far Dionysius had referred for this to the book of the Acts of the apostles, is doubtful, and cannot be determined from Eusebius. But every one will upon this occasion regret the loss of these epistles.

In the epistle to the Nicomedians, 'he[f] opposeth the heresy of Marcion, and strenuously 'asserts and[g] defends the rule of truth.'

It is highly probable, he here maintained the genuineness and authority of divers books of the New Testament against Marcion, who[h] rejected some, and mutilated and curtailed others.

In the epistle to the church of Amastris, Eusebius[i] says, 'he has inserted expositions of the 'divine scriptures.'

We cannot be positive indeed: but there is no reason to forbid our supposing, here were expositions of the scriptures of the New, as well as of the Old Testament.

'Farther,' says Eusebius, 'the same person, speaking of his own epistles, as having been 'corrupted, expresseth himself[k] in this manner: "I have written epistles," says he, "at the 'desire of the brethren. But the apostles of the devil have filled them with darnel, taking out 'some things, and adding others: for whom there is a woe reserved. It is not to be wondered, 'therefore, if some have attempted to corrupt the scriptures of the Lord [or the Dominic scrip-'tures,] since they have attempted the same thing in writings not comparable to them."

When he says, 'there is a woe reserved' for those persons, Le Clerc[l] says, he seems to allude to Isa. v. 20. or to Rev. xxii. 18, 19, but of this we cannot be certain.

By 'scriptures of the Lord' he seems to mean the scriptures of the New Testament in general, as containing the doctrine and precepts of the Lord Jesus. There were some who endeavoured to corrupt them. He intends, it is likely, in particular, the followers of Marcion. However, the Catholic Christians were upon their guard. These heretics, therefore, only attempted this; and it was a vain attempt, without any considerable success. The alterations they made were detected by the vigilance of the sounder part of Christians; who, by the numerous copies of most of the books of the New Testament, in the apostolic churches, in almost every part of the world, could without much difficulty discover the frauds attempted to be practised on their sacred writings.

There is another remarkable fragment of this writer in Eusebius, which may deserve to be placed here. Eusebius is speaking of Nero's persecution, and the martyrdoms of St. Peter and

[a] Ibid. et l. 2. cap. 25. p. 68 A. [b] De Vir. Ill. cap. 27. [c] Vid. Tillemont Mem. E. T. ii. Denys de Corinthe, ad fin. [d] Διεγερτικη πιστεως και της κατα το ευαγγελιον πολιτειας. l. iv. c. 23. p. 143. D.

[e] P 144. A. [f] Εν η Μαρκιωνος αἱρεσιν πολεμων, τω της αληθειας παριστατται κανονι. p. 144. A.

[g] Vid. Vales. in loc. [h] Vid. Irenæ. l. 1. cap. 27 al. 28. et Tertullian. adv. Marcion. [i] Γραφων τε θειω εξηγησεις παρατεθειται. ib. B. [k] Ετι δε ὁ αυτος και περι των ιδιων επιστολων ὡς ῥᾳδιουργηθεισων, ταυτα φησιν· επιστολας γαρ αοελφων αξιωσαντων με γραψαι, εγραψα και ταυτας· οἱ τε διαβολε αποστολοι ζιζανιων γεγεμικαν· ἁ μεν εξαιρεντες, ἁ δε προστιθεντες· οἱς το και κειται· ου θαυμαστον αρα, ει και των κυριακων ῥᾳδιουργησαι τινες επεβληνται γραφων, ὁποτε και ταις ου τοιαυταις επιβεβληκασι. p. 145. C. [l] Vid. Hist. E. p. 735. Note 3.

St. Paul: 'And,' says[a] he, 'that they both suffered martyrdom about the same time, Dionysius 'bishop of Corinth, assures us in his epistle to the Romans, writing in this manner: 'So also you, 'by this your so suitable admonition, have joined together the plantation of the Romans and the 'Corinthians, which was made by Peter and Paul. For they both coming to our city of Corinth 'planted and taught us. And in like manner going together to Italy, they taught there, and 'suffered martyrdom about the same time.'

This is all I have to offer at present[b] from this writer. But from the little that remains of him it may be justly concluded, that his epistles would be of great use to us, if they were now extant; especially considering the traces of eminent virtue that appear in almost every part of his short fragments. He shews a peaceable disposition, in recommending peace and unity to the Lacedemonians. He shews his goodness and candour, in his precept to the Amastrians, 'that all who recover from any fall, whether of vice or heretical opinion, should be kindly 'received:' and his judgment and good sense, as well as true virtue, in his admonition to Pinytus, bishop of the Gnossians: 'not to impose on the brethren the heavy yoke of conti-'nence as necessary, but to consider the infirmity of the most.' In a word, it is the character which Eusebius gives him, 'that he was useful to all by his divine labours, and not only to 'the church particularly under his care.' Dionysius was an excellent man.

CHAP. XIII.

TATIAN.

TATIAN flourished, according to[c] Cave, about the year 172. In his Oration against the Gentiles, generally reckoned his only remaining work, he has informed us of several things concerning himself. That[d] he was born in Assyria, was originally a Heathen, and[e] was converted to Christianity by reading the books of the Old Testament, and by reflecting on the corruptions and absurdities of Gentilism: and that[f] he had been a considerable traveller, and seen the world: and afterwards came to Rome, whether he farther improved himself in arts and sciences. The Oration itself shews him to be a man of reading, and well acquainted with the Greek learning; which character is also universally allowed him by ancient writers. He mentions Justin Martyr with[g] great respect: and by many ancient Christian writers we are well assured, that he was his follower; but some while after his death, which happened about the year 165, he went into a great variety of absurd opinions. He is said to be the author of the sect of the Encratites, or Continents; condemned the use of wine; denied the lawfulness of marriage, the reality of Christ's sufferings, the salvation of Adam; embraced the Æons of Valentinus; asserted with Marcion, that there are two gods. But whatever were his principles in the latter part of his life, he will afford a good proof of the antiquity, and highesteem of the gospels in his time, and be otherwise of considerable use to us.

I shall farther observe briefly the notice that has been taken of him by the ancients. Irenæus[h] says, he was a follower of Justin, and mentions the heresies he taught after Justin's martyrdom. Clement[i] of Alexandria makes frequent mention of him, and confutes him. Origen[k] speaks of his Oration to the Greeks as a learned work. Eusebius,[l] in his Chronicle, dates his heresy at the 12th of the emperor Marcus Antoninus, or the year 172. What Eusebius says farther of Tatian will be placed below distinctly. Epiphanius[m] has given a particular account of his heresy.

St. Jerom's account of Tatian, in his book[n] of Illustrious Men, is this: 'Tatian, who first 'taught rhetoric, and gained a great deal of honour thereby, was a follower of Justin Martyr,

[a] Eus. H. E. l. 2. c. 25. p. 68. A. [b] See hereafter Ch. XXVIII. Numb. V. VI. See likewise Ch. II. p. 26.
[c] Hist. Lit. Vid. et Tillemont Mem. Ec. T. 2. Part 3. Les. Encratites. Basnage Ann. 172. sect. 3. 4, &c. Du Pin Bibl. Fabric. Bibl Gr. T. vi. p. 81, &c. [d] P. 174. B. C.
[e] P. 165. B. [f] P. 170. B. C. [g] P. 157. D. 158. A.
[h] Adv. Hær. l. i. cap. 28. [al. 30, 31.] l. iii. cap 23. [al. 36, &c.] [i] Strom. lib. i. p. 320. B. lib. iii. p. 466. A. B. D. 465. C. εκ των Θεοδοτε Επιτ. 806. C.
[k] Cont. Cels. l. 1 p. 14. [l] Tatianus hæreticus agnoscitur: a quo Encratitæ. Chr. p. 170. [m] Hær. 26 al. 46. [n] Cap. 29.

'and flourished in the church as long as he adhered to him. But afterwards puffed up with 'the pride of eloquence, he founded a new heresy, called that of the Encratites, which was 'afterwards improved by Severus. Tatian wrote an infinite number of books; of which there 'is one written against the Gentiles, which is reckoned the most considerable of all his works. 'He flourished under the emperor M. Antoninus Verus, and L. Aurelius Commodus.'

I shall take no more passages concerning the history of this writer. I proceed to those which will set before us his testimony to the scriptures of the New Testament.

I. Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, having given an account of Tatian, and his opinions, from Irenæus, and then of Severus, and his followers, who had made additions to some of Tatian's opinions, adds: 'But[a] their first leader, Tatian, composed I know not what har-'mony and collection of the gospels, which he called [Dia Tessaron] Of the Four, which is still 'in the hands of some. And it is said, that he had the assurance to alter [or explain] some 'words of the apostle, as pretending to correct the composition and order of his style. He left 'a great number of books: of which, his celebrated discourse against the Gentiles has been 'quoted by many; which seems, to be the most elegant, and most useful, of all his writings.'

This is a strong proof, that there were four, and but four gospels, which were in esteem with Christians. It seems, that Eusebius had not seen this harmony or collection of Tatian.

Theodoret,[b] who flourished in the fifth century, about 423, speaks of this book in the following manner: 'He [Tatian] composed a gospel, which is called Dia Tessaron [Of the 'Four,] leaving out the genealogies, and every thing that shews the Lord to have been born of 'the seed of David according to the flesh: which has been used not only by those of his sect, 'but also by them who follow the apostolical doctrine; they not perceiving the fraud of the 'composition, but simply using it as a compendious book. I have also met with above two 'hundred of these books, which were in esteem in our churches: all which I took away, and 'laid aside in a parcel, and placed in their room the gospels of the four evangelists.'

Victor Capuanus, a writer of the sixth century, says, that Tatian called his harmony Διὰ Πενῶν Of the Five. Whence some learned moderns have inferred, that Tatian used also the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Ittigius[c] has shewn it, I think, to be very probable, that this Διὰ Πενῶν Of the Five, in Victor, is only an error of the transcribers for Διὰ Παντῶν Of All. Eusebius calls it 'Of the Four,' as does Theodoret. All the fault that Theodoret, who had seen so many copies, finds with this performance is, that Tatian had left out the genealogies.

It is said, that[d] Ephraim the Syrian, of the fourth century, wrote commentaries upon Tatian's harmony, or Diatessaron.

Whether this harmony be now extant, is disputed by[e] learned men: I think, I need not concern myself with that question.

The apostle, whose words Tatian had the assurance to alter, or explain, undoubtedly is Paul. But it cannot be determined from this passage of Eusebius, what epistles of Paul Tatian owned, or how many of them he had explained, or corrected. Nay, it seems, that Eusebius had never seen the work itself. What he writes of it is only from the report of others. Mill[f] thinks, there was no ill design in this work of Tatian: that his altering the words of Paul amounted to no more than some interlineary or marginal explications: putting here and there over against the apostle's other synonymous words, which were somewhat clearer. Tatian's 'correcting of the composition of apostle's style,' likewise, according to him, was only disposing in the margin some of the words of St. Paul in a more natural order, without intending, or in the event doing, any prejudice to the apostle's original text.

The Oration against the Gentiles being commended by so many, affords an argument, that it was written before the year 172, about which time Tatian left the Catholic opinions; and as it seems to have been written after Justin's death, therefore some time between 165 and 172. In this Oration are a few references or allusions to the gospels, which I shall take notice of.

[a] Ὁ μενῖσι γε πρὸ τούτων αὐτῶν ἀρχηγὸς ὁ Ταλιανός, συναφειάν τινα καὶ συναγωγήν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῶν εὐαγγελίων συνθεὶς, τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων τοῦτο προσωνόμασεν· ὃ καὶ πολλὰ τισὶν εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεται· τὰ δὲ ἀποστόλου φασὶ τολμῆσαί τινας αὐτὸν μεταῤῥάσαι φωνὰς ὡς ἐπιδιορθούμενον αὐτὸν τὴν τῆς φράσεως συνταξιν. H. E. l. iv. c. 28. Vid. et cap. 16. de Tatiano. [b] Hæret. Fab. l. i. cap. 20. [c] Tho. Ittigii de Hæresiarchis. sect. 2. cap. 12. p. 182. [d] Syriacum Tatiani Diatessarôn commentariis illustravit Sanctus Ephræmus, testibus Barsalibæo et Barhebræo, quorum verba retuli. T. i. p. 57, 58. Asseman. Bibl. Orient. T. 3. P. i. p. 13. [e] Vid. Vales. Not. ad Euseb. H. E. l. iv. cap. 29. Tillemont. Mem. T. ii Part 3. Les Encratites. Not. 2. Basnage Ann. 172. n. vi. Fabr. Bibl. Gr. T. vi. p. 83. [f] Proleg. n. 361, 362

N. T.

II. Luke vi. 25. "Woe[a] unto you that laugh now: for ye shall mourn and weep."

III. John i. 3. "All[c] things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made, that was made."

IV. John i. 5. And the light shineth in darkness,[e] and the darkness comprehendeth it not."

TATIAN.

II. 'You may[b] laugh, but you will weep.

III. 'Forsaking dæmons, give up yourselves to the one God. For[d] all things are by him, and without him was not any thing made.'

IV. 'This is[f] what is said: The darkness comprehendeth not the light——And the word [or reason] is the light of God: the ignorant soul is darkness.'

V. He seems to refer to the beginning of St. John's gospel in another place.[g] He likewise says,[h] 'God is a spirit,' in the very words of John iv. 24.

VI. 'He[i] that wants nothing is not to be traduced by us, as if he wanted.' This is much the same thought, and applied to the same purpose, with Paul's, Acts xvii. 25. "as though he needeth any thing." But it is a character of the Deity so obvious, that I think it cannot determine us to suppose he had an eye to those words of the apostle.

VII. St.[k] Clement has informed us, that Tatian, in a book called Perfection according to the Saviour, argued against marriage from the words of Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 5; and from St. Jerom[l] it appears, that Tatian had abused to the same purpose the words of Paul, Gal. vi. 8.: but I do not think it needful to translate either of these passages.

And from[m] Irenæus we learn, 'that Tatian had endeavoured to support his opinion concerning Adam, that he was not saved, from these words 1 Cor. xv. 22. that 'in Adam all die:' 'and from some other expressions of the apostle.'

VIII. Lastly, St. Jerom, in his preface to his Commentary upon the Epistle to Titus, says: 'But Tatian,[n] the patriarch of the Encratites, though he rejected some of Paul's epistles, was 'of opinion, that this to Titus ought to be owned as the apostle's without hesitation.'

IX. We see then plainly, that the gospels, and many of Paul's epistles, were received by Tatian, and owned by him to the last: and his rejecting any of the rest is of no weight, when a man gave way to such manifest absurdities as he did in the latter part of his life.

CHAP. XIV.

HEGESIPPUS.

HEGESIPPUS, as we are informed by Eusebius,[o] was originally a Jew, converted to the Christian faith. He is supposed to have been born in the beginning of the second century; and died, according to the Alexandrian Chronicle, in the reign of Commodus. 'He wrote,' says[o] Eusebius, 'a faithful relation of the apostolic preaching in a very plain style.' And in these books, Eusebius says, he mentions his journey to Rome: that in his way he conversed with many

[a] Οὐαὶ ὑμιν οἱ γελωντες νυν· ὁτι πενθησετε και κλαυσετε.

[b] Γελατε δε ὑμεις, ὡς και κλαυσοντες. p. 167. C.

[c] Παντα δι' αυτε εγενετο· και χωρις αυτε εγενετο ουδε ἑν, ὁ γεγονεν.

[d] Παντα ὑπ' αυτε, και χωρις αυτε γεγονεν ουδε ἑν. p. 158. D.

[e] Και ἡ σκοτια αυτο ου καταλαμβανει.

[f] Και τουτο εστιν αρα το ειρημενον· ἡ σκοτια το φως ου καταλαμβανει. p. 152. C.

[g] P. 245. A. B. C.

[h] Πνευμα ὁ Θεος. p. 144. C.

[i] P. 144. D.

[k] Γραφει γαρ καλα λεξιν εν τῳ περι του καλα τον Σωτηρα καταρτισμου· Συμφωνιαν μεν ουν ἁρμοζει προσευχη· κοινωνια δε φθορας λυει την ενλευξιν. κ. λ. Strom. l. iii. p. 465. A.

[l] Tatianus, qui putativam Christi carnem introducens, omnem conjunctionem masculi ad feminam immundam arbitratur, Encratitarum vel acerrimus hæresiarches, tali adversum nos sub occasione præsentis testimonii usus est argumento: 'Si qui seminat in carne, de carne metet 'corruptionem:' in carne autem seminat, qui mulieri jungitur. Ergo et is qui uxore utitur, et seminat in carne ejus, de carne metet corruptionem. Comm. in Gal. cap. 6.

[m] Tentans et subinde uti hujusmodi a Paulo assidue dictis: quoniam in 'Adam omnes morimur.' l. iii. cap. 23. sect. 8. al. cap. 39.

[n] Sed Tatianus Encratitarum patriarches, qui et ipse nonnullas Pauli epistolas repudiavit, hanc vel maxime, hoc est, ad Titum, apostoli pronunciandam credidit; parvi pendens Marcionis et aliorum, qui cum eo in hac parte consentiunt, assertionem.

[o] H. E. l. iv. c. 22. p. 143. B.

[p] Εν πενλε δη ουν συγγραμματιν ουτος την απλανη παραδοσιν του αποστολικου κηρυγματος ἁπλως ταξει γραφης ὑπομνηματισαμενος. l. iv. c. 8. init.

bishops: that in all of them he had perceived one and the same doctrine. 'When [a] I came to 'Rome,' says he, 'I took [b] up [c] my abode with Anicetus, whose deacon Eleutherus [then] was. 'After Anicetus succeeded Soter, and after him Eleutherus.' And in another place [d] Eusebius says, that Hegesippus writes, he came to Rome in the time of Anicetus, and staid there until the bishoprick of Eleutherus. Though therefore learned men are not exactly agreed about the time of these bishops of Rome, we must suppose the five books of Hegesippus not finished till after 170, very [e] few placing the beginning of Eleutherus's bishoprick before that year.

Eusebius [f] however assures us, he was in the 'first succession of the apostles:' and Stephen [g] Gobar, in Photius, call him an 'ancient and apostolical man.' St. Jerom, in his Catalogue,[h] writes of him to this purpose: 'Hegesippus, who was near the times of the apostles, 'composed a history of the affairs of the church from the passion of our Lord to his own time. 'And collecting together a great variety of matters for the benefit of his readers, he wrote 'five books in a plain and simple manner, imitating [i] therein the style of those whose life 'he followed [or, as perhaps some may choose to have it rendered, "whose life he wrote]." 'He says, he came to Rome in the time of Anicetus, the tenth bishop after Peter, and con-'tinued there to the time of Eleutherus, bishop of the same city, who formerly had been 'deacon of Anicetus.'

These five books are all lost, except some fragments preserved by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, and one more in Photius from Stephen Gobar; of which I shall presently give an account, so far as they relate to our present subject: and in the margin I shall put the character [k] of this writer, as given by some moderns, though it be not very much to his advantage.

I. The first fragment [l] is his relation of the death of James the Just at Jerusalem. In this narration, the style of the scriptures of the New Testament often appears. When the Jews (scribes and pharisees) and others came to James to desire him to tell the people his opinion of Jesus, they say to him: 'For [m] we and all the people bear witness to you, that you are just, and accept no man's person.' Matth. xxii. 16. Luke xx. 21. Afterwards, James says to them: "Why [n] do you ask me concerning Jesus the son of man? He sits in heaven, on the right hand of the Great Power, and will come in the clouds of heaven." Matth. xxvi. 64. "Whereby many were fully persuaded, and glorified God for that testimony of James, saying, "Hosanna to the son of David," Matth. xxi. 9. 15. When they had thrown him down from the battlement of the temple, he not being quite dead, they began to cast stones at him. 'But [o] he kneeling down said:' "I beseech thee, O Lord God the Father, forgive them: for they know not what they do." Acts vii. 60. Luke xxiii. 34.——"This man was a [p] faithful witness both to the Jews and Greeks, that Jesus was the Christ." Acts xx. 21.

II. The next [q] fragment of this writer contains an account of Domitian's inquiry after the posterity of David. 'At that time,' says he, 'there were yet remaining of the kindred of 'Christ the grandsons of Jude, who was called his brother according to the flesh. These some 'accused, as being of the race of David; and Evocatus brought them before Domitianus 'Cæsar. For [r] he too was afraid of the coming of the Christ, as well as Herod.' Matth. ii.

This passage deserves to be remarked. It contains a reference to the history in the second

[a] Γενομενος δε εν Ρωμη διαδοχην [al. διατριβην] εποιησαμην μεχρις Ανικητε, ου διακονος ην Ελευθερος· και παρα Ανικητε διαδεχεται Σωτηρ, μεθ' ον Ελευθερος· ibid. c. 22.

[b] Vid. Vales. Not. in loc. Eus. [c] Or, as others: 'I composed a succession (of the bishops of Rome) to Anice-'tus.' Vid. Pearson. Op. Post. p. 24. Grabe Spicil. T. 2. p. 212 et 256. [d] Ibid. cap. xi. p. 125. B.

[e] Vid. Grabe Spic. T. 2. p. 204. [f] Επι της πρωτης των αποστολων γενομενος διαδοχης. l. 2 c. 23. p. 63 C.

[g] Αρχαιος τε ανηρ και αποστολικος. Phot. Cod. 232.

[h] Cap. 22. [i] Ut quorum vitam sectabatur, dicendi quoque exprimeret characterem. [k] Suspectum tamen merito Hegesippi est testimonium, quia ex reliquis ejus apud Eusebium fragmentis abunde constat, eum non accuratum, sed credulum ac fabulosum fuisse scriptorem. Ingenuum hic est judicium Dupinii, qui recensitis fragmentis Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Hegesippi addit: 'Autant que nous 'pouvons juger par ce qui nous reste, il étoit peu exact, et 'plus rempli d'histores feintes et fabuleuses, que de narra-'tions solides et véritables.' Idem judicium est Basnagii, et aliorum. Lampe Prolegom. In Joann. l. i. c. 4. n. x.

[l] Eus. H. E. l. 2. c. 23. [m] Ημεις γαρ μαρτυρεμεν σοι και πας ο λαος, ότι δικαιος ει, και ότι προσωπον ου λαμβανεις. p. 64. C. [n] Τι με επερωταλε περι Ιησου του υιου του ανθρωπου; Και αυτος καθηται εν τω ουρανω εκ δεξιων της μεγαλης δυναμεως, και μελλει ερχεσθαι επι των νεφελων του ουρανου· και πολλων πληροφορηθεντων και δοξαζοντων επι τη μαρτυρια του Ιακωβου, και λεγοντων, Ωσαννα τω υιω Δαβιδ. p. 64. D.

[o] Αλλα γραφεις εστηκε τα γονατα, λεγων· παρακαλω, Κυριε Θεε Πατερ, αφες αυτοις· ου γαρ οιδασι τι ποιουσιν. p. 65. B.

[p] Μαρτυς ουτος αληθης Ιουδαιοις τε και Ελλησι γεγενηται, ότι Ιησους ο Χριστος εστιν. p. 65. C. [q] Eus. H. E. l. 3. c. 19, 20. [r] Εφοβειτο γαρ την παρουσιαν του Χριστου, ως και Ηρωδης. p. 89. C.

chapter of St. Matthew; and shews plainly, that this part of St. Matthew's gospel was owned by this Hebrew Christian. But Epiphanius [a] informs us, that the gospel of the Ebionites begins thus: 'It came to pass in the days of Herod the king of Judea, that John came baptiz-'ing with the baptism of repentance in the river Jordan;' which is the beginning of the third chapter of St. Matthew, a little altered. And he there [b] says expressly, that their gospel called according to St. Matthew, is 'defective and corrupted.' It is plain however from this passage, that Hegesippus received the history in the second chapter of St. Matthew: so that he used our Greek gospel. Or, if he used only the Hebrew edition of St. Matthew's gospel, this history must have been in it in his time.

These grandsons of Jude were interrogated by Domitian concerning their own substance; which they informed him of, and gave him proofs they were poor labouring men. 'Being 'asked,' says [c] Hegesippus, 'of Christ and his kingdom, of what kind it was, and when and 'where it should appear? Luke xix. 11. they answered, that it was not wordly nor terrene, 'but heavenly and angelical, and would be in the end of the world; when he coming in glory 'should judge the quick and the dead, and render to every man according to his works.' 2 Tim. iv. 1.

I do not pretend absolutely to determine a reference to any particular texts in these last words: but I have thought it very proper to place them here, together with what precedes, as representing the doctrine of the New Testament very much in the style of it.

I omit the next fragment of this author in [d] Eusebius, giving the history of the martyrdom of Simeon bishop of Jerusalem, it containing nothing suitable to our present design.

III. But afterwards, in another chapter, [e] Eusebius observes several things which were in the five books of this writer: 'That in his journey to Rome he visited many bishops, in par-'ticular Primus bishop of Corinth, where he staid many days; and where,' says he, 'we re-'ceived mutual refreshment from the true faith. From thence he went to Rome, and staid 'there to the time of Eleutherus.' He [f] adds: 'And in every succession, and in every city, 'the same doctrine is taught, which the law, and the prophets, and the Lord preacheth.' Here it seems, that by 'the Lord' he must mean the scriptures of the New Testament; which he looks upon as containing the very doctrine taught and preached by Jesus Christ. However, he afterwards speaks of heresies; but the true church was free from these.

IV. 'He also takes some things,' says [g] Eusebius, 'out of the gospel according to the 'Hebrews, and out of the Syriac, and in particular out of the Hebrew tongue; manifesting 'hereby, that he is one of the faithful from among the Hebrews.'

The former part of this sentence is rendered agreeably to the translation of Valesius, which I suppose is generally taken very contentedly; though, on the other hand, some have been mightily puzzled about the true meaning. I think Valesius's version is agreeable enough to the Greek in Eusebius. But one would be apt to suspect our present copies are here hardly right. I cannot pretend to correct them: but I imagine, that St. Jerom has given us, though undesignedly, the true sense of what Eusebius wrote, when he says: 'in the [h] Gospel according 'to the Hebrews, which is written indeed in the Syriac and Chaldaic tongue [or Syro-Chaldaic 'tongue], but in Hebrew characters, is this history;' which he there relates.

Let this passage of Eusebius be allowed to be ever so obscure, I think it affords proof, that there was a Hebrew gospel in the time of Hegesippus, and that he made use of it; but how far, we cannot say. Here is nothing to help us to determine the question, whether this Gospel according to the Hebrews, written in the Syriac language, but in Hebrew letters, was a translation, or an original.

V. The last passage concerning our author to be taken from Eusebius is this: 'And dis-

[a] Hær. 30. sect. 13. p. 138. A. T. i. ed Petav.

[b] Ibid. init. sect. 13.

[c] Ερωτηθεντας δε περι του Χριστου και της βασιλειας αυτου, ποια τις ειη, και ποτε και ποι φαινησομενη; λογον δουναι, ως ουκ κοσμικη μεν ουδ' επιγειος, επουρανιος δε και αγγελικη τυγχανει, επι συντελεια του αιωνος γενησομενη, οταν ελθων εν δοξη κρινει ζωντας, και νεκρους, και αποδωσει εκαστω κατα τα επιτηδευματα αυτου. p. 90. A. B.

[d] L. 3. c. 32.

[e] L. iv. cap. 22.

[f] Εν εκαστη δε διαδοχη και εν εκαστη πολει ουτως εχει, ως ο νομος κηρυττει, και οι προφηται και ο Κυριος. p. 142. C.

[g] Εκ τε του καθ' Εβραιους ευαγγελιου, και του Συριακου, και ιδιως εκ της Εβραιδος διαλεκτου τινα τιθησιν, εμφαινων εξ Εβραιων αυτον πεπιστευκεναι. p. 143. B.

[h] In evangelio juxta Hebræos, quod Chaldaïco quidem Syroque sermone, sed Hebraïcis literis scriptum est; —— adv. Pelagian. lib. iii. init. Op. T. iv. Par. 2. p. 533. ed Bened.

coursing [a] of the books called apocryphal, he relates, that some of them were forged by some 'heretics in his time.'

Whether he speaks of apocryphal books of the Old Testament, or the New, may be doubtful; because the last preceding observation of Eusebius is, that this writer, as well as Irenæus, and some other ancients, call the Proverbs of Solomon by the name of wisdom. But the connection in Eusebius does not, I think, afford any certain proof, that he means the apocryphal books of the Old Testament. However this we may learn hence, that the first Christians, were not only upon their guard against heretics, but also against their forgeries.

VI. Beside these, there is a remarkable fragment of Hegesippus, preserved by Photius [b] in his extracts out of Stephen Gobar, a tritheistical writer of the sixth century.

Gobar there says: 'The eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the 'heart of man the things which God hath prepared for the righteous: though [c] Hegesippus, 'an ancient and apostolical man, in the fifth book of his Commentaries [or Memoirs], I know 'not for what reason, says, this is said without ground, and that they who say so contradict 'the divine scriptures, and the Lord, who says: "Blessed are your eyes which see, and your 'ears which hear:" and what follows.'

Here is a good quotation of St. Matthew's gospel, ch. xiii. 16. The other words are in 1 Cor. ii. 9. Is. lxiv. 4. It is likely, Hegesippus did not blame [d] these words themselves, but only some interpretation of them by persons who pretended that Jesus Christ was a mere phantom, and that the senses were not good judges of his actions.

VII. We have then seen in Hegesippus divers things expressed in the style of the gospels, and Acts, and some other parts of the New Testament. He refers to the history in the second chapter of St. Matthew, and recites another text of that gospel, as spoken by the Lord. He speaks of the doctrine taught by the law, the prophets, and the Lord; by which last expression he must mean some writing or writings containing the doctrine of Christ. Moreover, he used the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and says, there had been books forged by heretics; but they were such only as were called apocryphal, and were not received by the Catholics as of authority.

CHAP. XV.

MELITO.

THIS writer will afford little relating to our present design. However, for the sake of that little, and his otherwise great merit, and many labours, it is very fit we should here settle his time, and give some account of him.

Melito is placed by [e] Cave at the year 170. He was bishop of Sardis in Lydia. Some moderns have supposed him to be the angel of the church of Sardis, to whom the epistle is directed, Rev. iii. 1—6, but this is without ground from antiquity: and, as Tillemont [f] observes, it would oblige us to suppose he was bishop above seventy years; which is not easy to believe, none of the ancients calling him a disciple of the apostles, or making any mention of his great age; and Eusebius placeth him after several others who flourished about the middle of the second century.

Polycrates bishop of Ephesus calls him an eunuch, on account, as is generally supposed, of his living a chaste and self-denying life in celibacy for the sake of the gospel. 'What 'need I,' says [g] he, 'mention Melito the eunuch, who conducted himself in all things by the 'holy spirit, who lies buried in Sardis?'

[a] Και περι των λεγομενων δε αποκρυφων διαλαμβανων, επι των αυτε χρονων προς τινων αιρεσικων αναπεπλασθαι τινα τευτων ισορει. p. 143. B. [b] Cod. 232. p. 893.

[c] Ηγησιππος μεν τοι, αρχαιος τε ανηρ και αποστολικος, εν τω πεμπτω των απομνημαιων, εκ οιδ' ὁ, τι και παθων, μαλην μεν εικη σθαι ταυτα λεγει, και καταψευδεσθαι τες ταυτα φαμενες των τε θειων γραφων, και τε Κυριε λεγοντες, Μακαριοι οι οφθαλμοι υμων οι βλεποντες, και τα ωτα υμων τα ακουοντα, και εξης. Apud. Matth. Υμων δε μακαριοι οι οφθαλμοι, ὁτι βλεπουσι· και τα ωτα υμων, ὁτι ακουει. [d] Vid. Grabe Spic. T. 2. p. 256.

[e] Hist. Lit. [f] Mem. Ec. T. ii. Meliton, Note 1.

[g] Τι δε δει λεγειν —— Μελιτωνα τον ευνεχον, τον εν αγιω πνευματι παντα πολιτευσαμενον. ap. Eus. H. E. l. v. c. 24. p. 191. D

St. Jerom [a] informs us, 'that Tertullian, in one of his books, praises Melito's elegant and 'oratorical genius, and says, that he was esteemed a prophet by many of our people.'

He travelled into Palestine on purpose to learn the number of the books of the Old Testament. His catalogue [b] is preserved by Eusebius, who took it out of Melito's preface to his book of Extracts out of the Law and the Prophets. 'It is a catalogue,' says Eusebius, 'of the 'scriptures of the Old Testament universally acknowledged.' It contains the books received by the Jews into their canon: but he does not mention the book of Esther. It is the first catalogue of the books of the Old Testament recorded by any Christian writer.

Melito [c] presented, or addressed at least, an Apology to Marcus Antoninus in behalf of the Christians then under sufferings. It is placed by Eusebius in his Chronicle at the year 170, the tenth of that emperor, after the death of Lucius Verus, adopted brother and colleague of Marcus Antoninus, which happened in the year 169. With Eusebius agrees the Alexandrian Chronicle. It is evident, it could not be written sooner than the year 170, or the latter part of 169. Pagi [d] herein follows the Chronicle of Eusebius. Tillemont,[e] from the manner in which Melito speaks of the emperor's son in a passage of his Apology (recorded by [f] Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History,) concludes, that Commodus had then the tribunitian power, if he was not colleague with his father in the empire. The former, Commodus received in the year 175, and equal power with his father Marcus Antoninus in 176 or 177. Tillemont therefore is inclined to place this Apology in the year 175, and Basnage [g] is rather for 177. This argument for the latter date of this Apology is so cogent, that I likewise choose to place it in 177.

Eusebius [h] has given us this catalogue of Melito's works. 'Two books concerning Easter: 'Rules of Life, and of the Prophets: Of the Church: A Discourse of the Lord's Day: An-'other of the Nature of Man, and of his Formation: Of the Obedience of the Senses to Faith: 'Of the Soul and Body, or of the Mind: Concerning Baptism: Of Truth, and of Faith, and 'the Generation of Jesus Christ: His Book of Prophecy, and of Hospitality: and the Key, 'and of the Devil, and [i] the Revelation of John.' Another book, the title [k] of which I do not translate, because [l] the meaning of it is doubtful. 'And lastly, his little book to Antoninus:' by which Eusebius means his forementioned Apology.

St. Jerom [m] gives also a catalogue of Melito's works, in the main agreeable to Eusebius. We need not here concern ourselves about some little differences between them. These books are all lost, except a few fragments.

It was not amiss to put down here at length the titles of all this good man's works, to shew the diligence of our Christian ancestors, But the only piece belonging to our present design is that concerning the Revelation of John. What it contained, we are not informed. Mill [n] says, it was a commentary upon that book. It is plain, he ascribed that book to John, and, very likely, to John the apostle. I think it very probable he esteemed it a book of canonical authority,

There is nothing in the fragment of his Apology preserved by Eusebius to be inserted here. But in his preface to his Extracts out of the Law and the prophets is a short passage, which I shall put down in this place, having only first observed, that [o] Eusebius professes there to give us the passage he alleges, word for word. It is a letter to one Onesimus, to whom Melito says: 'When [p] therefore I went into the east, and was come to the place where those 'things were preached and done; I procured an accurate account of the books of the Old Testa-'ment, the catalogue of which I have here subjoined, and sent to you. Their names are these.'

From this passage I would conclude, that there was then also a volume or collection of books, called the New Testament, containing the writings of apostles and apostolical men: but we cannot from hence infer the names, or the exact number, of those books.

[a] Hujus elegans et declamatorium ingenium laudans Tertullianus in septem libris quos scripsit adversus ecclesiam pro Montano dicit eum a plerisque nostrorum prophetam putari. De Script. Ill. n. 24. [b] Eus. H. E. l. iv. cap. 26. p. 148, 149. [c] Eus. H. E. l. iv. cap. 26 p. 148, 149. [d] Critic. in B. 170. sect. 3. [e] Meliton, as above Note 2. [f] L. iv. c. 26. p. 148. A. [g] Ann. Polit. Ec. 177. sect. 3. [h] H. E. l. iv. c. 26. p. 146, 147. [i] Και τα περι τε διαβολε, και της αποκαλυψεως Ιωαννε. [k] Και ὁ περι ενσωμαΐε Θεε. [l] See Tillemont, as before, in Meliton. Note 3. et Fabric. Gr. V. v. and the references there. [m] De Vir. Ill. cap. 24. [n] Melito vero Sardensis ecclesiæ (ad quam quintam Johannis, cap. 3. Apoc epistolam datam aiunt) episcopus integro eam commentario illustravit. Prolegom. n. 227. [o] Εχονλα επι λεξεως ούλως. p. 148. D. [p] Ανελθων εν εις την ανατολην, και εως τε τοπε γενομενος ενθα εκηρυχθη και επραχθη, και ακριβως μαθων τα της παλαιας διαθηκης βιβλια, ὑποταξας επεμψα σοι. Ibid. p. 149. A.

Melito then received the book of the Revelation, written by John; and, it is probable, many other books, collected together in a volume, called the New Testament: just as the books received by the Jews, as of divine authority, were called the Old Testament.

CHAP. XVI.

THE EPISTLE OF THE CHURCHES OF VIENNE AND LYONS.

In the time of Marcus Antoninus the Christians suffered extremely. 'In the seventeenth 'year of the reign of this prince,' says Eusebius,[a] in his Ecclesiastical History, 'the persecu-'tion against us raged with great violence in several parts of the world, through the enmity 'of the people in the cities. What vast multitudes of martyrs there were throughout the whole 'empire, may be well concluded from what happened in one nation.' He means that of Gaul. The persecution was particularly violent at Lyons, and the country thereabout. At this time many of the Christians of Lyons and Vienne suffered exquisite torments with the greatest patience. Pothinus bishop of Lyons, then above ninety years of age, was apprehended and carried before the governor, by whom he was examined, and before whom he made a generous confession of the Christian religion; and having suffered many indignities, he was sent to prison, where he soon expired.

The time of the persecution in Gaul has been disputed. Some have argued for the year 167, thinking that Eusebius himself places it there in his Chronicle. Dodwell[b] has defended this opinion with his usual diligence; but the general opinion is with Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, who, as we have just shewed, there places it in the year of Marcus Antoninus, the 177th of our Lord. Supposing that Eusebius had in his Chronicle placed it in the seventh of that emperor, it would nevertheless be more reasonable for us to adhere to the account in the Ecclesiastical History, written after his Chronicle, where he gives the most particular account of the sufferings of these Christians. But indeed Eusebius does not disagree with himself. The Christians suffered in one part or other of the world, from almost the beginning of Marcus's reign to the end of it. In his Chronicle, Eusebius assigns the fourth persecution to the seventh year of that emperor, because some suffered then; and upon that occasion he makes a general mention of the martyrs of Lyons. But the persecution of the churches in Gaul did not happen until the seventeenth year of Marcus, as Eusebius particularly relates in his History. But I need not farther insist upon this point. The probability of the latter date of the persecution in Gaul has been so well argued, the invalidity of Dodwell's arguments so fully shewn, and every difficulty so fairly considered and removed by Pagi[c] and [d] Tillemont, that, I think, every unprejudiced person must acquiesce. Nor do I expect, that any learned man, who has a concern for his reputation as a critic, should attempt a direct confutation of this opinion.

The churches of Lyons and Vienne sent a relation of the sufferings of their martyrs to the churches of Asia and Phrygia. Eusebius[e] placed this epistle entire in his collection of the acts of the martyrs; and he has also inserted a large part of it into his Ecclesiastical History, which we still have. It is the finest thing of the kind in all antiquity. Some think it was composed by Irenæus.

There were at the same time some other letters dispatched from these churches, concerning the affair of Montanism; which having had its rise about the year 171, began now to make a noise in the world. One of these letters likewise was sent to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia, another to Eleutherus bishop of Rome. These letters concerning the pretended prophecies of Montanus were written by the martyrs[f] themselves, when in prison, before they were brought forth to be put to death. Of these letters there is little remaining. But the former, containing the relation of the sufferings of the martyrs at Lyons, being for the main part of it preserved in Eusebius, will afford a considerable testimony to the books of the New Testament.

[a] L. v. Procem. [b] Diss. Cypr. xi. sect. 36. et Note i. [c] Critic. in Baron. 177. sect. 3—7. [d] Memoires Eccles. Tom. 3. St. Pothin, et les Martyrs de Lion. Art. ii. [e] Vid. H. E. l. v. Procem. [f] Eus. H. E. l. v. c. iv. fin. v. in.

And how valuable their testimony is, must be manifest from what has been said of them; and that they had for their bishop Pothinus, who died aged above 90, in the year 177, and was born therefore about the year 87 of our Lord. We shall make frequent mention, in the course of this work, of this epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons. I am now to exhibit only the testimony it affords to the books of the New Testament.

N. T.	The Epistle, &c.
I. Luke i. 6, "And they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord, blameless."	I. 'Of one of their brethren they say; 'That '[a] though young, he equalled the character of 'old Zacharias: for he walked in all the com- 'mandments and ordinances of the Lord, 'blameless.'
II. John xvi. 2, "Yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you, will think that he doth God service."	II. 'Then was [b] fulfilled, that which was spoken by the Lord, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doth God service.'
III. Acts vii. 60, "And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge."	III. 'They prayed [c] for those from whom they suffered hard things, as did the perfect martyr Stephen: 'Lord, lay not this sin to 'their charge.' And if he prayed for those that stoned him, how much more ought we to pray for the brethren?'

I may be allowed to observe here, that the words of these Greek quotations, or references, are exactly conformable to the Greek original in our copies.

N. T.	The Epistle, &c.
IV. Rom. viii. 18, "For I reckon, that [d] the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us."	IV. 'Shewing indeed, that [e] the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shat be revealed in us.'

Here is also an exact agreement in the very words, and it is remarkable.

V. 'Then they [f] came to Blandina; by whom Christ shewed, that those things, which to 'men appear mean, obscure, and contemptible, are greatly honoured by God, for the love to- 'ward him shewn in power, not boasted of in appearance.' Here may be an allusion to 1 Cor. i. 25—31, and 2 Cor. v. 12.

N. T.	The Epistle, &c.
VI. Eph. vi. 5, "Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh."	VI. 'For when [g] we were all afraid on her account, and [especially] her fleshly mistress.'
VII. Philip. ii. 6, "Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal to God."	VII. 'Who [h] also were so far followers and imitators of Christ: who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal to God.'

One would be almost apt to think, that these churches understood this text thus: 'did not 'think it a thing to be caught at, to be equal; or like, to God.' They seem at least to use the last words in that sense. They are not to their purpose in any other; unless we should suppose, that by reciting these they intend to refer to what there follows. But I think that, if they had not understood these words to be expressive of our Lord's humility, they would have

[a] Eus. H. E. l. v. cap. i. p. 155. D. Vid. et. p. 156. A. B.

[b] Ibid. p. 157. A.

[c] P. 167. A.

[d] Ὅτι ουκ αξια τα παθηματα του νυν καιρου, προς την μελλουσαν δοξαν αποκαλυφθηναι εις ημας.

[e] Ὅτι ουκ αξια τα παθηματα του νυν καιρου, προς την μελλουσαν δοξαν αποκαλυφθηναι εις ημας. P. 155. B.

[f] P. 157. B.

[g] Ibid.

[h] Οἱ και επι τοσουτον ζηλωται και μιμηται Χριστου εγενοντο, ὁς εν μορφη Θεου υπαρχων ουχ ἁρπαγμον ηγησατο το ειναι ισα Θεῳ. p. 166. B.

proceeded somewhat farther in that portion of scripture; at least so far as to mention one branch of the humility of our blessed Lord.

N. T.

VIII. 1 Tim. iii. 15. "Which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth." See Rev. iii. 12.

IX. 1 Tim. iv. 3, 4. "—commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving." See also Rom. xiv. 2.

X. 1 Pet. v. 6. "Humble[c] yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you in due time."

The Epistle, &c.

VIII. 'Attalus—who[a] was always the pillar and ground of the Christians there.'

IX. 'Alcibiades lived upon bread and water, in prison. Attalus declared, 'It[b] was revealed 'to him, that Alcibiades did not do well in not 'using the creatures of God:'——and Alcibides was persuaded, and partook of all things promiscuously, and gave God thanks.'

X. 'They[d] humbled themselves under the mighty hand, by which they are now proportionably exalted.'

XI. There is likewise, I think [p. 160. B. C.] an allusion to 1 Pet. iv. 14, 15, 16. But the passage being somewhat long, and this being a plain allusion to that epistle, I forbear putting it down.

N. T.

XII. 1 John iii. 16. "Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us. And[e] we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren."

XIII. Rev. xiv. 4. "These are they[g] which follow the lamb whithersoever he goes."

The Epistle, &c.

XII. 'Which he manifested by the abundance of his love, for[f] he was willing in defence of the brethren to lay down even his own life.'

XIII. 'For he was indeed a genuine disciple of Christ, [h] following the lamb whithersoever he goes.'

XIV. The passages alleged out of this epistle have a reference to the gospels of St. Luke and St. John, the Acts of the Apostles, the epistle to the Romans, the first and second to the Corinthians, the epistles to the Ephesians and the Philippians, the first to Timothy, the first of St. Peter, the first of St. John, and the book of the Revelation; most of which will be readily allowed to be good references. But there is not any book of the New Testament expressly quoted in this epistle. However, a text of John is referred to as containing words of 'the Lord.'

Ruinart,[i] in his edition of this Epistle, has put down in the margin, Rev. xxii. 11, against these words: 'that the scripture might be fulfilled,' "Let the wicked be wicked still, and the righteous be righteous still." But I rather think they refer to Dan. xii. 11, which is set by Valesius in the margin [k] of Eusebius over-against those words.

[c] Ταπεινωθητε ουν ὑπο την κραταιαν χειρα του Θεου, ἱνα ὑμας ὑψωσῃ εν καιρῳ.

[e] Και ἡμεις οφειλομεν ὑπερ των αδελφων τας ψυχας τιθεναι.

[g] Οὑτοι εισιν οἱ ακολουθουντες τῳ αρνιῳ ὁπου αν ὑπαγῃ.

[i] Act. Martyr. p. 69.

[a] P. 157. B.

[b] P. 167. D.

[d] Εταπεινουν ἑαυτους ὑπο την κραταιαν χειρα, ὑφ' ἡς ἱκανως νυν εισιν ὑψωμενοι. P. 166. D.

[f] Ευδοκησας ὑπερ της των αδελφων απολογιας και την ἑαυτου θειναι ψυχην. P. 156. A. B.

[h] Ακολουθων τῳ αρνιῳ ὁπου αν ὑπαγῃ. P. 156. B.

[k] P. 165.

CHAP. XVII.

ST. IRENÆUS.

I. *His history, time, works, and character.* II. *His testimony to the Scriptures of the New Testament, particularly to the Gospels.* III. *The Acts of the Apostles.* IV. *St. Paul's Epistles.* V. *The Catholic Epistles.* VI. *The Revelation.* VII. *An observation.* VIII. *A summary account of the books of the New Testament received by him.* IX. *Titles and divisions of the books of Scripture.* X. *Respect for the Scriptures.* XI. *Of reading the Scriptures.* XII. *Whether he received any other writings, as of authority.* XIII. *Upon what grounds he received the Gospels of St. Mark, and St. Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles.*

I. THE age and authority of Irenæus, bishop of Lyons in Gaul, have been already shewn in part in the history of St. Polycarp. His country is not certainly known: but it is probable, from his name, that he was a Greek; and from his early acquaintance with St. Polycarp, that he was of Asia. It is likewise probable, that he was from the beginning educated in the Christian religion. When he came into Gaul, is unknown. Some have supposed, that he came to Rome with St. Polycarp, in the time of Anicetus, about the year 157, and from thence passed into Gaul. But concerning this we have no information in antiquity; and it is in vain to form conjectures.

Learned men are not entirely agreed about the time of Irenæus himself, or of his principal work, against heresies. Dodwell[a] supposes he was born in the reign of Nerva, in the year 97; wrote[b] his books against heresies in 176 or 177, and did not[c] outlive the year 190. Grabe[d] is unwilling to differ from Dodwell, but thinks Irenæus was not born till about the year 108, and speaks dubiously about the time of writing the work against heresies. Du Pin[e] says, Irenæus was born in the later part of the reign of Adrian, or the beginning of that of Antoninus, a little before the year 140, and died a martyr in 202. Massuet[f] differs little from him, supposing that Irenæus was born in the year 140, and died in 202: and that he wrote[g] the fore-mentioned work about the year 192. Tillemont[h] thinks that Irenæus was born about the year 120, and died in 202; and that the[i] work against heresies might be written partly in the latter end of the time of Eleutherus, who died, according to him, in 192, and the remaining part in the time of his successor Victor.

I shall now put down some few of the testimonies of the ancients concerning this father, and then make some remarks.

The[k] martyrs of Lyons, in their letter to Eleutherus, make a very honourable mention of him, and give him the title of presbyter.

Tertullian mentions him as one of the most considerable writers of the Christian church, and says,[l] he was a 'diligent inquirer of all sorts of opinions.' He means, it is likely, that Irenæus had well studied the sentiments of the Heathen philosophers, and of heretics, as well as the principles of the Christian religion.

Eusebius says: 'When[m] Pothinus had been put to death with the martyrs in Gaul, Irenæus 'succeeded him in the bishoprick of the church of Lyons; who, in his youth, had been a dis-'ciple of Polycarp.' He there observes likewise, that his book against heresies was written when Eleutherus was bishop of Rome.

Of the works of Irenæus, Eusebius has made this mention in several places: 'Irenæus[n] wrote,' says he, 'several letters against those which at Rome corrupted the true doctrine of 'the church: one to Blastus concerning schism; another to Florinus, concerning the monarchy; 'or, that God is not the author of evil;——and concerning the number eight.' Again:

[a] Diss. Irenæ. 3. sect. 4. [b] Diss. 4. sect. 41. [c] Diss. 3. sect. 29. [d] Prolegomena de Vit. et Script. Irenæi, sect. 1, 2. [e] Nouv. Bibl. Irénée. [f] Dissertat. ii. sect. 2. [g] Ibid. sect. 47. [h] Mem. Etc. Irenée, article ii. [i] Ibid. artic. 7. [k] Apud Eus. H. E. l. v. c. 4.
[l] ——ut Irenæus omnium doctrinarum curiosissimus explorator. Contra Valentin. c. 5. [m] H. E. l. v. p. 170.
[n] Cap. 20.

'Beside[a] the treatises and epistles of Irenæus already mentioned, there is extant a short, but 'very necessary discourse of his against the Gentiles, entitled, Concerning knowledge; 'another inscribed to a brother named Marcianus, being a Demonstration of the apostolical 'preaching; and a little book of divers disputations [or discourses,] in which he makes men-'tion of the epistle to the Hebrews, and the book called the Wisdom of Solomon, alleging some 'passages out of them.' Eusebius[b] also gives an account of a letter to Victor, bishop of Rome, concerning the controversy about the time of celebrating Easter; which, he says, was written in the name of the brethren in Gaul, over whom he presided. And beside all these, he has moreover quoted divers[c] large passages out of the work, Against Heresies.

It is proper to shew here what Eusebius had observed in his works, concerning the scriptures of the N. T. beside what has been already said relating to the epistle to the Hebrews.

He[d] first takes a passage from the third book of Irenæus concerning the four evangelists, which will be found at length below. Eusebius then proceeds: 'In his fifth book he thus dis-'courses of the Revelation of John, and the computation of the name of Antichrist: "These 'things being thus, and this number being in all the exact and ancient copies, and they who 'saw John attesting the same things, and reason teaching us, that the number of the name of 'the beast, according to the computation of the Greeks, is expressed by the letters contained 'in it." And a little after of the same matter he says: "We therefore will not run the hazard 'of affirming any thing too positively of the name of Antichrist. For if his name were to have 'been openly declared at this time, it would have been mentioned by him who saw the Reve-'lation. For it was not seen long ago, but almost in our age, near the end of the reign of 'Domitian." He also mentions the first epistle of John, alleging many testimonies out of it. 'He also in like manner mentions the former [epistle] of Peter.'

It is perhaps needless to put down after these St. Jerom's testimony: I shall, however, take a part of his account of this excellent person, which we have in his book of[e] Illustrious Men.

'Irenæus, presbyter of Pothinus, who was bishop of the church of Lyons in Gaul, carried a 'letter from the martyrs of that city concerning some disputes of the church to Eleutherus, 'bishop of Rome, in which letter he is honourably mentioned. Afterwards, Pothinus having 'obtained the crown of martyrdom, when he was almost ninety years of age, he was substituted 'in his room. It is certain, he was disciple of Polycarp, bishop and martyr. He wrote five 'books against heresies;' and divers others, which Jerom there mentions agreeable to Eusebius. He concludes: 'He flourished chiefly under the emperor Commodus, who succeeded M. An-'toninus Verus.'

Though then it is not in our power at present to determine exactly the time, either of the birth or death of Irenæus; we have good reason to believe he was a disciple of St. Polycarp, presbyter in the church of Lyons under Pothinus, whose martyrdom happened in the year 177, and that he succeeded Pothinus in the bishoprick of that church. His antiquity is farther confirmed, from the[f] frequent mention he makes of a presbyter who had conversed with the immediate successors of the apostles. But who this was, cannot be determined; whether Papias, whom he has quoted by name, or Pothinus, or some other. Eusebius, who also has particularly taken notice of this, says: 'Iræneus[g] has mentioned the sayings of a certain apostolical pres-'byter, without telling us his name, and puts down his expositions of the divine scriptures.'

As for the time of writing his five books against heresies, it is the opinion of divers learned men, that they were not written and published all together, but rather at some distance of time. In his very[h] first book he gives an account of the heresies of Tatian, who is not supposed to have left the Catholic church before the year 172. In his third[i] book he expressly mentions Eleutherus, as being then the twelfth bishop of Rome. He also speaks[k] of the translation of Theodotion, which is generally allowed to have been published in the reign of Commodus. These are some notes of time that are commonly insisted on: but I shall not attempt to settle exactly the year in which this work was completed. It seems to me however most probable, that it was not written till some time after he was bishop. That he may stand near

[a] Cap. 26. [b] Cap. 24. p. 192. C. D. [c] L. v. c. 6, 7, 8. [d] H. E. l. v. c. 8. [e] Cap. 35. [f] Quemadmodum audivi a quodam presbytero, qui audierat ab his qui apostolos viderant, et ab his qui didicerant, Adv. H. l. iv. c. 27. sect. 1. Massuet. [al. c. 45. in] et alibi. [g] Eus. H. E. l. v. c. 8. p. 173. C. [h] L. i. cap. 31. al. 28. [i] L. 3. c. 3. [k] L. 3. c. 24. al. 21.

those Christians to whom he was particularly related, I shall place him in the year 178; though I am rather inclined to think his five books, Against Heresies, were not published quite so soon.

It is commonly said, that Irenæus died a martyr: but from the silence of Tertullian, and Eusebius, and others, concerning this matter, it is justly argued by [a] Cave, and [b] Basnage, and Dodwell, that there is no good ground for that supposition.

There is nothing now remaining of Irenæus, beside his five books Against Heresies, and fragments of some other pieces; and those five books, which were written by him in Greek, are extant only in an ancient Latin version, excepting some fragments preserved by Eusebius, and other Greek writers who have quoted them.

Irenæus has shewn himself, in this large work, Against Heresies, well acquainted with heathen authors, and the absurd and intricate notions of heretics, as well as with the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. He was at the same time a very humble, modest man, and, agreeable to his name, a lover of peace: as appears from his letter [d] to Victor, on occasion of the controversy about the time of keeping Easter.

Photius [e] indeed says of him, that in some of his writings he weakens the certain truth of the doctrines of the church by false reasonings. However, he at the same time calls him the divine Irenæus; but I shall not now offer a particular apology for any of those reasonings to which Photius may be supposed to refer. Irenæus, though his writings may not be free from imperfections, has given such proofs of learning, integrity, and good sense in the main, that all good judges must esteem him (as doubtless Photius did,) an ornament to the sect he was of.

II. I shall now shew particularly, how the books of the New Testament are quoted by him.

1. The first will be a long passage concerning the four gospels, the writers of them, their ability and fitness for the work; having been first filled with the knowledge of the doctrine of the gospel by the Spirit, and having first preached that doctrine, then set it down in writing.

'For [g] we have not received,' says he, 'the knowledge of the way of our salvation by any 'others than those by whom the gospel has been brought to us; which gospel they first 'preached, and afterwards by the will of God committed to writing, that it might be for time 'to come the foundation and pillar of our faith. — For after that our Lord rose from the dead, 'and they [the apostles] were endued from above with the power of the Holy Ghost coming 'down upon them, they received a perfect knowledge of all things. They then went forth to 'all the ends of the earth, declaring to men the blessing of heavenly peace, having all of them, 'and every one alike, the gospel of God. Matthew then, among the Jews, wrote a gospel in 'their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching the gospel at Rome, and founding a 'church there. And [h] after their exit [death], or departure] Mark also, the disciple and inter- 'preter of Peter, delivered to us in writing the things that had been preached by Peter; and 'Luke, the companion of Paul, put down in a book the gospel preached by him [Paul]. After- 'wards John, the disciple of the Lord who also leaned upon his breast, he likewise published a 'gospel while he dwelt at Ephesus in Asia. And all these have delivered to us, that there is 'one God, the maker of the heaven and the earth, declared by the law and the prophets, and 'one Christ, the Son of God. And he who does not assent to them, despiseth [i] indeed those 'who knew the mind of the Lord: but he despiseth also Christ himself the Lord, and he de- 'spiseth likewise the Father, and is self-condemned, resisting and opposing his own salvation, 'as all heretics do.'

That part of this passage, which particularly concerns the four evangelists severally, is cited by [k] Eusebius: the rest is only in the old Latin version.

2. Nor [l] can there be more or fewer gospels than these. For 'as there are four regions of 'the world in which we live, and four catholic spirits, and the church is spreed all over the 'earth, and the gospel is the pillar and foundation of the church, and the spirit of life; in like 'manner was it fit, it should have four pillars, breathing on all sides incorruption, and refresh-

[a] Hist. Lit. in Irenæ. [b] Annal. 194. sect. 4.
[c] Vid. Diss. iii. in Iren. cap. 21. [d] Eus. H. E. l. v. c. 24.
[e] Ει και εν τισιν αυτων ἡ της καλα τα εκκλησιαστικα δογματα αληθειας ακριβεια νοθοις λογισμοις κιβδηλευεται. Cod. 120.
[f] Τα θεσπεσια Ειρηναιε. [g] Adv. Hær. lib 3. cap. 1.
[h] Μετα δε την τουτων εξοδον, Μαρκος ὁ μαθητης και ἑρμηνευτης Πετρου, και αυτος τα ὑπο Πετρου κηρυσσομενα εγγραφως ἡμιν παραδεδωκε· και Λουκας δε ὁ ακολουθος Παυλου, το ὑπ' εκεινου κηρυσσομενον ευαγγελιον εν βιβλιῳ κατεθετο. [i] Spernit quidem participes Domini. [k] H. E. l. v. c. 8.
[l] Neque autem plura numero quam hæc sunt, neque pauciora, capit esse evangelia, &c. Lib. 3. cap. xi. sect. 8. [Apud Grabe, p. 221.]

'ing mankind. Whence it is manifest, that the Word, the former of all things, who sits 'upon the cherubim, and upholds all things, having appeared to men, has given us a gospel of 'a fourfold character, but joined in one spirit.——The gospel according to John declares his 'primary and glorious generation from the Father: "In the beginning was the Word."—— 'But the gospel according to Luke, being of a priestly character, begins [a] with Zacharias the 'priest offering incense to God.——Matthew relates his generation, which is according to 'man: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham." '——Mark begins from the prophetic Spirit, which came down from above to men, saying: "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, at it is written in Esaias the prophet."

In these passages we see the number of gospels owned by Irenæus, and the names of the writers of them, and sufficient particulars concerning them, to satisfy us, he means the very same books of the gospels which we now have. Nevertheless, I shall take a passage or two more concerning each of these gospels.

3. The first passage will relate to Matthew's gospel from a fragment [b] of Irenæus.

'The gospel according to Matthew was written to the Jews; for they earnestly desired a 'Messiah of the seed of David: and Matthew having also the same desire to a yet greater 'degree, strove by all means to give them full satisfaction, that Christ was of the seed of 'David; wherefore he began with his genealogy.'

4. 'Wherefore [c] also Mark, the interpreter and follower of Peter, makes this the beginning 'of his evangelic writing: "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." '—— And in the end of the [his] gospel Mark says: "So then the Lord Jesus, after he had 'spoken to them, was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God."

5. 'But if any [d] one rejects Luke, as if he did not know the truth, he will be convicted of 'throwing away the gospel, of which he professeth [e] to be a disciple. For there are many, and 'those very necessary parts of the gospel, which we know by his means: as, Luke i. ii. iii. the 'birth of John, the history of Zacharias, and the visit of the angel to Mary, and the descent of 'the angels to the shepherds, and the things said by them, and the testimony of Anna and 'Simeon to Christ, and that at the age of twelve years he was left behind at Jerusalem, and the 'baptism of John, and the age of our Lord when he was baptized, and that this was done in the 'fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, and what he said in his sermon to the rich: "Woe unto you 'that are rich, for ye receive your consolation." Luke vi. 24, 25, 26.——All these things we 'know from Luke only. And we have learned from him many actions of our Lord, which [f] 'all receive: as, the great multitude of fishes which they who were with Peter inclosed, when 'at the command of the Lord they cast their nets: and the woman with the infirmity of 'eighteen years, who was cured on the sabbath-day, ch. xiii. 11. and the man with the dropsy 'whom the Lord healed on the sabbath-day, xiv. 2, 3. and how he defended his healing on that 'day: and how he taught his disciples not to covet the chief seats: and that we ought to 'invite the poor and infirm, who cannot recompense us again, 7—13. and of him who knocked 'at the door in the night time for bread, and obtained it, because of his importunity, xi. 8. 'and that, sitting at table at the house of a pharisee, a woman that was a sinner kissed his feet, 'and anointed him with ointment, vii. 36. and all that for her sake the Lord said concerning two 'debtors: and the parable of the rich man that hoarded up his increase, xii. 16. to whom also 'it was said: "This night shall thy soul be required of thee: then whose shall these things be, 'which thou hast provided? As also the parable of the rich man, that was clothed in purple, 'and fared sumptuously, and the beggar Lazarus, xvi. 19. and the answer which he made his 'disciples, when they said to him: "Increase our faith," xvii. 5. and the conversation with 'Zaccheus the publican, xix. 1. and concerning the pharisee and the publican who worshipped 'together at the temple, xviii. 10. and the ten lepers whom he healed at the same time in the 'way, xvii. 12. and that he commanded the lame and the blind to be brought to the wedding

[a] Though Irenæus does not in this account of St. Luke's gospel mention his genealogy of our Lord, which is in ch. iii. 23, to the end; he owned it, and has particularly observed, that St. Luke carried up our Saviour's genealogy to Adam. L. 3. cap. 22. sect. 3. [al. cap. 33.] [b] E. Possini Catena Patrum in Matthæum; apud Massuet, p. 347. Grabe, p. 471. [c] Lib. 3. c. x. sect. 6. [ed. Grabe, p. 217.] [d] L. 3. c. 14. sect. 3. [Grabe, p. 235.] [e] Because the heretics, with whom Irenæus there disputes, owned the whole, or part at least, of that gospel. [f] That is, parts of his gospel received by all, heretics as well as catholics. 'Et pluribus actus Domini per hunc didicimus, quibus omnes utuntur.'

'from the streets and the lanes, xiv. 21. and the parable of the judge who feared not God, 'whom the widow's importunity compelled to avenge her, xviii. 1. and of the fig-tree in the 'vineyard, which bore no fruit, xiii. 6. And many other things there are to be found in Luke 'alone, which [things] Marcion and Valentinus made use of: and beside all these things, after 'his resurrection, what he said to the disciples in the way, and how he was made known to 'them in breaking of bread.' xxiv. 35.

6. There is likewise a passage relating to John's gospel, representing the design of it, which may deserve to be transcribed.

'John,[a] the disciple of the Lord, being desirous by declaring the gospel to root out the 'error that had been sown in the minds of men by Cerinthus, and a good while before by 'those who are called Nicolaitans,——that he might confute them, and satisfy all, that there 'is one God who made all things by his word; and not, as they say, one who made the 'world, and another the Father of the Lord; and one the Son of the creator, and another 'from the super-celestial places, even Christ, who they say also continued ever impassible, 'who descended upon Jesus the Son of the creator, and fled away again into his 'pleroma' [or 'fulness]:——the disciple therefore of the Lord, willing at once to cut off these errors, and 'leave a rule of truth in the church; that there is one God almighty, who by his word made 'all things visible and invisible; declaring likewise, that by the Word, by which God finished 'the creation, by the same also he bestowed salvation upon those men who are in the creation; 'he thus begins in his doctrine, which is according to the gospel: "In the beginning was the 'Word." John i. 1—5.

So far of the gospels.

III. The acts of the apostles is a book much quoted by Irenæus, as written by Luke[b] the disciple and companion of the apostles. There are few things recorded in that book, which have not been mentioned by Irenæus. I shall put down one passage, giving a general account of all the latter part of it.

1. 'And that[c] Luke was inseparable from Paul, and his fellow-worker in the gospel, he 'himself shews, not boasting of it indeed, but obliged to it for the sake of truth. "When 'Barnabas, and John, who was called Mark, separated from Paul, and they sailed to Cyprus, 'Acts xv. 39. we came to Troas: and when Paul had seen in a dream a man of Macedonia, 'saying: Come over into Macedonia, and help us, Paul: immediately," says he, "we en- 'deavoured to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering, that the Lord had called us for to 'preach the gospel unto them: therefore loosing from Troas, we came in a straight course to 'Samothracia," ch. xvi. 8, 9, 10, 11. And then he carefully relates the rest of their course to 'Philippi, and how they began their preaching there. "And we sat down," says he, "and 'spake to the woman that resorted thither [the place of prayer]," ver. 13. relating also who 'believed, and how many. And again he says: "And we sailed away from Philippi after the 'days of unleavened bread, and came to Troas, where we abode seven days," ch. xx. 6. And 'the other things he relates, while he was with Paul, xxi. xxvii. xxviii. mentioning exactly 'the places, and cities, and number of days, until they went up to Jerusalem; and what things 'happened there to Paul; how he was sent bound to Rome, and the name of the centurion 'that took charge of him, and the signs of the ship, and how they were shipwrecked, and in 'what island they were saved, and how courteously they were received, Paul healing the chief 'man of the island; and how they sailed from thence to Puteoli, and from thence arrived at 'Rome, and how long they staid at Rome: at all which things he was present, and relates them 'with fidelity, and without ostentation.——And that he was not only a companion, but also a 'fellow-labourer of the apostles, and especially of Paul, Paul himself has declared in his epistles.' For this he quotes the words of 2 Tim. iv. 9, 10, 11. and Colos. iv. 14. and presently after he quotes also Acts xx. 17.

2. Beside these, and many other things in behalf of Luke, he argues with those who disowned the authority of Paul, and yet owned Luke's gospel, that they must of necessity own the Acts, and consequently Paul's authority.

[a] L. 3. cap. xi. sect. 3. Massuet, al. cap. xi. et apud Grabe, p. 218. [b] Simon——de quo discipulus et sectator Apostolorum Lucas ait: 'Vir quidam autem nomine Simon.' Act. viii. 9. et seq. Lib. i. cap. 23. sect. 1. [al. cap. 20.] [c] L. 3. cap. 14. init.

'Nor can [a] they,' says he, 'pretend that Paul is not an apostle, when he was chosen to 'this end: nor can they shew that Luke is not to be credited, who has related to us the truth 'with the greatest exactness [He refers to Acts ix. 5. 15, 16. containing an account of Paul's 'conversion and vocation, which he had just before quoted expressly]. And possibly God has 'for this reason so ordered it, that many parts of the gospel should be declared to us [b] by Luke, 'which all are under a necessity of receiving; that so all might receive likewise his subsequent 'testimony, which he has given concerning the acts and doctrine of the apostles, and might 'have a sincere and uncorrupt rule of truth, and be saved. Therefore his testimony is true; 'and the doctrine of the apostles is manifest and uniform, without any deceit, hiding nothing 'from men, nor teaching one thing in private, and another in public.'

IV. Thirteen epistles of Paul are expressly quoted as his by Irenæus, and most of them frequently except the epistle to Philemon, which is not quoted at all. The quotations of Paul's epistles are so numerous, that they must be acknowledged by all who but cast an eye upon this father's writings. Nevertheless, perhaps it might be thought a defect, if, amidst this plenty of passages concerning the other books of the New Testament, none should appear in behalf of Paul's epistles. I shall therefore put down one quotation at least of each of his epistles.

1. 'This same thing Paul [c] has explained, writing to the Romans: "Paul an apostle of 'Jesus Christ, separated to the gospel of God," Rom. i. 1—4.——And again, writing to the 'Romans, of Israel, he says: ix. 5. "Whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the 'flesh Christ came, who is God over all blessed for ever."

2. 'This also Paul [d] manifestly shews in his epistle to the Corinthians, saying; "Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud." 1 Cor. x. 1—12.

3. 'Paul [e] in the second to the Corinthians: iv. 4. "In whom the God of this world has 'blinded the eyes of them that believe not."

4. 'The apostle [f] Paul says: where he quotes the words of Gal. iv. 8, 9. and presently 'after, the apostle [g] in the epistle to the Galatians: "Wherefore then serveth the law of 'works? It was added, until the seed should come, to whom the promise was made." Gal. iii. 19.

5. 'As the blessed [h] Paul says in the epistle to the Ephesians: v. 30. "For we are mem-'bers of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones." This epistle is often quoted by him, as 'written to the Ephesians.'

6. 'As also Paul [i] says to the Philippians: iv. 18. "I am full, having received of Epaphro-'ditus the things which were sent from you, an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, 'well pleasing to God."

7. 'Again he [Paul] says in the [k] epistle to the Colossians iv. 14. "Luke the beloved phy-'sician greets you."

8. 'The [l] apostle in the first epistle to the Thessalonians, v. 23. says: "And the God of 'peace sanctify you wholly."

9. 'And [m] again in the second epistle to the Thessalonians, ii. 8. speaking of Antichrist, he 'says: "And then shall that wicked one be revealed."

10. Irenæus thus begins his preface to his work, Against Heresies: 'Whereas some, having 'rejected the truth, bring in lying words, and "vain genealogies which minister questions," 'as the apostle says, "rather than godly edifying, which is in faith." 1 Tim. i. 4. This epistle is quoted several times."

11. 'Of this [n] Linus [who he there says was bishop of Rome] Paul makes mention in his 'epistle to Timothy.' See 2 Tim. iv. 21. "Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus."

12. 'As [o] Paul says:' "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition reject." Tit. iii. 10.

13. The epistle to Philemon is not quoted in any of the works of Irenæus now extant. But this may be very well owing to its brevity, and that he had not any particular occasion to make use of it.

[a] L. 3. cap. xv. in. [b] See the passage, p. 366—367. [c] L. iii. cap. 16. sect. 3. al. cap. 18. [d] L. iv. cap. 27. sect. 3. al. cap. 45. [e] Lib. iii. cap. 7. sect. 1. [f] Lib. iii. cap. 6. sect. 5. [g] Lib. iii. cap. 7. sect. 2. [h] Lib. v. cap. 2. sect. 3. [i] Lib. iv. cap. 18. sect. 4. al. cap. 24. [k] Lib. iii. cap. 14. sect. 1. [l] Lib. v. cap. 6. sect. 1. [m] Lib. iii. cap. 7. sect. 2. [n] Lib. iii. cap. 3. sect. 3. [o] Lib. iii. cap. 3. sect. 4.

14. We being now near to the conclusion of our collections relating to St. Paul's epistles, I shall here put down a critical observation of Irenæus upon his style: 'That [a] the apostle frequently uses 'hyperbata' [or transpositions of words from their natural order], because of the 'rapidity of his words, and because of the mighty force of the Spirit in him.'

15. As for the Epistle to the Hebrews, Eusebius [b] has expressly assured us, that in a work now lost, Irenæus had alledged some passages out of that epistle and the Wisdom of Solomon: but he does not say, that he had quoted it as Paul's. And perhaps this observation of Eusebius may amount to an intimation, that he had not observed that epistle cited in any works of Irenæus, except that which he there mentions. We will however consider, what notice may appear to be taken of it in his remaining works.

He says in one place, 'that [c] God made all things by the word of his power.' And Heb. i. 3, we have these words: "Upholding [d] all things by the word of his power." In another place, 'That Moses [e] is said by the Spirit to be a faithful steward and servant of God:' which character is given Moses, Heb. iii. 2. 5. but it is also in the Old Testament, Numb. xii. 7. and from thence Irenæus might as well take it; and, from what there precedes, seems rather so to do.

Again: speaking of the external purifications appointed before the coming of Christ: 'which,' [f] says he, 'were ordained as a figure of things to come, the law making a draught of 'a certain shadow, and by temporal things delineating eternal, by earthly heavenly things.' Paul says, Colos. ii. 17, "Which are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ." It is said, Heb. x. 1, "For the law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things, can never with those sacrifices make the comers thereunto perfect." It may be proper to compare likewise Heb. viii. 5, "Who serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things;" and ix. 23. "It was therefore necessary, that the patterns of things in the heavens should be purified with these; but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these."

Once more, he says, '[g] Enoch was translated:' and in another place, 'That [h] Enoch having 'pleased God was translated in the body, foreshewing the translation of the just.' Heb. xi. 5, "By faith Enoch was translated, that he should not see death: and was not found, because God had translated him: for before his translation, he had this testimony, that he pleased God;" wherein is a reference to Gen. v. 24. and to the same text Irenæus likewise might refer.

I have thus carefully exhibited every thing which may be supposed in the works of Irenæus to have any allusion to this epistle.

Moreover by [i] Photius we are informed, that Stephen Gobar writes thus: 'Hippolytus and 'Irenæus say, the epistle of Paul to the Hebrews is not his:' by which perhaps we need not understand, that Irenæus had expressly said so any where. If we are so to understand him, the question is decided about the opinion of this father in this matter.

However, I think it may be fairly concluded with much probability from Eusebius, that, so far as he knew, Irenæus had never expressly ascribed it to Paul; and from these very few, and some of them but obscure, references to this epistle in the remaining works of Irenæus, it may be argued, he did not esteem it to be written by Paul. Considering the length of this epistle, I think that, if Irenæus had esteemed it a part of sacred scripture, (as he certainly would, if he had supposed it to be Paul's), we should have had many large quotations out of it.

St. Jerom [k] says, 'That all the Greeks receive the Epistle to the Hebrews:' and in

[a] Quoniam autem hyperbatis frequenter utitur apostolus propter velocitatem sermonum suorum, et propter impetum qui in ipso est Spiritûs, ex multis quidem aliis est invenire. L. iii. cap. 7. [b] See before, p. 363-4.

[c] Condens et faciens omnia verbo virtutis suæ. L. ii. cap. 30. sect. 9 [apud Grabe, p. 184. B.] [d] Φερων τε τα παντα τω ρηματι της δυναμεως αυτου. [e] Non autem vere Dominus appellatur, nec Deus vocatur a prophetis sed fidelis Möyses famulus et servus Dei dicitur a spiritu, quod et erat. L. iii. cap. 6. sect. 4. [Grabe, p. 210. b.]

[f] Quæ [munditiæ exteriores] in figuram futurorum traditæ erant, velut umbræ cujusdam descriptionem faciente lege, atque delineante de temporalibus æterna, de terrenis cœlestia. Lib. iv. cap. xi. sect. 4. [ap. Grabe, p. 311. b.

[g] Et translatus est. L. iv. cap. 16. sect. 2. [Grabe, p. 319. b.] [h] Οπερ γε Ενωχ ευαρεστησας τω Θεω, εν σωματι μετετεθη, την μεταθησιν των δικαιων προμηνυων. l. v. c. 5. sect. 1. [Grabe, p. 404.] [i] Ὁτι Ιππολυτος και Ειρηναιος την προς Εβραιες επιστολην Παυλε, ουκ εκεινε ειναι φασι. Phot. Cod. 232. p. 904. [k] Præterea plenius esse tractatum in epistolâ ad Hebræos, quam omnes Græci recipiunt, et nonnulli Latinorum. Epistol. ad Evangelium Presbyter. inter Epist. Crit. Hieron. Tom. 2. p. 571. Paris. 1699.

[a] another place, 'That it is received as the apostle Paul's, not only by all the churches of the 'East, but also by all the Greek ecclesiastical writers of former times.' But there are few general observations without exceptions. We are able to judge for ourselves concerning the opinion of Irenæus in this matter. What we have seen in his remaining works, and in the testimony of Eusebius, and Stephen Gobar, concerning this writer in particular, is of more importance a great deal than the general observation of St. Jerom concerning the Greek writers: and Irenæus, on account of his residing chiefly in the western part of the Roman empire, may be reckoned among the Latin writers of the church. Mill [b] seems to allow that Irenæus did not own this epistle for Paul's.

Upon the whole then, Irenæus affords proof, that the epistle to the Hebrews was in being in his time, and that he was acquainted with it; but he was not fully satisfied it was Paul's: and having some doubts about that matter, he was cautious of making much use of it as a book of scripture.

V. About the Catholic epistles we must be particular, taking almost every thing that has an appearance of a relation to them.

1. James i. 18, Of his own will begat he us, by the word of truth, that we should be a kind of first-fruits of his creatures." 22. "But be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only." Irenæus says: 'That [c] we are taught by Christ to be imitators of his works, and are made 'doers of his words:' and presently after, 'That [d] we are made the beginning of the creation.' But I confess, these can hardly be called allusions to this epistle.

2. James ii. 23, "And the scripture was fulfilled, which saith: Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness: and he was called the friend of God." Irenæus says: 'And [e] that not by these [the Mosaical rites] a man is justified, but that they were given to 'the people for signs, is shewn, in that Abraham himself, without circumcision, and without 'observation of sabbaths, believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness, and he 'was called the friend of God.' Irenæus in [f] another place also observes, 'that Abraham was 'the friend of God.' The words of this passage do doubtless very much resemble those of St. James: but the same thing in a manner is said Gen. xv. 6, Rom. iii. at the end, and iv. beginning, and Gal. iii. 6.

There is nothing more to be alledged relating to this epistle, beside a passage, which will be produced presently, after the particular account of the rest of these epistles.

3. The first epistle of Peter is quoted as his more than once. And [g] Peter says in his epistle: "Whom not seeing ye love." See one Pet. i. 8. Again, Peter [h] says: "Not using our liberty for a cloak of maliciousness." See ch. ii. 16.

4. Relating to the second epistle there is nothing in all the works of Irenæus, but this sentence, twice [i] mentioned, 'that the day of the Lord is as a thousand years.' See 2. Pet. iii. 8, "But beloved, be not ignorant of this one thing, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. But beside the words, there is nothing to determine us to think he had an eye to this epistle; nor are the words exactly the same.

5. The first and second epistles of John are expressly cited as John's, the disciple of the Lord. Having quoted his gospel, he adds: 'Wherefore [k] also in his epistle he says thus to us: "Little children, it is the last time." 1 John ii. 18. He quotes afterwards in the [l] same chapter, 1 John iv. 1, 2, 3, and v. 1.

Here also he says: 'And [m] in the forementioned epistle John the disciple of the Lord commands us to shun these persons, saying: "Many deceivers are entered into the world, who 'confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh. This is a deceiver and an Antichrist. 'Look to yourselves, that ye lose not those things which ye have wrought."' These are plainly

[a] Illud nostris dicendum est, hanc epistolam, quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos, non solum ab ecclesiis Orientis, sed ab omnibus retro ecclesiasticis Græci sermonis scriptoribus, quasi apostoli Pauli, suscipi. Epist. ad Dardanum, ibid. p. 608. al. ep. 129. [b] Prolegom. ad N. T. sect. 117.

[c] Uti imitatores quidem operum, factores autem sermonum ejus facti. L. v. c. i. init. [Grabe, p. 393.] [d] Facti autem initium facturæ. Ibid. [e] Et quia non per hæc justificabatur homo, sed in signo data sunt populo, ostendit, quod ipse Abraham sine circumcisione, et sine observatione sabbatorum, credidit Deo, et reputatum est illi ad justitiam, et amicus Dei vocatus est. L. iv. cap. 16. sect. 2. [Grabe, p. 319. a.] [f] Amicus factus est Deo. p. 243. Massuet. [p. 315. Grabe.] [g] Et Petrus ait in epistolâ suâ: Quem non videntes diligitis, l. iv. cap. ix. sect. 2. [Grabe, p. 307.] [h] L. iv. c. 16 fin. [Grabe, p. 320.]

[i] Quoniam enim dies Domini sicut mille anni. L. v. cap. 23. sect. 2. [Grabe, p. 435.] Ἡ γαρ ἡμερα Κυριε ὡς α ἐτη. cap. 28. sect. 3. [Grabe, p. 445.] [k] L. iii. cap. 16. sect. 5. [Grabe, p. 241.] [l] Sect. 8. [m] Et discipulus ejus Joannes in prædictâ epistolâ fugere eos præcepit, dicens: Multi seductores. Ibid. sect. 8.

the words of the second epistle. He seems to quote them as in the first, the same epistle he had before quoted. This is supposed owing to a slip of memory.

'And John [a] the disciple of the Lord does not so much as allow us to bid them God speed: "For," says he, "he that biddeth them God speed, is partaker of their evil deeds."' 2 John 10, 11.

The third epistle is no where quoted by him: but this omission can be of no moment, considering the shortness of the epistle.

6. Concerning the epistle of Jude, there is nothing material, or that so much as deserves our notice: he says indeed, 'that in the time of Lot there rained from heaven upon Sodom 'and Gomorrah fire and sulphur, as a token of the just judgment of God:' which possibly some may think a reference to Jude, ver. 7. But certainly the destruction of those cities might be as well learned from the book of Genesis; and the words, '[b] token of the just judgment of God," are taken from 2 Thess. i. 5.

The omission of this epistle affords, I think, an argument, that either Irenæus knew nothing of it, or else, that he did not own it as a book of authority. Though the epistle is short, yet it seems to be so much to his purpose, who was writing against heretics, that he could not well avoid quoting it, if he knew it to be a book of canonical scripture, or universally received as of authority.

7. However, there is a passage of a general nature [which I promised above] which may dispose some to think, he knew of these epistles, which are not expressly quoted by him, particularly the epistles of James and Jude.

Speaking of the apostles who had written, as well as preached: 'For Peter, and [c] John, and [d] Matthew, and Paul, and the rest of them, and their companions, have quoted the words of the [e] prophets, according to the translation of the [seventy] elders.' Here it seems, that he supposed there were other apostles who had written, beside those he nameth. For he plainly distinguishes between apostles and their companions, by these last meaning Mark and Luke. By the rest, therefore, or others of them, he may be thought to mean James and Jude. Nevertheless [d] Grabe thinks it may be conjectured from this passage, and the silence about James, while he mentions the other apostles who had written, that Irenæus had not seen the epistle of James, or that he did not own it. However, I think, few learned men are of his opinion; and I should be rather apt to suppose, it might afford an argument in favour of the epistles of James and Jude. But whether it be alone sufficient to outweigh the argument for the other side, taken from the total omission, or very obscure citations of these epistles, in so large a work as this, against heresies, may be questioned. Every one is able to judge of this point, from the particular account I have given of the testimonies of this father.

VI. The Apocalypse or Revelation, is often quoted by him as the Revelation of [e] John, the disciple of the Lord. And in one place he says: 'It was [f] seen no long time ago, but almost 'in our age, at the end of the reign of Domitian.' And in the place before cited [g] from Eusebius, he speaks of the exact and ancient copies of this book, confirmed likewise by the agreeing testimony of those who had seen John himself. The testimony of Irenæus in behalf of this book is certainly very considerable. However, he wrote no commentary upon the Revelation, as was before shewn.[h]

VII. I have now shewn at large, what books of the New Testament are cited by Irenæus. I had much rather represent the truth (as I have often endeavoured to do,) without a particular confutation of any mistakes which some learned men have made through inadvertence. By this method one may save them the uneasiness which the detection of a mistake is apt to occasion, especially if they are named. Nevertheless, I think it not improper, in this place, to take notice of an observation in Le Clerc's [i] Ecclesiastical History: that Irenæus has cited all the

[a] Ιωαννης δε ὁ τȣ Κυριȣ μαθητης——ὁ γαρ λεγων αυτοις, φησι, χαιρειν, κοινωνει τοις εργοις αυτων τοις πονηροις. l. i. cap. 16 sect. 3. [Grabe, p 79] [b] Exemplum justi judicii Dei. L. iv. cap. 36. sect. 4. [Grabe, p. 371.]

[c] Etenim Petrus, et Joannes, et Matthæus, et Paulus, et reliqui deinceps, et horum sectatores, prophetica omnia ita annuntiaverunt, quemadmodum seniorum interpretatio continet. L. iii. cap. 21. sect. 3. [d] Dum Irenæus apostolos, quorum scripturas habemus, justo ordine recensens, Jacobum principem eorum omisit, ejus epistolam non vidisse aut agnovisse haud vane conjicitur, præsertim cum nusquam eam diserte allegârit. Grabe, in loc. p. 256. [e] Sed et Joannes Domini discipulus in Apocalypsi. L. iv. cap. 20. sect. 11. lib v. cap 26. in. [f] Δι' εκεινȣ αν εφρεθη τȣ και την Αποκαλυψιν εωρακοτος· ȣδε γαρ προ πολλȣ χρονȣ εωραθη, αλλα σχεδον επι της ημετερας γενεας. προς τω τελει της Δομετιανȣ αρχης. L. v. cap. 30. sect. 3. [Grabe, p. 449.] [g] See before, p 363-4. [h] P. 348. [i] Recte Eusebius H E. l. v. c. 8. pro more suo animadvertit, Irenæum diserte meminisse quatuor evangeliorum, quæ habemus, Apocalypseos,

books of the New Testament, except the third epistle of John; whereas it is manifest from what has been said, that beside the omission of the just mentioned epistle, Irenæus has not quoted at all, nor referred to, the epistle of Paul to Philemon. And there are likewise several other books, concerning which it is doubtful, whether he has so much as referred to them. I have mentioned this, as some justification of the strictness of our present inquiry into the evidence given by the primitive Christian writers to the books of the New Testament, if indeed it needs any. But no reasonable person, from this particular inaccuracy, will draw any general conclusion to the disadvantage of so learned and useful a writer as Le Clerc.

VIII. We have then in Irenæus full, and express, and abundant testimony to the four gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, twelve of Paul's epistles. The omission of the epistle to Philemon may be well ascribed to its brevity. He knew the epistle to the Hebrews, but was not satisfied that it was Paul's. As for the Catholic epistles, we have express quotations of the first of Peter, and the first and second of John; and the reason of not quoting the third may be well allowed to be its brevity. But to the epistle of James, the second of Peter, and the epistle of Jude, there are none, or very obscure references, hardly any that can be reckoned material. Nevertheless, on account of a general passage concerning the writings of the apostles, it may be questioned, whether he did not also know the epistles of James and Jude. The book of the Revelation is expressly ascribed to John the disciple of the Lord. His testimony for this book is so strong and full, that, considering the age of Irenæus, he seems to put it beyond all question, that it is the work of John the apostle and evangelist.

IX. Having shewn what books of the New Testament are cited and owned by Irenæus, I shall observe some general titles and divisions made use of by him in his quotations.

'Concerning [a] which,' says he, 'the scriptures affirm, "that they which do such things 'shall not inherit the kingdom of God."' Gal. v. 21. He calls them also [b] divine scriptures, [c] divine oracles, [d] scripures of the Lord.

Sometimes: It is said, [e] in the gospel: at other times, [f] in the gospels. The books of the New Testament are comprehended under these two divisions, of evangelic and apostolic writings. 'The Valentinians,' he [g] says, 'endeavour to fetch arguments for their opinions, not 'only from the evangelic and apostolic writings, but also from the law and the prophets:' manifestly intending hereby a code or collection of gospels and apostolical epistles; though such general titles do not shew exactly what books are contained in each collection.

He speaks of the scriptures of the Old and New Testament in this manner: 'Since [h] all the 'scriptures, both prophecies and gospels, are open and clear, and may be heard of all.'—In another place: 'In [i] the law and the gospel, the first and greatest commandment is, to love the 'Lord with all the heart.' He has these several expressions together: 'With [k] our assertions 'agree the preaching of the apostles, the doctrine of the Lord, the declaration of the prophets, 'the word of the apostles, the ministration of the law.'

X. His respect for the books of the New Testament has appeared in many passages here produced, particularly Numb. II. where he affirms the complete knowledge the apostles had of the doctrine of Christ; and that they did not preach, much less write, till after the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them: and that the gospel was 'committed to writing by the will of 'God, that it might be for time to come the foundation and pillar of our faith.'

Arguing from some texts of Paul to the Romans, he [l] says: 'For he foreseeing by the 'Spirit, that there would be divisions caused by evil teachers, and being desirous to prevent all

et 1 Joannis——Verum et e citationibus ejus cæteros omnes N. T. libros, quos habemus, exceptâ unâ brevissimâ Joannis epistolâ, quæ tertiæ numeratur, admissos, et pro apostolicis habitos, ex indicibus locorum scripturæ, qui nuperis editionibus subjecti sunt, patet. H. E. A. D. 180. sect. 3.

[a] Περὶ ὧν καὶ γραφαὶ διαζεβαιενίαι. κ. λ. Lib. i. c. 6. sect. 3. [b] Εν ταις θειαις γραφαις λελεκται. L. ii. c. 27. in. [c] Τα λογια τϑ Θεϑ. L. i. c. 8. sect. 1. fin. [d] Et Dominicis scripturis enutriti. L. v. c. 20. sect. 2. Vid. et. L. ii. c u't. ad fin. [e] Ab hoc quod dictum est in evangelio. L. ii. c. 26. Non legunt in evangelio. L. iv. c. 29. in. [f] Non scrutati sunt in evangeliis. L. ii. c. 22. sect. 3. [g] Και ϑ μονον εκ των ευαγγελικων και των αποϛολικων πειρωνται τας αποδειξεις ποιεισϑαι——αλλα και εκ νομϑ και προφητων. L. i. cap. 3. sect. 6. Grabe, p. 19.

[h] Cum itaque universæ scripturæ, et prophetiæ, et evangelia, in aperto sint, et sine ambiguitate, et similiter ab omnibus audiri possint, etsi non omnes credunt. L. ii. cap. 27. sect. ii. al. cap. 46. [i] In lege igitur et in evangelio, cum sit primum et maximum præceptum, &c. L. iv. c. 12. sect. 3. [k] Quoniam autem dictis nostris consonat prædicatio apostolorum, et Domini magisterium, et prophetarum annuntiatio, et apostolorum dictatio, et legislationis ministratio. L. ii. cap. ult. ad fin. [l] Prævidens enim et ipse per Spiritum subdivisiones malorum magistrorum——ait quæ prædicta sunt. L. iii. c. 16. sect. 9.

'occasion of difference in these things, spake after this manner.' And a [a] little before: 'But 'the Holy Spirit foreseeing there would be deceivers, and guarding beforehand against their 'deceit, says by Matthew: "Now the birth of Christ was in this wise."' See Matth. i. 18, where we read Jesus Christ. But it is likely, the copies of Irenæus had Christ only. Again: 'Well [b] knowing that the scriptures are perfect, as being dictated [or spoken] by the Word of 'God and his Spirit.' And he says, 'That a heavy [c] punishment awaits those who add to, or 'take from the scriptures.' Lastly: 'But we,' says [d] he, 'following the one and only true 'God as our teacher, and having his words as a rule of truth, do all always speak the same 'things concerning the same things.'

Irenæus however does not slight reason. 'A sound mind,' says [e] he, 'that is sober, dis-'creet, and a lover of truth, whatever things God has put in the power of men, and made 'knowable by us, these such a mind will study, and improve in them, rendering the knowledge 'of them easy by daily exercise. And the things knowable by us are those which fall under 'our sight, and whatsoever things are plainly, and clearly, and expressly said in the divine 'scriptures.'

XI. We just now saw, that Irenæus declares, that the scriptures 'are open and clear, and 'may be read by all.' Nevertheless, in another place he expresses himself to this purpose: 'Such [f] an one will be well satisfied about these things, if he also diligently read the scriptures 'with those who are presbyters in the church, with whom is the apostolical doctrine, as we have 'shewn.' By which, however, I think Irenæus does not intend to say, that Christian people should not read the scriptures without the leave of their presbyters; but that they ought to take care, that they use those copies of the scriptures that are uncorrupted, such as are in the hands of the presbyters of the catholic church. Or, perhaps he rather means, that they should not only read the scriptures privately themselves, but that, in case any difficulties appear, they should likewise consult the presbyters in the church. Therefore he says: 'Such an one will 'be well satisfied of these things, if he *also* diligently read the scriptures with those who are 'presbyters in the church.'

XII. It may be worth while to consider, whether Irenæus quotes any other Christian writings in the same manner, and with the same respect which he shews to these books of the New Testament, commonly received as canonical. Beside the scriptures of the Old and the New Testament, and Josephus, and some heathen authors, and perhaps some heretical writers, the only authors quoted in Irenæus by name are these following: Clement of Rome, Hermas, Polycarp, Papias, and Justin Martyr. For Ignatius is not so quoted by him.

1. We shall begin our considerations with Hermas, because it is thought there is somewhat [g] singular in the quotation of his book. The passage is taken notice of by Eusebius. Having observed what Irenæus said of the Apocalypse of John, and that he had often cited the first epistle of John, and the first of Peter, he immediately adds: 'Nor did [h] he only know, but he 'also receives [or approves,] the scripture of the Shepherd, saying: "Well therefore spake 'the scripture, which says: "First of all believe that there is one God, who created and formed 'all things,"" and what follows.'

Upon this passage I would briefly make these several remarks.

(1.) This is the only Christian writing quoted by Irenæus with an appearance of a like respect to what he has for the writings of the apostles, and their two disciples and followers, Mark and Luke.

(2.) By scripture we need not understand sacred and inspired scripture, but only writing.

[a] Sed prævidens Spiritus Sanctus depravatores, et præmuniens contra fraudulentiam eorum, per Matthæum ait: Christi autem generatio sic erat. L. iii. c. 16. sect. 2. al. cap. 17.

[b] Rectissime scientes, quia scripturæ quidem perfectæ sunt, quippe a verbo Dei et Spiritu ejus dictæ. L. ii. c. 28. sect. 2. [al. cap. 47.] [c] Επειλα δε τε προσθενλος, η αφελονλος τι της γραφης, επιλιμιαν ε την τυχησαν εχονλος. κ. λ. L. v. c. 30. sect 1 [ap. Grabe. 448.] [d] Nos autem unum et solum verum Deum doctorem sequentes, et regulam veritatis habentes ejus sermones, de iisdem semper eadem dicimus omnes. L. iv. c. 35. sect 4. [al. c 69.] [e] Ὁ υγιης νες, κάι ακινδυνος, και ευλαβης, και φιλαληθης, όσα εν τη των ανθρωπων εξεσια δεδωκεν ὁ Θεος, και ὑπολειαχε τη ἡμελερα γνωσει, ταυλα προθυμως εκμελειησει, και εν αυλοις προκοψει, δια της καθημερινης ασκησεως ραδιαν την μαθεσιν ἑαυλῳ ποιεμενος. Εςι δε ταυλα, ταλε ὑπ' οψιν ποιπλονλα την ὑμελεραν, και όσα φανερως και αναμφιβολως αυλολεξει εν ταις θειαις γραφαις λελεκλαι. L. 2. c. 27. in. [al. cap. 46.] [f] Post deinde et omnis sermo ei constabit, si et scripturas diligenter legerit apud eos qui in ecclesiâ sunt presbyteri, apud quos est apostolica doctrina, quemadmodum demonstravimus. L. iv. c. 32. al. c. 52.

[g] Illud etiam non omittendum, quod Hermæ Pastorem, velut canonicam scripturam, laudet Irenæus. L. iv. c. 20. n. 2. Massuet Dissert. Præv. in Irenæ. iii. sect. 7. [h] Ου μονον δε οιδεν· αλλα και αποδεχελαι την τε ποιμενος γραφην, λεγων· καλως εν ειπεν ἡ γραφη ἡ λεγεσα, κ. λ. Eus. H. E. p. 173. B.

So the word is frequently used by the ancients. Mr. Richardson[a] gives instances of it from Origen, Tertullian, Rufinus, and Augustine. Eusebius[b] useth it of the gospel of Peter, which he absolutely rejects. Epiphanius[c] likewise speaks of the apocryphal scriptures or writings, which were used by the Encratites. Nor do the words of Eusebius imply, as I conceive, that he thought Irenæus reckoned that book a part of the sacred scripture. Eusebius says, 'Irenæus 'receives,' that is, approves, or commends, 'the writing called the Shepherd.' He seems to take notice of this, because[d] that book was much despised by some. Nor is Eusebius speaking there only of the books of the New Testament cited by Irenæus; but he proceeds next to observe, that he had several times mentioned the sayings of a certain apostolical presbyter; and adds, that he had also cited Ignatius, and Justin Martyr, whose works certainly were never reckoned a part of sacred scripture.

When therefore Irenæus says here, 'Well spake the scripture,' his meaning is exactly this: 'Well spake that writing, work, or book, which says.'——It is certain, that Irenæus himself has so used this word γραφη, or scripture. Giving an account of the epistle of Clement, written to the Corinthians in the name of the church of Rome, he[e] says: 'The church of Rome sent a 'most excellent scripture,' that is, epistle, 'to the Corinthians.' And[f] afterwards: 'From 'that scripture,' or epistle, 'any one may learn the apostolical tradition of the church.' Massuet has[g] a good note to this purpose upon the place.

(3.) There are numerous and long quotations of most of the books of the New Testament, received by Irenæus as sacred and divine scripture; and but one short single citation of this book of the Shepherd, though it is much larger than any book of the New Testament. Considering the largeness of this work of Hermas, it is probable it would have been often quoted by Irenæus, if he had esteemed it a part of sacred scripture.

2. The epistle of Clement, though so great a man, and a companion of the apostles, is but once quoted by Irenæus; and it is rather quoted as an epistle of the church of Rome than of Clement. The design of quoting it too, is only to shew what was the tradition or belief of the Christian churches. The heretics, with whom he argues, sometimes[h] cavilled against *scripture*, and pretended that oral tradition was a more certain and complete rule of truth. Irenæus descends into this kind of argument likewise, and says, the belief and testimony of the apostolical churches were on his side, as well as the *scriptures* of the apostles. 'And because,' as he[i] says, 'it was impossible to shew this at large of all the apostolical churches, he should there-'fore instance in the greatest, most ancient, and well known church of Rome, glorious on 'account of its being founded by two apostles, Peter and Paul.' 'These blessed apostles,' he says, 'having founded the church, gave the office of the bishoprick to Linus, who was suc-'ceeded by Anencletus, and he by Clement. In the time of this Clement there being no small 'dissension among the brethren at Corinth, the church of Rome sent a most excellent epistle 'to the Corinthians, containing the doctrine lately received from the apostles, which declares, 'that there is one God Almighty.——And that[k] He is declared by the churches to be the 'Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, they who will may learn from the epistle itself, and under-'stand the apostolical tradition of the church, since that epistle is more ancient than the false 'teachers of the present time.' And he goes on to enumerate the several successors of Clement to Eleutherus, the twelfth bishop of Rome. 'In this very order and succession,' says he, 'has the tradition which is in the church, and the preaching [or doctrine] of the truth, come to 'us from the apostles.'

[a] Canon of the New Testament vindicated, p. 26, 27.

[b] H. E. l. vi. c. 12. p. 213. C. [c] Hær. 47. sect. 1. p. 400. A. [d] H. E. p. 72. C. D. See before ch. iv. The history of Hermas, at the beginning. Vid. et Orig. de Princ. L. iv in Philoc. cap. 1. p. 9. [e] Επεστειλεν η εν Ρωμη εκκλησια ικανωτατην γραφην τοις Κορινθιοις. L. iii. cap. 3. Scripsit quæ est Romæ ecclesia potentissimas literas Corinthiis. Interp. L. [f] Ex ipsâ scripturâ, qui velint, discere possunt. Ibid. [g] Scriptura.] Vocem γραφη, quâ paulo ante usus est Irenæus, quamque recte vertit interpres, literas, et hic reddere debuisset, literæ seu epistola: nam de Clementis epistolâ sermo est. Massuet. [h] Cum enim ex *scripturis* arguuntur, in accusationem convertuntur ipsarum *scripturarum*, quasi non recte habeant, neque sint ex auctoritate, et quia varie sint dictæ, et quia non possit ex his inveniri veritas ab his, qui nesciant traditionem. Non enim per literas traditam illam, sed per *vivam vocem*. L. iii cap. 2. in.

[i] Traditionem itaque apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatam, in omni ecclesiâ adest respicere omnibus qui vera velint videre; et habemus annumerare eos qui ab apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil docuerunt, neque cognoverunt, quale ab his deliratur. ——Sed quoniam valde longum est omnium ecclesiarum enumerare successiones; maximæ, et antiquissimæ——ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab apostolis traditionem indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, &c Ibid cap 3. [k] Hunc Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi ab ecclesiis annunciari, ex ipsâ scripturâ qui velint discere possunt, et apostolicam ecclesiæ traditionem intelligere. Ibid.

It is plain then, that he quotes this epistle of Clement, or the church of Rome, only as representing the tradition of the church agreeable to the doctrine of the apostles.

3. The next writer we are to consider is Polycarp; and it is of him that Irenæus likewise speaks next, immediately after he had shewn the tradition of the true doctrine from the apostles in the church of Rome. It is the passage which we before transcribed from Irenæus at the beginning of the history of St. Polycarp; which passage concludes thus: 'There is also a most 'excellent epistle of Polycarp written to the Philippians; from which they who are willing, 'and are concerned for their own salvation, may learn both the character of his faith, and the 'doctine of the truth. Moreover the church in Ephesus also, founded by Paul, and in which 'John resided until the time of Trajan, is a true witness of the tradition of the apostles.'

It is plain then, that he alleges these epistles of the church of Rome, and Polycarp, and also the testimony of the church of Ephesus, as declaring the doctrine of the apostles agreeable to the sacred scriptures. But these epistles are manifestly distinguished from the gospels, and other books of the New Testament, which he had just before called scripture in the strictest and highest sense of the word.

Let me add here likewise, though he has taken so many long passages from the gospels, and most of the other books of the New Testament, he recites none distinctly from the epistles of Clement, or Polycarp; but only gives a general description of those writings, and refers men to the reading of them.

4. Papias likewise is but [a] once mentioned in the works of Irenæus by name. The passage is already transcribed at the beginning of the ninth chapter of this book.

5. Justin is quoted twice: 'Well [b] says Justin, in his treatise again Marcion;' and again, 'Well [c] said Justin:' in both which places he puts down a short saying, or sentence, of his.

I do not perceive then, that there is the least ground for supposing that Irenæus had the like respect for any other Christian writings, which he had for those books of the New Testament commonly received by us, which are quoted by him.

6. There is likewise a passage or two [d] in Irenæus, in which some words are ascribed to our Lord, which are a small matter different from those recorded in our gospels: from whence some have been disposed to think, they might possibly be taken out of apocryphal gospels. But certainly nothing more needs to be added to shew, that Irenæus received but four gospels, and that they are the same with ours; nor shall I stay to inquire particularly, whether his small variation from our gospels in those places be owing to his using his memory in those quotations, or to a difference of reading in the copies used by Irenæus. Moreover, as to one of those passages, it may be [e] questioned, whether Irenæns does not designedly put it down, as it was expressed in some apocryphal writings of the hereticks, against which he is there arguing; and not as found in any writing supposed by him to contain a true account of our Lord's words.

7. There is a passage among the Fragments of St. Irenæus, published by the learned Dr. Pfaff, Professor of Divinity, and chancellor of the University of Tubingen, from some manuscripts in the king of Sardinia's library at Turin, which may be supposed by some people to mention, and give some authority to, the Apostolical Constitutions.

The second of those Fragments begins thus: 'They [f] who are acquainted with [or have 'understood] the latter constitutions of the apostles know, that the Lord in the New Testa- 'ment has appointed a new offering, according to what is said in the prophet Malachi, i. 11; "For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great 'among the gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered to my name, and a pure offer-

[a] L. v. c. 33. sect. 4. Grabe, p. 455. [b] Και καλως Ιησους εν τῳ προς Μαρκιωνα συνταγματι φησιν. L. iv. c. 6. sect. 2. al. c. 14. [Grabe, p. 300.] [c] L. v. c. 26. sect. 2. [et ap. Grabe, p. 441.] [d] Et ideo Dominus dicebat ingratis existentibus in eum: si in modico fideles non fuistis, quod magnum est quis dabit vobis? Vid. Luc. xvi. 11. L. ii. c. 34. sect. 3. al. cap. 64. Hæc [inquit Massuetus in l.] ex memoriâ citavit Irenæus. Nam paulo aliter habet evangelii textus, Luc. xvi. 11.——Unde ad sensum magis quam ad verba attendisse videtur auctor noster. Vid. et Irenæ. L. i. c. 20. sect. 2. al. cap. 17. Αλλα και εν τῳ ειρηκεναι, πολλακις επεθυμησα ακουσαι ἑνα των λογων τουτων, και εκ εσχον τον ερευνα. Ad quem locum ait Massuetus: Hæc verba frustra quæsieris in scripturis sacris; nullibi exstant. Ab hæreticis istis, vel male feriato quodam, conficta sunt. Vid. et Grabe in loc. And Mr Jones likewise may be consulted upon both these passages. New and Full Method, &c. V. i. p. 526, 547. [e] See beside the learned men already referred to, Mill. Proleg. n. 331. [f] Οι ταις δευτεραις των αποστολων διαταξεσι παρηκολουθηκοτες ισασι, τον Κυριον νεαν προσφορα εν τῃ καινῃ διαθηκῃ καθεστηκεναι καια το Μαλαχια το προφητῃ——ωσπερ και ο Ιωαννης εν τῃ Αποκαλυψει λεγει· τα θυμιαματα εισιν αι προσευχαι των ἁγιων· και ο Παυλος παρακαλει ἡμας παραστησαι τα σωματα ἡμων θυσιαν ζωσαν, ἁγιαν, ευαρεστον τῳ Θεῳ, την λογικην λατρειαν ἡμων, και παλιν· αναφερωμεν θυσιαν αινεσεως, τουτεστι καρπον χειλεων. κ. λ. Irenæi Fragmenta Anecdota, p. 25. Hagæ comitum 1715.

" ing." As also John in the Revelation, v. 8, says: " The incense is the prayers of the saints." ' And Paul exhorts us, Rom. xii. 1, to " present our bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable " to God, which is our reasonable service." And again, Hebr. xiii. 15, " Let us offer the sacri- " fice of praise, that is, the fruit of the lips." These offerings indeed are not according to the ' law, the hand-writing of which the Lord having blotted out, has taken it out of the way, but ' according to the spirit.' Col. ii. 14. " For God ought to be worshipped in spirit and truth." John iv. 24.

Upon this passage I make only two remarks.

1. There is no good and sufficient evidence, that this is a passage of Irenæus bishop of Lyons. I learn from Dr. Pfaff's preface to his edition of the Fragments of St. Irenæus, that the learned marquis Scipio Maffei had proposed in the Italian Literary Journal several objections against their genuineness. I have not seen that Journal. However, there can be no question but Dr. Pfaff has fairly represented those objections in his preface. But so far as I am able to judge, he has not fully answered them, especially those against this second fragment, which is attended with some difficulties peculiar to itself. I perceive likewise by a note of the marquis Maffei upon [a] the Complexions of Cassiodorus, or Cassiodorius (as that learned man thinks his name should be written,) that he is not convinced by what Dr. Pfaff has said. I add one objection against this second Fragment, which I do not see urged by the marquis Maffei: that the writer, whoever he is, seems to own the epistle to the Hebrews for St. Paul's; whereas, I suppose it has been [b] before shewn to be probable, that St. Irenæus, though he was acquainted with that epistle, did not know it to be St. Paul's, or own it as such. It appears to me indiscreet to admit the genuineness of a passage taken out of one of the Greek chains, as they are called, which is liable to several considerable difficulties.

2. The former part of this passage is obscure. Nor is it any wonder that there should be some obscurity, when we know not what preceded in the place of the author whence it was originally taken. It is not easy to say, what is meant by the latter, or second constitutions of the apostles. It is by no means plain, that the author intends any book with that title. He rather seems to mean only the constitutions, ordinances, or appointments of the apostles in the books of the New Testament, commonly received; and these he calls the later, in opposition to the more ancient ordinances of the law. This is the sense which first offers itself to my mind, and appears to be the most natural and likely meaning of the words. I have transcribed the more of this passage, that those of my readers who have not an opportunity of consulting the original may the better form some judgment of it. I shall only add, that in the third passage, published by Dr. Pfaff as a Fragment of St. Irenæus, the word ' constitute, appoint, or ordain,' is used concerning the directions and precepts of the apostles in their epistles: ' The [c] ' apostles have ordained, that we " should not judge any man in meat or in drink, or in respect " of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days."

Perhaps he intends particularly the precepts of the apostles in their epistles: and these he calls the latter, or second, with regard to the preceding doctrine and precepts of Christ himself in the gospels. But we need not be much concerned about the meaning of a passage, of which we know neither the time nor the author.

XII. The last thing which we are to consider, is upon what account Irenæus receives the gospels of Mark and Luke and the Acts of the Apostles, written likewise by St. Luke; since these were not apostles, and he does not appear to have received any books as part of the sacred scriptures of the New Testament, but such as were written by apostles, excepting the writings of these two persons: and, if I mistake not, the ground upon which he receives the writings of these two evangelists is, that they were well informed of the doctrine of the apostles, and have faithfully recorded it.

This seems evident from the passage above [d] cited, where he says: ' Mark, the disciple and ' interpreter of Peter, delivered to us in writing the things which had been preached by ' Peter; and Luke, the companion of Paul, put down in a book the gospel preached by him.'

For this reason it is, that he calls all the gospels, the gospels of the apostles. The Valentinians seem to have written a new gospel, of which Irenæus speaks in this manner: ' They [e]

[a] Annot. ad Complexion. Cassiodor. in 1 Ep. ad Corinth. sect xx. [b] See p. 309. [c] Εταξαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι, μὴ δεῖναι ἡμᾶς κρίνειν τινα ἐν βρώσει, καὶ ἐν ποσεῖ, καὶ ἐν μέρει ἑορτῆς, κ. λ. Irenæi Fragmenta Anecd. p. 147. [d] P. 365. [e] Si quidem in tantum processerunt audaciæ, uti quod ab his non olim conscriptum est, veritati

'have become so audacious,' says he, 'as to call that which has not been long since written by 'them, the gospel of truth, though it agree in nothing with the gospels of the apostles.' And he there speaks several times of the things contained in the gospels being delivered by the apostles, in a passage somewhat obscure; for which reason I place the rest of it only in the margin, as we have it in the Latin version. But there were two only of the gospels written by apostles: the other two can be no otherwise the apostles', but as they contain the preaching or doctrine of the apostles; just as all the scriptures of the New Testament are the scriptures of the Lord, as containing his doctrine, whilst he himself wrote nothing. I say, they can be no otherwise the gospels of the apostles, but in the sense before mentioned: unless it should be supposed that, after they were written by the evangelists, they were expessly approved and authorised by the apostles. But this is not the ground Irenæus goes upon (which is what we are now enquiring into); but the veracity of these evangelists, and their intimacy with the apostles, whose disciples and inseparable companions they were, and whose doctrine they have faithfully delivered in writing.

And that Irenæus could not proceed upon the ground of an express approbation of the apostles, is evident, at least as to Mark's gospel: in that he says, it was 'after their exit,' that is, either death or departure of the apostles Peter and Paul, that Mark delivered to us in writing the things that had been preached by Peter.

These two gospels then, and the Acts, were received by him as faithful narratives of the apostles' doctrine, composed by persons fully acquainted with it; with the guidance and assistance, undoubtedly, of the Holy Spirit.

This observation, if just, may be of use to us hereafter.

CHAP. XVIII.

ATHENAGORAS. HIS HISTORY.

We have two pieces of Athenagoras, an Apology for the Christians, and a treatise of the Resurrection. The Apology has the title of an embassy: from whence some have concluded, that Athenagoras was deputed by the Christians of the country in which he lived, and waited upon the Roman emperor with this Apology. Others[a] rather think, there is no reason to suppose it was ever presented; and the Greek word translated[b] embassy may as well signify a petition.

There is no mention of Athenagoras in Eusebius or Jerom; but he is quoted by Mathodius in a passage of his preserved in[c] Epiphanius and[d] Photius: and there is a particular account given of him by Philip Sidetes (who flourished in the beginning of the fifth century,) in a fragment of his Christian History published by[e] Dodwell. Philip says, Athenagoras was at first a Heathen, and that he intended to write against the Christians: but when he was reading the scriptures, with a view of making his work the more complete, he was converted. He says, that Athenagoras flourished under Adrian and Antoninus the Pious, to whom his Apology was presented; and that he was the first president of the catechetical school of Alexandria, and master of Clement, who wrote the Stromata. I think it not easy to rely upon this account of Philip. Basnage[f] has made divers exceptions to it. It is certain the History of Philip has no great character given it by[g] Socrates, or[h] Photius, who had read it. As there is little said of Athenagoras by the ancients that can be relied on, we can know little certain of him, but what may be collected from his works themselves: nor will they afford much light into his history. In the title, however, of both these pieces he is styled an Athenian, and a philosopher.

evangelium titulent, in nihilo conveniens apostolorum evangeliis, ut neque evangelium quidem sit apud eos sine blasphemiâ. Si enim quod ab eis profertur, veritatis est evangelium, dissimile est autem hoc illis, quæ ab apostolis nobis tradita sunt, qui volunt, possunt discere, quemadmodum ex scripturis ostenditur, jam non esse id quod ab apostolis traditum est, veritatis evangelium, &c. L. iii. cap. xi. sect. 9.

[a] See Bayle Dict. H. et Critic. Athenagoras, Note B.

[b] Πρεσβεια. [c] Hær. 64. sect. 21. Vid. et. Petav not. p. 261. [d] Cod. 234. p. 908.

[e] Append. ad Diss. Iren. p. 488. [f] Ann. P. E. 176. sect. 6. [g] L. vii. c. 27. [h] Cod. 35. p. 21

The Apology is inscribed to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and Lucius Aurelius Commodus: but learned men differ about the time of it. Pagi[a] is of opinion the Apology was written in 166: Dodwell, in[b] 168: Cave,[c] about 177: Du Pin,[d] in 178: Basnage,[e] in 176: Tillemont,[f] not before 177, which is also the opinion of[g] Mr. Mosheim.

The chief ground of this difference is a doubt about one of the persons to whom the Apology is addressed. Pagi and Dodwell suppose it was addressed to Marcus Antoninus, and his adopted brother and colleague in the empire, Lucius Verus, who died in 169. The learned men of the other opinion think it was inscribed to Marcus Antoninus, and his son Commodus: and if to them, then after Commodus had the proconsular power: which is the opinion of Basnage: who therefore places the Apology in 176, or else when Commodus had equal power with his father, which he did not receive till the year 177. This is the opinion of Tillemont and others, who place it in 177, or a little later. In behalf of this later date Tillemont[h] has a learned argument: to whom I refer the reader, and to Bayle's account of the controversy in his Dictionary, in the article of Athenagoras. I shall only observe farther, that[i] Fabricius, who doubtless had seen and weighed the arguments on both sides, says: 'Athenagoras seems to have written his Apology 'between the year of Christ 177 and 180, and to have presented it '(so he thinks) to M. Antoninus and Commodus, whose names are prefixed to it in all the manuscripts:' and Mr. Mosheim has supported his opinion with divers arguments and considerations, omitted by others.

As this opinion appears to me much the more probable of the two, I therefore place Athenagoras at the year 177 or 178.

It is likely the discourse 'Of the Resurrection of the Dead' was written after the Apology: because, as Tillemont observes, he seems to promise such a thing at the end of the Apology; where having fallen upon the subject of the resurrection, he[k] defers a fuller discourse upon it to another time.

In this discourse he rather argues from reason than scripture. His two points are, the possibility and the fitness of a resurrection.

Though this author has been seldom mentioned in antiquity, there is no one doubts the genuineness of either of these pieces.

Athenagoras is a polite writer, and his Greek Attic. He has only rendered his style less agreeable by frequent parentheses.

His testimony to the books of the New Testament.

I. 'For[l] he that looks,' says he, 'on a woman, to lust after her, hath committed adultery 'in his heart.' See Matth. v. 28.

II. 'We can convince you,' says he to the emperors, 'that we are not atheists, by the 'principles we hold, which are not of human invention, but delivered and taught by God. 'What[m] then are our maxims, in which we are instructed?' "I say unto you: Love your 'enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be the 'children of your Father which is in heaven, who maketh his sun to rise on the evil, and on 'the good, and sendeth rain on the just, and on the unjust." See Matth. v. 44, 45.

These are so plain quotations of the words in St. Matthew's gospel, that I need not put down in the margin the Greek at length. I may however observe, that the originals of St. Matthew and Athenagoras agree, as they are represented to do by this translation.

There are likewise in the Apology some other passages[n] taken from St. Matthew's gospel, especially from our Saviour's sermon on the mount; and having recited some of those precepts of our Lord, he adds: that[o] he alleges but 'a few out of many.'

[a] Critic. in Baron. A. D. 165. sect. vi. 177. sect. viii. &c. [b] Dissert. Cypr. xi. sect. 37, 38. [c] Hist. Lit. [d] Bibl. des Auteurs Ecc. [e] Annal. Polit. E. An. 176. sect. 6, &c. [f] Memoires Ec. Tom. ii. Persecution de Marc Aurèle, Artic. 8. and Note x. [g] Vid. ejusd. Diss de vera ætat. Apol. Athenag. [h] In the place before referred to. Apologiam videtur scripsisse Athenagoras intra annum Christi 177 et 180. obtulisseque M. Aurelio Antonino et L. Commodo, quorum nomen in MSS. codicibus constanter præfixum legitur. Bibl. Gr. vol. vi. p. 66.

[k] Αλλ' αναχειτθω μεν ὁ περι της αναστασεως λογος.

[l] Ὁ γαρ βλεπων, φησι, γυναικα προς το επιθυμησαι αυτης, ηδη μεμοιχευσεν εν τη καρδια αυτε. P. 36. B. Paris. 1663.

[m] Ποιναι ουν ημων οι λογοι, οις εντρεφομεθα; λεγω υμιν κ. λ. p. 11. B. C. [n] Vid. p. 2. D. 12. A. D. et 38. A.

[o] Ταυτα μεν ουν, μικρα απο μεγαλων, και ολιγα απο πολλων, ινα μη επι πλειον υμιν ενοχλοιημεν, p. 13. A.

N. T.

III. Mark x. 6. "But [a] from the beginning of the creation God made them male and female."

ATHENAGORAS.

III. 'Because [b] in the beginning God formed one man and one woman.'

He mentions this observation with the same view with that of our Lord in St. Mark, as an argument against divorces; though, it must be owned, there are much the same words in Matth. xix. 4.

N. T.

IV. Luke xvi. 18. "Whosoever [c] putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery."

ATHENAGORAS.

IV. 'For [d] whosoever,' says he, 'shall put 'away his wife, and shall marry another, com-'mitteth adultery.'

It may be questioned, whether he refers to St. Luke, or to St. Matth. v. 32. or rather xix. 9. It is however a quotation.

N. T.

V. John x. 30. "I [e] and my Father are one."

Ver. 38.—"That ye may know, and believe, that the Father is in me, and I in him."

ATHENAGORAS.

V. 'The [f] Father and the Son being one: and the Son being in the Father, and the Father in the Son.

It is undoubted, that he acknowledged the gospel of St. John, from his [g] so often calling the Son the 'Word' or Reason of God.

N. T.

VI. John xvii. 3. "And [h] this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.'

ATHENAGORAS.

VI. 'For this alone [i] concerned, to know the one God, and the Word [proceeding] from him——knowing, that the life we shall obtain hereafter is better than can be expressed in words, if we shall but go hence pure from all unrighteousness.'

VII. Acts xvii. 25. "Neither [k] is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed any thing."

VII. 'Since he [l] wanteth not, nor needeth 'any thing.' He there gives this character of the Deity upon the same account that St. Paul does: and much to the same purpose again: [m] 'Not as if God needed.'

VIII. Rom. i. 24. "Wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness——[n] to dishonour their own bodies between themselves."

27. "Men with men working that which is unseemly."

VIII. 'Men with [o] men working those things which are abominable, many ways abusing their comely and beautiful bodies, and dishonouring the excellent workmanship of God.'

IX. Rom. xi. 36. "For [p] of him, and through him, and to him are all things."

IX. 'For of [q] him, and through him were 'all things made.' Though perhaps he refers to John i. 3.

[a] Απο δε αρχης κλισεως, αρσεν και θηλυ εποιησεν αυτους ὁ Θεος.

[b] Παραβαινων μεν την χειρα τϐ Θεϐ, ὁτι εν αρχη ὁ Θεος ἑνα ανδρα επλασε και μιαν γυναικα. p. 37. B.

[c] Πας ὁ απολυων την γυναικα αυτϐ, και γαμων ἑτεραν, μοιχευει.

[d] Ὁς γαρ αν απολυσῃ, φησι, την γυναικα αυτϐ, και γαμησῃ αλλην, μοιχαται. Legat. p. 37. B.

[e] Εγω και ὁ Πατηρ ἑν εσμεν——ἱνα γνωτε, και πιστευσητε, ὁτι εν εμοι ὁ Πατηρ, κἀγω εν αυτῳ.

[f] Ἑνος ὁντος τϐ Πατρος και του Υἱου· ὁντος δε του Υἱου εν Πατρι, και Πατρος εν Υἱῳ. p. 10. C.

[g] P. 10. B. C. 12. C. D. 17. D. 27. A. 34. D.

[h] Αυτη δε εστιν ἡ αιωνιος ζωη, ἱνα γινωσκωσι σε τον μονον αληθινον Θεον, και ὁν απεστειλας Ιησουν Χριστον.

[i] Ὑπο μονϐ δε παραπεμπομενοι τουτϐ· τον ισως Θεον και τον παρ' αυτου λογον ειδεναι—πολυ δε και κρειττονα ἡ ειπειν λογῳ, τον εκδεχομενον βιον ειδοτες. p. 12. C. D.

[k] Ουδε ὑπο χειρων ανθρωπων θεραπευεται, προσδεομενος τινος.

[l] Ανενδεης και απροσδεης. p. 13. B.

[m] Ουχ ὡς δεομενϐ του Θεου. p. 15. C.

[n] ——Τϐ αἱμαζεσθαι τα σωματα αυτων εν ἑαυτοις—αρσενες εν αρσεσιπην ασχημοσυνην κατεργαζομενοι.

[o] Αρσενες εν αρσεσι τα δεινα κατεργαζομενοι, ὁσων σεμνοτερα και ευειδεστερα σωματα, πανοιως αυτα ὑβριζοντες, αἱμυουντες και το ποιημα του Θεου το καλον. p. 37. C.

[p] Ὁτι ἑξ αυτου, και δι' αυτου, και εις αυτον τα παντα.

[q] Προς αυτου γαρ, και δι' αυτου παντα εγενετο. p. 10. C.

X. Rom. xii. 1. "I beseech you therefore, brethren,——that ye [a] present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service."

X. 'But why should I be concerned about whole-burnt-offerings, which God does not need? It is much [b] better therefore to offer an unbloody sacrifice, and bring a reasonable service.'

XI. 1 Cor. xv. 30. "And why stand we in jeopardy every hour? 31. I protest by your rejoicing, which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die daily. 32. If after the manner of men, I have fought with beasts at Ephesus; what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not? Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."

XI. He had argued at length the disadvantages of virtue; that many of the best men endure in this life vexation and sorrow, reproaches and calumnies: 'that if there be no 'retribution,[c]——virtue is a senseless thing: 'to follow pleasure is the greatest good: and 'that ought to be the common maxim aud 'law of all, which is admired by the voluptuous and wicked: "Let us eat and drink, 'for to-morrow we die."

Though these last words are also in Isa. xxii. 13. it seems from the conformity of his argument, that he refers to St. Paul.

N. T.

XII. 1 Cor. xv. 54. "So [d] when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption."

2 Cor. v. 10. "For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that [f] every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he has done, whether it be good or bad."

ATHENAGORAS.

XII. 'It is manifest therefore, that, according to the apostle, this [e] corruptible and dissipated must put on incorruption; that the dead being raised up to life, and the separated, and even consumed parts being again united, every [g] one may receive justly the things he has done in his body, whether they be good or bad.'

XIII. Gal. iv. 9. "How thus [h] turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements?"

XIII. 'And fall down to the beggarly and [i] weak elements.'

These are the very words of Paul, which Athenagoras borrows, though he useth them upon a different account.

N. T.

XIV. 1 Tim. v. 1, 2. "Rebuke not an elder, but intreat him as a father, and the younger men as brethren: the elder women as mothers, the younger as sisters, with all purity.'

XV. 1 Tim. vi. 16. "Who only has immortality, dwelling in [l] the light which no man can approach unto."

XVI. James iii. 13. "Who is a wise man,

ATHENAGORAS.

XIV. 'Wherefore,[k] according to the difference of age, some we count as sons and daughters, others we consider as brethren and sisters, and the aged we reverence as fathers and mothers."

XV. 'For God is [m] to himself all things, light inaccessible,——or according to our translation, light which no man can approach unto.'

XVI. 'For our [n] excellence lies not in the

[a] Παρασ-ησαι τα σωμαλα ὑμων Θυσιαν ζωσαν—την λογικην λαλρειαν ὑμων.

[b] Και τοι προσφερειν δεον αναιμακλον Θυσιαν, και την λογικην προσαγειν λαλρειαν. p. 13. D..

[c] De Resurr. p. 62. A. B

[d] Ὁλαν δε το φθαρλον τουλο ενδυσηλαι αφθαρσιαν. κ. λ.

[e] Ευδηλον παγλι το λειπομενον, ὁλι δει, καλα τον αποσολον, το φθαρλον τουλο και διασκεδασον ενδυσασθαι αφθαρσιαν. De Resurr. p. 61. C.

[f] Ἱνα κολισηλαι ἑκασος τα δια του σωμαλος, προς ἁ επραξεν, ειλε αγαθον, ειλε κακον.

[g] Ἑκασος κομισηλαι δικαιως ἁ δια του σωμαλος επραξεν, ειλε αγαθα, ειλε κακα. ibid.

[h] Πως επισρεφελε παλιν επι τα ασθενη και πλωχα sοιχεια;

[i] Επι τα πλωχα και ασθενη, sοιχεια καλαπιπλομεν. Legat. p. 15. D.

[k] P. 36. C.

[l] Φως οικων απροσιλον.

[m] Παγλα γαρ ὁ Θεος εsιν αγλος αγλω, φως απροσιλον. p. 15. C.

[n] Ου γαρ μελελη λογων, αλλ' επιδειξει και διδασκαλια εργων τα ημελερα. p. 37. B.

and endued with knowledge amongst you? *Let him shew out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom.*"

XVII. James v. 7. "Behold the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it, until he receive the early and latter rain."

XVIII. 2 Pet. i. 21. "For [b] the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men spake, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

XIX. Rev. xx. 13. "And the [d] sea gave up the dead which were in it: and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them."

structure of words, but in the demonstration and doctrine of works.

XVII. 'For as the [a] husbandman, when he has cast the seeds into the earth, expecteth the time of the harvest,' &c.

XVIII. Of Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the other prophets, he says: 'Who [c] according to 'the ecstasy of the thoughts in them, the 'Divine Spirit moving them, spoke out those 'things which were operated in them.'

XIX. He speaks of it as the general opinion of Christians, that [e] at the time of the resurrection, 'the earth shall deliver up her 'dead.'

XX. There is a particular passage in Athenagoras, which we may not omit. It follows what we have transcribed at Numb. XIV. 'The aged we reverence as fathers and mothers. 'It is therefore our great concern, that the bodies of those whom we call sisters, or by any 'other name of kindred, should be preserved chaste and unpolluted, the [f] Word again saying 'to us [or our doctrine teaching us]: "If any one shall kiss a second time, because it pleaseth 'him:" And afterwards: "A kiss is to be given so slightly, that it may be rather only a salu- 'tation: for if the mind be in the least polluted, it endangers our enjoyment of eternal life."

I think we need not solicitously inquire, whence Athenagoras had these observations. There is no necessity of supposing he ascribes them to Christ, or that he took them out of any copies of our gospels, or from any apocryphal gospel. They may be as well cited from some Christian writer, whom Athenagoras thought to have expressed himself upon this subject agreeably to the strict doctrine of Christ delivered in the gospels. Mr. Jones [g] has some remarks upon this passage.

XXI. I have now represented very particularly the testimony which Athenagoras gives to the books of the New Testament; but all these passages are not equally material. It is plain, he owned the gospels of St. Matthew and St. John: there do not appear so clear references to those of St. Mark and St. Luke. Here are also plain references or allusions to the epistle to the Romans, and the first to the Corinthians; words of which last are expressly cited by him, as the apostle's, meaning Paul: and there is a probable allusion to the second epistle to the Corinthians, and the epistle to the Galatians. The passages here alledged by me concerning the Acts of the apostles, the first to Timothy, the epistle of St. James, the second of St. Peter, and the book of the Revelation, are doubtful, and are only proposed to the reader's consideration. And beside these he has a passage, not found in any book of the New Testament, which might at first sight seem to be taken out of some book of authority with him: but notwithstanding, it may be as well supposed the passage of some Christian writing, esteemed by him only as an orthodox pious work.

Though we meet with no references in Athenagoras to the other books of the New Testament, they may have been all, or most of them, received by him as books of authority. It is not to be expected that, in two such pieces as these, we should find references to all the books esteemed sacred by the author.

[a] P. 37. A.

[b] Ου γαρ. θελημαλι ανθρωπε ηνεχθη ποτε προφητεια, αλλ' υπο πνευματος αγιε φερομενοι ελαλησαν οι αγιοι Θεου ανθρωποι.

[c] Και των λοιπων προφητων, οι καθ' εκστασιν τῶν εν αυτοις λογισμων, κινησαντος αυτες του θειε πνευματος, α ενηργουντο εξεφωνησαν. p. 9. D.

[d] Και εδωκεν ἡ θαλασσα τες εν αυτῃ νεκρες, και ὁ θανατος και ὁ ἁδης εδωκαν τες εν αυτοις νεκρες.

[e] Και αποδωσειν μεν νομιζειν την γην τες ιδιες νεκρες. p. 39. A.

[f] Παλιν ἡμιν λεγοντος του λογε· εαν τις δια τουτο εκ δευτερε καταφιληση, ὁτι ηρεσεν αυτῳ· και επιφεροντος· αὐτως ουν ακριβωσασθαι το φιλημα, μαλλον δε προσκυνημα δει, ὡς, ειπε μικρον τῃ διανοια παραθολωθειη, εξω ἡμας της αιωνιε τιθεντος ζωης. p. 36. C. D.

[g] New and Full Method of settling the canonical Authority of the New Testament. Vol. I. p. 551.

CHAP. XIX.

MILTIADES.

MILTIADES flourished, according to Cave,[a] in the beginning of the reign of Commodus about the year 180: from whom Du Pin [b] does not much differ, who says he flourished under the emperor Commodus. We have no certain marks of his age. It is very probable, his Apology (of which we shall speak presently) was written in the latter part of the reign of M. Antoninus, or the beginning of that of Commodus. I proceed to the testimonies of the ancients.

Miltiades is called by Tertullian [c] the sophist of the churches: by which I see no reason to understand him to say, that Miltiades was a rhetorician, and taught that science, but only that he was a learned and elegant Christian writer. Tertullian places Miltiades between Justin Martyr and Irenæus; which affords a very good hint for settling his time in general, though not exactly. And it is upon the ground of this passage chiefly, that Tillemont [d] concludes, Miltiades had appeared in the world before the middle of the second century, and died in the time of Commodus.

Eusebius [e] having mentioned a treatise of Miltiades, written against the Montanists, with this title, 'That it does not become prophets to speak in ecstasy,' adds: 'And [f] beside that 'work, Miltiades has left us other monuments of his zeal for the divine oracles, as well in his 'writings against the Gentiles as against the Jews: for he wrote against both distinctly in 'two treatises. Moreover,[g] he made an Apology to the princes of this world for the philoso-'phy which he followed:' that is, for the Christian religion.

Learned men are not agreed about the meaning of the words 'princes of this world.' Valesius,[h] who supposes the Apology was written in the time of Commodus, when there was but one emperor, understands them of the governors of provinces; which meaning the words will well bear. Others [i] understand thereby the Roman emperors, which they suppose to have been either M. Antoninus and Lucius, or M. Antoninus and his son Commodus.

St. Jerom, in his book of [k] Illustrious Men, having recited the titles of this writer's works, says, he flourished in the time of M. Antoninus Commodus.

We have nothing to observe at present upon these works, except what Eusebius says of the 'monuments of his zeal for the divine oracles' in his books against both Jews and Gentiles. It is very likely here were many valuable testimonies concerning the books of the New, as well as the Old Testament; but we can only lament our loss of them.

However, it may not be improper to add another passage of St. Jerom: where having observed, that Miltiades [l] wrote an 'excellent book against the Gentiles;' he proceeds to mention Hippolytus, Africanus, and divers other Christian writers, and then concludes: 'The writ-'ings of all these persons are so full of passages of the philosophers and their sentiments, that 'it is not easy to say, which ought to be most admired in them; whether their polite litera-'ture, or their knowledge of the scriptures.'

[a] Hist. Lit. [b] Bibl. Miltiades.

[c] Ut Justinus Philosophus et Martyr, ut Miltiades Ecclesiarum Sophista, ut Irenæus, &c. Advers. Valent. cap. v.

[d] Mem. E. T. 3. P. 1. Miltiade. [e] H. E. l. v. c. 17. [f] Και αλλας ήμιν της ιδιας περι τα θεια λογια σπουδης μνημας καταλελοιπεν· Ibid.

[g] Ει δε και προς τους κοσμικους αρχοντας, υπερ της κατ' αυτον φιλοσοφιας, πεποιηται απολογιαν. Ibid. [h] Vid. Annot. ad Eus. loc. [i] Vid. Dodwell. Diss. Iren. iv. sect. 38.

[k] Cap. 39. [l] Scripsit et Miltiades contra Gentes volumen egregium. — Qui omnes in tantum philosophorum doctrinis atque sententiis suos referciunt libros, ut nescias, quid in illis primum admirari debeas, eruditionem seculi, an scientiam scripturarum. Ad magnum Orat. Ep. 83. al. 84.

CHAP. XX.

THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH.

THEOPHILUS, bishop of Antioch, was originally a Heathen, as he [a] has informed us himself. His works shew him to have been well acquainted with the Greek learning. He succeeded Eros in [b] the eighth year of Marcus Antoninus, of our Lord 168.

There is nothing remaining that can be depended on as his, beside three books to Autolycus, a learned [c] and studious heathen, who had provoked Theophilus by frequent discourses, if not also by writing, to make a defence of the Christian religion. These books were not finished, as is evident from [d] divers passages of them, until after the death of the fore-mentioned emperor. It is the [e] general opinion, that they were written by Theophilus a little before his own death, in the beginning of the reign of Commodus, A. D. 181.

Dodwell [f] indeed was willing to suppose that Theophilus, author of these books to Autolycus, was another Theophilus, different from the sixth bishop of Antioch, and that he wrote these books in the reign of Severus about the year 203. But this supposition has been well confuted by several [g] learned men: and every one may perceive, how contrary it is to the ancient testimonies concerning this bishop of Antioch; which I shall now put down, because they will not only determine his age, but also give us an account of his works, and his respect for the writings of the New Testament.

Eusebius [h] says, 'Theophilus was the sixth bishop of Antioch after the Apostles.' His order is this: Euodius, Ignatius, Heros, Cornelius, Eros, Theophilus.

In another [i] place: 'There are,' says Eusebius, 'three books of Theophilus bishop of Antioch 'to Autolycus, containing the elements of religion. There is another book of his against the 'heresy of Hermogenes, in [k] which he has made use of testimonies from John's Apocalypse. 'There are also other books of his concerning the rudiments of our religion.'—He likewise mentions another book of his against Marcion, which he says is well written, and was then extant, as well as the other before mentioned.

St. Jerom in his [l] book of Illustrious Men, agreeably to Eusebius, says: 'Theophilus, the 'sixth bishop of the church of Antioch, in the reign of Marcus Antoninus composed a book 'against Marcion, which is still extant. His three volumes to Autolycus are also in being, and 'one book against the heresy of Hermogenes, and other short and elegant treatises conducive 'to the edification of the church. I have [m] read some commentaries upon the gospel, and the 'Proverbs of Solomon, which go under his name; but they do not appear to me to answer the 'style and elegance of the fore-mentioned writings.'

In his preface [n] to St. Matthew, Jerom says again: 'I have also read the commentaries of 'Theophilus bishop of Antioch.'

In another place: 'Theophilus [o] the seventh bishop of the church of Antioch after Peter, 'who [p] collecting into one work the words of the four evangelists, speaks thus in his Com- 'mentaries upon this parable [Luke xvi. 1—14]: "The rich man who had a steward is God 'Almighty, than whom no one is richer. His steward is Paul, who learned the holy scriptures 'at the feet of Gamaliel, and had received the law of God to manage; who, when he had be- 'gan to persecute, bind, kill those that believed in Christ, and to waste all his Lord's substance,

[a] Ad Autol. L. i. p. 78. C. D. Paris. [b] Vid. Euseb. Chron. [c] Ad Aut. L. i. p. 69. A. B. l. 2. p. 116. C. D. l. 3. p. 119. A. B. 138. D. [d] P. 353, 354. [e] Vid. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 91, 92. [f] Vid. Pearson Op. Post. p. 11, 12. [g] Tillemont. Memoires, T. 8. P. 1. Theophile. Not. 2. Basnage, Ann. 188. sect. 5, 6. Cave Hist. Lit. P. 2. p. 31. [h] H. E. l. iv. c. 20. [i] Ibid. cap. 24. [k] Εν ῳ εκ της αποκαλυψεως Ιωαννα κεχρηται μαρτυριαις. [l] Cap. 25. [m] Legi sub nomine ejus in evangelium, et in proverbia Salomonis commentarios; qui mihi cum superiorum voluminum elegantiâ et phrasi non videntur congruere. [n] Et Theophili Antiochenæ urbis episcopi commentarios. Prol. in Comm. sup. Matth. [o] Here he counts Peter for the first bishop. [p] ——Qui quatuor evangelistarum in unum opus dicta compingens ingenii sui nobis monumenta dimisit, hæc super hac parabolâ in suis commentariis est locutus: Dives, qui habebat villicum, sive dispensatorem, Deus omnipotens est, quo nihil ditius. Hujus dispensator est Paulus, qui ad pedes Gamalielis sacras literas didicit, et legem Dei susceperat dispensandam. Qui quum cœpisset credentes in Christo persequi, ligare, occidere, et omnem domini sui dissipare substantiam, correptus a Domino est: Saüle, Saüle, quid me persequeris? Durum est tibi contra stimulum calcitrare. Hieron. Ep. 151. Algasiæ. Qu. vi.

'was called to an account by the Lord: "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee 'to kick against the pricks." Acts xxii. 3, ix. 4. I shall not transcribe any more of this passage: only it ought to be observed, that afterwards some words of Philip. iii. 8, are there adapted, and put into the mouth of Paul.

There are still remaining short [a] 'commentaries,' or 'allegories, upon the four holy gospels,' in four books, which go under the name of our Theophilus; but they are now allowed to [b] be the work of a much later writer. And whether those commentaries, which St. Jerom quotes, were really composed by Theophilus, may be doubted; since they were unknown to Eusebius, and were observed by Jerom to differ in style and expression from his other works. However, if they are not his, they were the work of some anonymous ancient.

I now proceed to represent the quotations and allusions to the books of the New Testament, which are in his remaining, and undoubtedly genuine, books to Autolycus.

I. Having recited many receipts of piety and virtue from the Old Testament, he says: 'But [c] the evangelic voice teaches chastity in yet greater perfections: "Whosoever looks on 'another man's wife, to lust after her, has committed adultery with her already in his heart. 'And whosoever putteth away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to 'commit adultery."——'But the gospel [d] says: "Love your enemies, and pray for them that 'despitefully use you. For if ye love them that love you, what reward have ye? Even rob-'bers and publicans do the same." 'And it teaches those that do good not to boast: For,' says 'he, "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth." Matt. v. 28, 32, 44, 46; vi. 3.

N. T.	Theophilus.
II. Luke xviii. 27. "And he said: The [e] things which are impossible with men, are possible with God."	II. 'For the things, [f] which with men are impossible, are possible with God.'

The same sense is in Matth. xix. 26, Mark x. 27. But the words of Theophilus agree best with St. Luke.

N. T.	Theophilus.
III. Luke xx. 35, 36. "But they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage. Neither can they die any more: for they are equal to the angels, and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection."	III. 'For God has given us a law and holy precepts: which he that does may be saved, and [g] obtaining a resurrection may inherit incorruption.' It seems to me somewhat likely, that he alludes to the words of St. Luke in the opposite column.
IV. Luke xxiv. 47. "And [h] that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name."	IV. That this might be a sign, that [i] men should receive repentance and remission of sins through water.'——See hereafter Numb. XXIV.

V. 'These things [k] the holy scriptures teach us, and all who were moved by the Holy 'Spirit, among whom John says: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with 'God:" shewing, that at the first God was alone, and in him was the Word. Then he says: "And the Word was God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing 'made." John i. 1, 3.

[a] Apud Biblioth. Maxim. Patr. Lugd. T. ii. p. 166, &c. [b] Vid. Tillem. ubi supr. Not. 1. Fabr. Bib. Gr. Vol. v. p. 93, 94. [c] Ἡ δε ευαγγελιος φωνη επιλαλικωλερον διδασκει περι ἁγνειας, λεγουσα——Lib. iii. p. 126. A.

[d] Το δε ευαγγελιον, αγαπαλε, φησι, τους εχθρους. Ibid. B. C.

[e] Τα αδυνατα παρα ανθρωποις, δυνατα εστι παρα τω Θεῳ.

[f] Τα γαρ παρα ανθρωποις αδυνατα, δυνατα εστι παρα Θεῳ. L. ii. p. 92. B.

[g] Και της αναστασεως τυχων κληρονομησαι την αφθαρσιαν. P. 104. A. L. ii.

[h] ——Και κηρυχθηναι——μετανοιαν και αφεσιν ἁμαρτιων.

[i] Ὁπως ἡ και τουτο εις δειγμα του μελλειν λαμβανειν τους ἀνθρωπους μετανοιαν και αφεσιν ἁμαρτιων δια ὑδατος. κ. λ. L. ii. p. 95. B.

[k] Ὁθεν διδασκουσιν ἡμας αἱ ἁγιαι γραφαι, και παντες οἱ πνευματοφοροι, εξ ὡν Ιωαννης, λεγει· εν αρχῃ ην ὁ λογος· και ὁ λογος ην προς τον Θεον· δεικνυς ὁτι εν πρωτοις μονος ην ὁ Θεος, και εν αὐτῳ ὁ λογος· επειτα λεγει. κ. λ. P. 100. C.

VI. Theophilus says: 'The [a] prophets have taught us to abstain from abominable idolatry 'and adultery, and murder, fornication, theft, covetousness, swearing, lying, anger, and all las-'civiousness and impurity: and that whatever things a man would not have done to himself, 'those neither should he do to another.'

I should not have put down this passage here, if Mill [b] had not supposed, that in this place Theophilus refers to Acts xv. 20, which, it seems, in some manuscripts and some ancient fathers, is read with an additional clause to this purpose: 'But that we write to them to abstain from 'pollutions of idols, and from fornication, and from things strangled, and from blood; and 'that [c] whatever things they would not have done to themselves, they do not do to others.' Mill allows (and in my opinion justly,) that this last clause is an interpolation. But admitting it to be genuine, there could be, I think, but slender ground for supposing, that Theophilus referred to this text; the like precept being recorded in some other texts of the New Testament, and represented there as the doctrine, or substance of the law and the prophets (agreeably to what Theophilus here writes,) much more distinctly than in this place of the Acts: as Matth. vii. 12. See likewise xxii. 40, and Luke vi. 31. And the foregoing part of the passage of Theophilus has but little agreement with the 20th verse of the xvth chapter of the Acts, as in our copies. But all this is submitted to the consideration of others.

I would only add, that two of the most remarkable expressions of this passage of Theophilus are found in 1 Pet. iv. 3, "For the time past of our life may suffice us, to have wrought the will of the Gentiles: when we walked in [d] *lasciviousness*, lusts——and *abominable idolatries*."

VII. He says likewise: 'For [e] God, the father and former of all things, has not forsaken 'the human nature, but gave the law and sent the holy prophets for to declare and shew the 'human kind, that every one of us might awake and acknowledge, that there is one God.'

These words immediately precede the passage last transcribed; and they are likewise preceded by the words which will be found at Numb. XXVIII. They are here put down, that it may be considered, whether there be in them any reference to Acts xiv. 15, 16, 17, "——and preach unto you, that ye should turn from these vanities unto the living God, which made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all things that are therein. Who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways. Nevertheless he left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons"——or to Acts xvii. 27, "That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us."

N. T.

VIII. Acts xvii. 25. "Neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though [f] he needed any thing."

28. "For in him we live, and move, and have our being."

IX. Rom. ii. 6, 7, 8, 9. "Who will render to every man according to his deeds. To them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life: But unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but

THEOPHILUS.

VIII. He says of God, that he needeth [g] nothing. But this is so obvious a character of the Creator, that I think it cannot be hence concluded that he referred to Paul's discourse at Athens. He likewise says of God, that 'he is his own place.'

IX. 'He will [h] search out all things, and judge justly, rendering to all according to the desert of their actions. To them that by patient continuance in well doing seek for immortality he will give eternal life, joy, peace, rest, and many good things, which neither eye hath

[a] Οἱ και εδιδαξαν απεχεσθαι απο της αθεμιτε ειδωλολατρειας, και μοιχειας, και φονε, πορνειας, κλοπης, φιλαργυριας, ὁρκε, ψευδες, οργης, και πασης ασελγειας, και ακαθαρσιας· και πανια ὁσα αν μη βελεῖαι ανθρωπος ἑαυτῳ γινεσθαι, ἱνα μηδε αλλῳ ποιη. L. ii. p. 110. C. [b] Fallor an huc respexerit Theophilus Antiochenus, Προφηται, inquit, εδιδαξαν απεχεσθαι, κ. λ. Mill. N. T. ad. Act. xv. 20. [c] Και ὁσα αν μη θελωσιν ἑαυτοις γινεσθαι, ἑτεροις μη ποιειν. Vid. Mill. ibid.

[d] Εν ασελγειαις,——και αθεμιτοις ειδωλολατρειαις. [e] Ὁ μεν τοι γε Θεος, και πατηρ και κτιστης των ὁλων, ουκ εγκατελιπε την ανθρωποτητα, αλλα εδωκεν νομον, και επεμψε προφητας ἁγιους, προς το καταγγειλαι και δειξαι το γενος των ανθρωπων, εις ἑκαστον ἡμων ανανηψαι, και επιγνωναι, ὁτι εἱς εστι Θεος. p. 110. C.

[f] Προσδεομενος τινος.

[g] Αλλ' αυτος ἑαυτε τοπος ων και ανενδεης ων, και ὑπερεχων προ των αιωνων, ηθελησεν ανθρωπον ποιησαι ᾧ γνωσθη——ὁ γαρ γενητος και προσδεης εστιν· ᾧ δε αγενητος και ανενδεης προσδεῖται. Lib. ii. p. 88. B.

[h] L. ii. p. 79. B. C.

obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath; Tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doth evil."

seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man. But to the unbelieving, and the despisers, and them that obey not the truth, but obey unrighteousness,——shall be wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish. And in a word, eternal firse shall be the portion of such.'

X. Rom. xiii. 7, 8. "Render therefore to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour. Owe no man any thing, but to love one another."

X. 'And it [the divine word] teacheth [a] us to render to all all things: honour to whom honour, fear to whom fear, tribute to whom tribute; to owe no man any thing, but only to love all men.'

These, with many other passages, afford full proof, that the ancient Christian writers often quoted, or alluded to, texts of the N. T. by memory, without looking into the books themselves.

There are, beside these, some other allusions [b] to words of the epistle to the Romans; but here is enough to shew that epistle was well known to Theophilus.

N. T.

XI. 1 Cor. ii. 7. "For we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world to our glory. 8. Which none of the princes of this world knew. 10. But God has revealed them unto us by his Spirit: for [c] the Spirit searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God. 11. ——even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God."

XII. 2 Cor. vi. 9, 10, 11. "Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind. Nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God. And such were some of you: but ye are washed," &c.

XIII. 1 Cor. xv. 36, 37. "—That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die. And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but [f] bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain."

XIV. 2 Cor. v. 4. "Not [h] that we should be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life."

THEOPHILUS.

XI. 'Whence it is manifest, that all others are in error, and that Christians only have attained to the truth. For we are taught of the Holy Spirit, who spoke in the holy prophets, and foretold all things. It [d] remains therefore for you with a good disposition to search the things of God, I mean the things spoken by the prophets, that comparing the things said by you [perhaps it should be us,] and by others, you may find the truth.'

XII. 'Let me [e] see therefore, whether you are not an adulterer, or a fornicator, or a thief, or an extortioner,—or one that abuseth himself with mankind, or a reviler.——For to those who do such things God manifests not himself, unless they first purify themselves from every defilement.'

XIII. 'Is there not a resurrection of seeds and fruits, and that for the use of men? For [g] instance a grain of wheat, or of other seeds, when it is cast into the earth, first dies and is dissolved, then it rises, and becomes a stalk.'

XIV. 'Then will you understand these things, when [i] you shall have laid aside this mortal [or this mortality,] and put on incorruption.'

[a] Lib. iii. p. 126. C.

[b] Thus, when Theophilus tells Autolycus, that if he does not believe there will be a resurrection, till he sees it, 'his faith will be counted for unbelief;' *και ἡ πιστις σε εις απιστιαν λογισθησεται*, p. 74. C. it cannot be doubted, but he alludes to St. Paul's argument and words. Rom. iv. 3. 5.

[c] *Το γαρ πνευμα πάντα ερευνα, και τα βαθη τυ Θευ——οὕτω και τα τυ Θευ ουδεις οιδεν. κ. λ.*

[d] *Και το λοιπον εστω σοι φιλοφρονων ερευναν τα τυ Θευ.* Lib. ii. p. 110. A.

[e] Lib. i. p. 70. C. D.

[f] *Αλλα γυμνον κοκκον, ει τυχοι, σιτυ, η τινος των λοιπων.*

[g] *Ει γαρ τυχοι ειπειν κοκκος σιτυ, η των λοιπων σπερματων, επαν βληθη εις την γην, πρωτον αποθνησκει και λυεται, ειτα εγειρεται, και γινεται σταχυς.* L. i. p. 76. D.

[h] *Εφ' ω θελομεν εκδυσασθαι, αλλ' επενδυσασθαι, ινα καταποθη το θνητον υπο της ζωης.*

[i] *Οταν αποθη το θνητον, και ενδυση την αφθαρσιαν.* L. i. p. 74. B.

XV. 2 Cor. xi. 19. "For [a] ye suffer fools gladly, seeing ye yourselves are wise."

XVI. Ephes. ii. 2. "According to the prince of the power of the air, the [c] spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience."

XVII. Ephes. iii. 10. "Might [e] be known by the church the manifold wisdom of God."

XVIII. Philip. iii. 20. "Whose God is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame, who[g] mind earthly things."

XV. 'For seeing you [h] yourself are wise, you may suffer simple people gladly.'

XVI. Speaking of Satan, who deceived Eve, he says: 'For to this day [d] he worketh in them 'that are acted by him.'

XVII. 'On the fifth day were made living creatures out of the water. Wherefore [f] also in these is shewn the manifold wisdom of God.'

XVIII. 'But the four-footed creatures, and wild beasts, are a lively image of some men, who know not God, and are wicked, who [h] mind earthly things, and repent not.'

By 'repenting not,' he seems to mean the same thing as 'glorying in their shame.'

N. T.

XIX. Philip. i. 10. "That [i] ye may approve things that are excellent," or try things that differ.

THEOPHILUS.

XIX. 'Persuading Autolycus to employ the eyes of his mind in inquiring [k] after truth, he says, 'By the eyes of the body men try things 'that differ.'

But though these are the very words of the apostle, the agreement being in a very obvious thing, it may not be material.

N. T.

XX. Philip. iv. 8. "Whatsoever things [l] are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report: if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think of these things."

THEOPHILUS.

XX. 'And that [m] these things are true, and profitable, and just, and lovely in the sight of all men, is manifest.'

XXI. Col. i. 15. "Who is the image of the invisible God, the [n] first born of every creature. 16. For by him were created all things that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible.——17. And he is before all things, and by him all things consist."

XXI. 'For before that any thing was made, he had him for his counsellor, being his understanding and wisdom. But when he determined to make those things about which he had taken counsel, he [o] brought forth from himself this Word, the first born of every creature.'

XXII. 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. "I exhort therefore, that supplications, prayers,——be made for all men: for kings, and all that are in authority, that [p] we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty."

XXII. 'The divine word [q] moreover commands us to be subject to principalities and powers, and to pray for them, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life.'

[a] Ἡδέως γὰρ ανεχεσθε των αφρονων, φρονιμοι ονλες.

[b] Φρονιμος γαρ ων ἡδεως μωρων ανεχῃ. L. iii. p. 119. A.

[c] Τὸ πνευματικὸς τὸ νυν ενεργονλος εν τοις υἱοις της απειθειας.

[d] Ἑως γαρ τὸ δευρο ενεργων εν τοις ενθυσιαζομενοις ὑπ' αυἱὸ ανθρωποις. L. ii p. 104. D.

[e] Ἱνα γνωρισθῃ——ἡ πολυποικιλος σοφια Θεὸ.

[f] Δι' ὁ και εν τὸἱοις δεικνυἱαι ἡ πολυποικιλος σοφια τὸ Θεὸ. L. ii. p. 95. B.

[g] Οἱ τα επιγεια φρονονλες.

[h] Και τα επιγεια φρονονλων, και μη μεἱανοονλων. L. ii. p. 95. D.

[i] Εις το δοκιμαζειν ὑμας τα διαφερονλα.

[k] Ἁμα δοκιμαζονλες τα διαφερονλα. L. i. p. 70. A.

[l] Ὁσα εστιν αληθη, ὁσα σεμνα, ὁσα δικαια, ὁσα ἁγνα, ὁσα προσφιλη—ταυἱα λογιζεσθε.

[m] Ὁἱι μεν ὁν ταυἱα αληθη, και ωφελιμα, και δικαια, και προσφιλη πασιν ανθρωποις τυγχανει, δηλον εστιν. L. ii. p. 114. D.

[n] —πρωτοτοκος πασης κτισεως.

[o] Τελον τον λογον εγεννησε προφορικον, πρωτοτοκον πασης κτισεως. L. ii. p. 100. B.

[p] Ἱνα ἡρεμον και ἡσυχιον βιον διαγωμεν εν πασῃ ευσεβεια και σεμνοτητι.

[q] Ετι μην και περι τὸ ὑποτασσεσθαι αρχαις και εξουσιαις, και ευχεσθαι ὑπερ αυἱων, κελευει ἡμιν θειος λογος, ὁπως ἡρεμον και ἡσυχιον βιον διαγωμεν. L. iii. p. 126. C.

Tit. iii. 1. "Put [a] them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers."

XXIII. Tit. ii. 11, 12. "For the grace of God—has appeared to all men,[b] teaching us, that denying ungodliness and wordly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this world."

XXIII. He says, 'Christians have for their law-giver the true God: who [c] teaches us to act righteously, godly, and honestly.'

XXIV. Tit. iii. 5, 6. "But according to his mercy he saved us, by [d] the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour."

XXIV. That this might be a sign, that men should receive repentance and remission of sins, through [e] water, and the washing of regeneration, even all that come to the truth, and are regenerated, and receive blessing from God. This blessing from God may also intend the renewing of the Holy Ghost, &c. See also 1 Tim. ii. 4.

XXV. There is a short passage, said to be [f] a fragment of the Commentary of Theophilus upon Solomon's Song, to this purpose.

'Our [g] Lord is of the Gentiles according to the flesh, saving too the truth of what is said, "that he is of Judah:" which is supposed to be a reference to Heb. vii. 14. "For it is evident, that our Lord sprang out of Judah."

In this fragment there is also a plain quotation of these words: "But the greatest of these is charity." 1 Cor. xiii. 13.

XXVI. He says: 'At [h] that time there was a righteous king, named Melchisedec, in the 'city of Salem, now called Hierosolyma. He was the first priest of the most high God. From 'him the city was called Jerusalem, which before was called Hierosolyma. From him there 'have been priests spread over all the earth.' This passage may be compared with Heb. vii. 1. 2, 3. See likewise Gen. xiv. 18. and Joseph. Antiq. L. i. cap. x.

N. T.

XXVII. Heb. xii. 9. "Farthermore, we have had fathers of our flesh, who corrected us, and we gave them reverence. Shall [i] we not much rather be in subjection to the Father of spirits, and live?"

THEOPHILUS.

XXVII. 'But if children ought to be in subjection to their parents, how [k] much rather [should we be in subjection to the God and Father of all?'

This appears a more likely reference to the epistle to the Hebrews than the foregoing.

N. T.

XXVIII. 1 Pet. i. 18.——"redeemed [l] from your vain conversation, received by tradition from your fathers."

THEOPHILUS.

XXVIII. 'These idols the multitude of vain men worships;——[m] adhering to vain maxims, through the error of a foolish opinion received by tradition from their fathers.'

XXIX. 1 Pet. ii. 13. "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme.—15. For so is the will of God; that with well-doing

XXIX. 'But do [n] you honour the king, bearing him good will, being in subjection to him, praying for him. For so doing you do the will of God. For the law says: 'My son,

[a] Ὑπομιμνησκε αυτους αρχαις και εξουσιαις ὑποτασσεσθαι.

[b] Παιδευουσα ἡμας, ινα—σωφρονως, και δικαιως, και ευσεβως ζησωμεν εν τω νυν αιωνι.

[c] Ὁς διδασκει ἡμας δικαιοπραγειν, και ευσεβειν, και καλοποιειν L. iii. p. 123. A.

[d] Δια λουτρου παλιγγενεσιας, και ανακαινωσεως πνευματος ἁγιου· ου εξεχεεν εφ' ἡμας πλουσιως.

[e] Δια ὑδατος και λουτρου παλιγγενεσιας παντας τους προσιοντας τη αληθεια. L. ii. p. 95. B.

[f] Fragmentum Commentarii Theophili in Cant. Canticorum. Ex Eusebii Expositione Cantici, &c. Apud Grabe Spicil. T. 2. p. 224.

[g] Εξ εθνων το κατα σαρκα ὁ Κυριος, σωζομενης και της εξ Ιουδα. Ibid.

[h] L. ii. p. 108. C.

[i] Ου πολλῳ μαλλον ὑποταγησομεθα τῳ πατρι των πνευματων, και ζησομεν;

[k] Ει δε χρη τα τεκνα τοις γονευσιν ὑποτασσεσθαι, ποσῳ μαλλον τῳ Θεῳ και πατρι των ὁλων; L. ii. p. 102. C.

[l] Ελυτρωθητε εκ της ματαιας ὑμων αναστροφης πατροπαραδοτου.

[m] Πειθομενοι δογμασι ματαιοις, δια πλανης πατροπαραδοτου γνωμης ασυνετου. L. ii. p. 110. B.

[n] L. i. p. 77. A.

ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.—17. Honour all men: love the brotherhood: fear God: honour the king."

'honour God and the king, &c.' See Prov. xxiv. 21.

XXX. 2 Pet. i. 20, 21. "Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the scripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

XXX. 'But [a] men of God filled with the Holy Ghost, and becoming prophets, inspired by God himself, and being enlightened, were taught of God, and were holy and righteous. Wherefore they obtained the honour to become the organs of God.'

I cannot tell, whether this will be allowed to be a paraphrase of the text in the second of Peter.

N. T.

XXXI. Rev. xii. 9. "And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world."

THEOPHILUS.

XXXI. 'This Eve, [b] because she was deceived by the serpent,——the evil dæmon, who is also called Satan, who then spoke to her by the serpent——does not cease to accuse: this dæmon is also called the dragon.'

And Eusebius has assured us, that Theophilus, in his book against Hermogenes, brought testimonies from the Apocalypse of John: it cannot therefore be doubted, but he owned that writing.

XXXII. If we now take a review of these passages, we shall find the amount to be this: Theophilus has quoted words of St. Matthew's gospel, as plainly as if he had named him. It is probable, he had read St. Luke's also; and St. John is quoted by name. If the Commentaries upon the gospels, mentioned by St. Jerom, are allowed to be written by Theophilus, it is evident he had the four gospels before him.

In these books to Autolycus are no plain references to the book of the Acts; but in those Commentaries we saw plain references to it.

In these books to Autolycus there are sufficiently plain allusions to the epistles of St. Paul to the Romans, first and second to the Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, first to Timothy, and to Titus. The references to the epistle to the Hebrews are doubtful, except that in the fragment. The passages that seem to bear a respect to the first and second of Peter are of some moment, and may deserve consideration. That the book of the Revelation was owned by him, is undoubted from Eusebius; and our extracts afford a passage which seems to contain an allusion to it.

XXXIII. Nothing more remains, but that we observe some general titles and forms of quotation used by Theophilus, and the respect he has expressed for the scriptures of the New Testament.

In the passage at Numb. I. after he had recited many precepts of virtue and piety out of the books of the Old Testament, he says: 'But the evangelic voice teaches chastity in yet 'greater perfection.' And afterwards, 'But the gospel says: "Love your enemies."'——At Numb. V. he reckons the gospel of John among the holy scriptures, and John with those who were 'moved by the Holy Spirit.' At Numb. XXII. quoting a precept out of the epistles of Paul, he says: 'The Divine Word commands.' And in another passage, not yet taken notice of, he says: 'Moreover,[c] concerning the righteousness which the law teaches, the like things 'are to be found also in the prophets, and the gospels, because that all being inspired spoke by 'one and the same Spirit of God.' And this passage may very much dispose us to think, he had before him the four gospels. Nor will any one imagine it likely, that in these books to Autolycus a heathen, we should have express references to all the writings which were esteemed sacred, and of authority, by Theophilus.

[a] L. ii. p. 87. D. [b] L. ii. p. 104. D.

[c] Ετι μην και περι δικαιοσυνης, ης ο νομος ειρηκεν, ακολουθα ευρισκεσθαι και τα των προφητων, και των ευαγγελιων, δια το τας παντας πνευματοφορους ενι πνευματι Θεω λελαληκεναι. L. iii. p. 124, 125.

CHAP. XXI.

PANTÆNUS.

PANTÆNUS flourished, according[a] to Cave, about the year 181; which is not said altogether without reason, though St. Jerom[b] says, he lived to the time of Caracalla, who did not begin his reign after his father's death 'till 211. His native country is uncertain. Some have supposed him a Jew, others a Sicilian. Fabricius[c] says, he was an Athenian: relying, I suppose, upon the authority of Philip Sidetes. He is generally thought to be one of the masters of Clement[d] of Alexandria, of whom he speaks with great respect in his Stromata: and, as[e] Eusebius assures us, he expressly called Pantænus his master in his Institutions. He is also mentioned with great respect by Alexander bishop of Jerusalem, in a fragment of a letter to Origen, preserved by[f] Eusebius: in which he particularly says, Pantænus was the person who brought him into acquaintance with Origen: which also is another proof, that Pantænus did not die before the beginning of the third century. Origen[g] justifieth himself in the study of heathen learning by the example of Pantænus, who, he says, was a very useful person, and well furnished with that part of knowledge. Photius[h] speaks of him, as a hearer of some of those who had seen the apostles, and even of some of the apostles themselves; which last is admitted by very few moderns: nor does Photius speak positively in this matter.

The time, character, and employments of this great man will appear farther in the testimonies of Eusebius and Jerom.

Eusebius[i] having observed, that Julian received the bishoprick of the church of Alexandria in the first year of Commodus, proceeds: 'At that time there presided in the school of the 'faithful at that place a man highly celebrated on account of his learning, by name Pantænus. 'For there had been from ancient time erected among them a school of sacred learning, which 'remains to this day: and we have understood, that it has been wont to be furnished with men 'eminent for their eloquence and the study of divine things. And,[k] it is said, the foremen-'tioned person excelled others of that time, having been brought up in the principles of the 'Stoic philosophy. It is[l] said, that he shewed such ardour of affection for the divine word, as 'to be nominated also a preacher of the gospel of Christ to the nations of the East, and to have 'gone as far as India [or Ethiopia]. For there were yet at that time many evangelists of the 'word animated with a divine zeal of imitating the apostles by contributing to the enlarge-'ment of the gospel, and building up of the church; of whom Pantænus also was one, who is[m] 'said to have gone to the Indians; where[n] it is commonly said he found the gospel of Matthew, 'which before his arrival had been delivered to some in that country, who had the knowledge 'of Christ: to whom Bartholomew, one of the apostles, is said to have preached, and to have 'left with them that writing of Matthew in Hebrew letters, and that it was preserved among 'them to that time. This Pantænus therefore, for his many excellent performances, was at 'last[o] made president of the school of Alexandria, where he set forth the treasures of the 'divine principles both by word of mouth and by his writings.'

Certainly Eusebius is here inaccurate in saying, that Pantænus was at last made president of that school, when he had before expressly said, he presided in it in the beginning of the reign of Commodus: not to insist farther, that St. Clement of Alexandria[p] succeeded Pantænus in that school about the year 190, and was succeeded by[q] Origen. It will be no vindication of Eusebius to say, there might be two schools at Alexandria, and that Pantænus was master of one of them. If Eusebius thought so, he should have said it. But let there be but one, or ever so many, it is improper to say, he was at last made president or master of the school, when he

[a] Hist. Liter. [b] De Vir. Ill. cap. 36.
[c] Bibl. Gr. Tom. v. p. 193. [d] Strom. l. 1. p. 274. D. Conf. Eus. H. E. l. v. cap. xi. in. [e] Eus. ibid.
[f] L. vi. cap. 14. p. 216. C. [g] Ap. Eus. H. E. l. vi. cap. 19. p. 221. B. [h] Cod. 118. p. 297. ver. 30.
[i] H. E. l. v. cap. 9, 10. [k] Λογος εχει.
[l] Φασιν. [m] Λεγεται. [n] Ενθα λογος ενιξειν αυτον, προφθασαν την αυτω παρουσιαν, το καθ' Ματθαιον ευαγγελιον παρα τισιν αυτοθι των Χριστον επεγνωκοσιν, οις Βαρθολομαιος των αποστολων ενα κηρυξαι· αυτοις τε Εβραικων γραμμασι την του Ματθαιου καταλειψαι γραφην· ην και σωζεσθαι εις τον δηλουμενον χρονον. [o] Του καθ' Αλεξανδρειαν τελευτων ηγειται διδασκαλιου. [p] Eus. Hist. l. vi. c. 6.
[q] Eus. ib. c. 3.

had been so, according to his own account, long before. However, Eusebius seems to have thought, he was for some time after his return from Ethiopia employed in the same office he had before he went thither.

What Jerom says of this ancient Christian is to this purpose:[a] 'Pantænus, a philosopher of 'the Stoic sect, according to an ancient custom of the city of Alexandria, where from the time of 'the evangelist Mark there had been always ecclesiastical masters, was a man of so great pru- 'dence and learning, both in the divine scripture and secular literature, that, at the request of 'ambassadors from India, he was sent into that country by Demetrius bishop of Alexandria, 'where he found that Bartholomew,[b] one of the twelve apostles, had preached the coming of 'our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the gospel of Matthew, which he brought back with him 'to Alexandria, written in Hebrew letters. There are also extant many commentaries of this 'person upon the holy scripture; but he was more profitable to the churches by his discourses. 'He taught under the reign of Severus, and Antoninus called Caracalla."

I have placed Pantænus at the year 192, because it is the soonest that we can suppose him returned from Ethiopia.

St. Jerom says, the school at Alexandria had been in being from the time of St. Mark: and Eusebius, from ancient time. Pantænus, however, is the first master of it of which there is any mention made in antiquity, unless we admit the account given by Philip Sidetes, of which we have[c] spoken before; who says, Athenagoras had this office. But it is somewhat strange, that no notice should be taken of this by Clement, nor Origen, nor Eusebius.

Jerom says, 'there were extant commentaries of Pantænus 'upon the scripture:' but he gives no particular account of them, and says, he was more profitable by his discourses than his writings. Nor has Eusebius mentioned the title of any work of Pantænus. There is nothing now remaining of him, except a short passage in the Eclogæ, ascribed to[d] Clement of Alexandria, containing a rule for the better understanding the style of the prophets. It might be taken out of a commentary upon the nineteenth psalm.

Eusebius mentions no authority for what he relates of Pantænus, and throughout his account mixes such phrases as these, 'it is said,' or 'reported,' and thelike. It is said, Bartholomew had preached the gospel before in Inda, and that he found the gospel of Matthew there in Hebrew. St. Jerom adds, that he brought it home with him to Alexandria, without any ground for it, so far as appears; and, as Richard Simon[e] thinks, mistaking the words of Eusebius, who only says, that the Christians of Ethiopia had preserved that Hebrew gospel till the arrival of Pantænus. And farther the same critic[f] says, that if this story of Eusebius be true, these first Christians of Ethiopia were descended from the Jews, and spake the same language with them that lived in Judea.

I think indeed, this story is of no great importance, it not being supported by the authority of any ancient writer of that time; though it could not be quite omitted here.

And if any should be therefore of opinion, that I have been too long in my account of Pantænus, I would observe, that, as I was obliged to mention him, it could not be amiss to relate his history here at length. It is true, it affords not much concerning this part of our design; but it is very suitable to the general design of this work, the 'Credibility of the Gospel History,' to shew the merit of the professors of Christianity on account of learning, diligence, zeal, remarkable integrity, or any other laudable qualifications. And though we need some particular information concerning the journey into Ethiopia, and the gospel which Pantænus is said to have found there, it cannot be doubted but he was president of the catechetical school of Alexandria, and a man of eminent learning. This is evident from the testimonies here alleged, several of which have no dependence at all upon this story about the Hebrew gospel.

[a] De Vir. Ill. c. 36. [b] Ubi reperit, Bartholomæum de duodecim apostolis, adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi juxta Matthæi evangelium prædicâsse, quod Hebraïcis literis scriptum, revertens Alexandriam secum detulit. Hujus multi quidem in sanctam scriptum extant commentarii, sed magis vivâ voce ecclesiis profuit. De Vir. Ill. cap. 36.

[c] Ch. xviii. p. 180. [d] P. 808. [e] Histoire Crit. du Texte du N. T. ch. iv. p. 41. [f] Ibid. See likewise Du Pin, who doubts of the truth of this relation. Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecc. Tom. i. Pantænus, et Reponse aux Remarques sur la Bibliotheque, &c. ch. vii. at the end of the sixth century.

CHAP. XXII.

ST. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

I. *His history, time, works, and character.* II. *Three passages of Clement from Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, concerning the four Gospels, particularly St. Mark's Gospel.* III. *Difficulties in these passages considered.* IV. *Remarks upon the same passages.* V. *More passages concerning the four Gospels, from the remaining works of Clement.* VI. *Of the Acts of the Apostles.* VII. *St. Paul's Epistles.* VIII. *The Catholic Epistles.* IX. *The Revelation.* X. *A summary account of the books of the N. T. received by him.* XI. *General titles and divisions of the Scriptures, and respect for them.* XII. *Whether he quotes other writings, as of authority. And first of ecclesiastical writings.* 1. *St. Barnabas.* 2. *Clement of Rome.* 3. *Hermas.* 4. *A general remark.* XIII. *Apocryphal writings quoted by him.* 1. *The Gospels according to the Hebrews, and the Egyptians.* 2. *The preaching of Peter.* 3. *The Revelation of Peter.* 4. *Acts of Peter.* 5. *Traditions of Matthias.* 6. *Sayings of Christ.* XIV. *Of the Sibylline poems.*

I. TITUS[a] FLAVIUS CLEMENS, usually called St. Clement of Alexandria, flourished, according to[b] Cave, from the year 192 and onwards. He is said by some[c] to be a native of Athens: by others, of Alexandria, where he certainly resided a good while. Eusebius[d] intimates, that he was originally a heathen. We do not certainly know the time of his birth, or death. He flourished plainly in the latter part of the second, and beginning of the third century, in the reigns of Severus, and his son Antoninus Caracalla; that is, between 192 and 217. Du Pin[e] supposes he lived to the time of Heliogabalus, and that he did not die before the year 220; but most are of opinion his death happened sooner.

He has the title of presbyter given him by several of the ancients: he was likewise president of the catechetical school of Alexandria. He seems to have succeeded Pantænus in that office, upon his going into Ethiopia, about the year 190: and it is very[f] probable that, upon the publication of the edicts of Severus against the Christians, in the tenth year of his reign, A. D. 202, Clement was obliged to lay down that office, and likewise to retire from Alexandria. We do not certainly know what eminent men proceeded from Clement's school: but[g] Eusebius has expressly assured us, that Origen, when young, was his hearer; and it is probable that Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, had been taught by him.

Clement wrote a great number of books: there are catalogues of his works in[h] Eusebius and[i] Jerom, which yet seem not to contain a complete enumeration of them.

The works of Clement now remaining are, an Exhortation to the Gentiles; The Pædagogue, or Instructor, in three books; and the Stromata, or Various discourses, in eight books: and a small treatise entitled, Who is the rich Man that may be saved. The Stromata were written after the death of Commodus, in the reign of Severus, as Eusebius[k] has observed from a passage of the work itself. Dodwell[l] was of opinion, that all the works of Clement which are remaining, were written between the beginning of the year 193 and the end of the year 195.

Beside these there is frequent mention in[m] Eusebius of another book of Clement, called Hypotuposes, or Institutions, which is lost. But we have in Greek two small pieces, one called an Epitome of the Writings of Theodotus, and the Oriental doctrine; the other, Extracts from the Prophets; both which are generally supposed to be collected out of the lost book of Institutions, or to be fragments of it. There is likewise in Latin a small treatise or fragment, called Adumbrations on some of the Catholic epistles: which also, if it be Clement's, was pro-

[a] For a more particular account of this author, than I have room to give, may be seen Fabric. Bib. Gr. Tom. v. p. 102, &c. Du. Pin Bibl. des Aut. Eccl. & Tillemont Memoires Eccl. Tom. iii. Le Clerc Bibl. Univ. Tom. x. p. 175.

[b] Hist. Lit. [c] Epiphan. Hær. 32. c. 6. p. 213. B.

[d] Præp. Ev. l. 2. cap. 2. p. 61. [e] Biblioth. in Clement d' Alex. at the beginning. [f] See Tillemont Mem. E. St. Clement d'A.—Article ii. & Euseb. H. E. l. vi. p. 201, 208. [g] H. E. l. vi. cap. 6. [h] H. E. l. vi. c. 13. [i] De Vir. Ill. cap. 38. [k] H. E. l. vi. c. 6.

[l] Dissert. Iren. iii. sect. 27. [m] H. E. l. i. c. 12. l. ii. cap. 1. p. 38. c. 9. & c. 15. l. vi. c. 13, 14.

bably translated from the same work called Institutions; which, as we know from[a] Eusebius and others, contained short explications of many books both of the Old and New Testament.

There are great commendations of Clement in many of the ancients. I shall put down some of them. But first of all I would take a passage from himself, in part also cited by[b] Eusebius: because it will be of use to inform us of his character, and his authority in the things we shall allege from him.

He[c] says in the first book of his Stromata: 'This work I have composed not for ostentation, but as an artless image and picture of the powerful and lively discourses of those blessed and truly worthy men, which I have had the happiness to hear.' The following part of the passage is somewhat obscure. But he speaks of one, by whom he had been taught in Greece: another in Italy: and two more, as it seems, in the East: and another in Egypt, supposed by Eusebius to be Pantænus, of whom he speaks in this manner: 'But the last whom I met with was the first in merit. After a long search I found him lying hid in Egypt, and in him I acquiesced. He was indeed a Sicilian bee, who gathered the flowers of the prophetic and apostolic meadow, and filled the minds of his hearers with sincere knowledge. These[d] men [he intends his masters, of whom he had before spoken] having preserved the true tradition of the blessed doctrine in a direct succession from the holy apostles, Peter, James, John, and Paul, as from father to son (though few are like their fathers,) have lived by the blessing of God to our time, to lodge in our minds the seeds of the ancient and apostolical doctrine.'

It appears from this passage, that our Clement had travelled, and was inquisitive; and that what he valued above all things was the pure, ancient, and apostolical doctrine.

I shall next put down some testimonies of the ancient writers concerning this father; and the first must be that of Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, contemporary with Clement, and perhaps one of his scholars. Alexander, in a letter to the Antiochians, written before he was bishop of Jerusalem, in the heat of the persecution under Severus, speaks to them of Clement in this manner: 'This letter I have sent you by Clement, a blessed presbyter, a virtuous and approved man, whom also ye know, and will know better: who having been brought hither by the divine disposal and providence, established and increased the church of the Lord.'

The same Alexander, in a letter to Origen, written after the death of Clement, speaks thus: 'For we[f] know those blessed fathers, who have gone before us, and with whom we shall shortly be; I mean Pantænus truly blessed, and my master; and the sacred Clement, who was my master, and profitable to me.' These two fragments are preserved in Eusebius.

Eusebius in his[g] Chronicle, at the year 194, says: 'Clement, the author of the Stromata, presbyter of Alexandria, an excellent master of the Christian philosophy, was eminent[h] for his writings.' At this year therefore I place him.

In another work Eusebius calls him more than once the admirable[i] Clement.

St. Jerom, in his[k] book of Illustrious Men, assures us, he was presbyter of the church of Alexandria, a hearer of Pantænus, and his successor in the school of Alexandria; and says of his works, of which he there gives a catalogue, that they[l] are full of erudition and eloquence, 'borrowed from the treasures of the divine scripture and secular literature.' He concludes his account of him, that he 'flourished in the times of Severus, and his son Antoninus.'

And in another place: 'Clement,[m] presbyter of the church of Alexandria, in my opinion the most learned of all men [or perhaps, of all the Christian writers whom he there names], wrote eight books of Stromata, as many of Institutions, and another against the Gentiles: the Pædagogue also in three books. What is there in them unlearned? what not taken out of the very depths of philosophy?' This short passage shews what were Clement's chief works.

I omit many other testimonies, that may be seen prefixed to the Oxford edition of St.

[a] H. E. l. vi. c. 14. [b] Ibid. l. v. cap. 11.

[c] P. 274. B. C. [d] Οἱ μεν την αληθη της μακαριας σωζοντες διδασκαλιας παραδοσιν, ευθυς απο Πετρου τε και Ιακωβου, Ιωαννου τε και Παυλου, των ἁγιων αποστολων, παις παρα πατρος εκδεχομενος· ολιγοι δε οἱ πατρασιν ὁμοιοι· ηκον δη συν Θεῳ και εις ἡμας τα προγονικα εκεινα και αποστολικα καταθησομενα σπερματα. Ibid. p. 274. D. 275. A. [e] H. E. l. vi. cap. xi. [f] Eus. l. vi. cap. 14. p 216. C.

[g] P. 216. [h] Συντατων διελαμπεν.

[i] Κλημης ὁ θαυμασιος. Præp. Ev. l. 2. p. 61. B. & l. 4. c. 16. p. 157. A. [k] Cap. 38.

[l] Feruntur ejus insignia volumina, plenaque eruditionis & eloquentiæ, tam de scripturis divinis quam de sæcularis literaturæ instrumento. Ibid. [m] Clemens, Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ presbyter, meo judicio omnium eruditissimus.—— Quid in illis indoctum, imo quid non de mediâ philosophiâ est? Ad Magnum Orat. Ep. 83. al. 84.

Clement's work's: and shall content myself with adding, that there are divers passages of St. Cyril[a] of Alexandria, and another of Socrates,[b] in his Ecclesiastical History, very much to his advantage.

Photius[c] indeed has severely censured Clement's Hypotuposes, or Institutions. We have not that work, to enable us to judge of the justness of his censure: but it seems, that in that work Clement collected and delivered a variety of opinions of the ancients before him, of heretics as well as the catholics. This is probably the reason of the blasphemies and fables, which Photius says there were in that book. This is an observation[d] of R. Simon. The more ancient writers, however, seem not to have taken any offence at it, who knew this work very well, and yet have bestowed their praises on the author without hesitation.

There are some moderns likewise, who[e] have thought St. Clement's judgment not equal to his reading, which was certainly prodigious. I shall not make a particular apology for him; nor do I assert the infallibility of the fathers. I have said enough to shew the age, and authority of St. Clement in those things we shall allege from him.

II. I now proceed to observe what there is to our present purpose in his remaining works, or in the quotations made out of them, or others, by ancient writers.

Eusebius has several passages of St Clement relating to his quotations of the books of scripture, or his history of them.

1. The first passage of Eusebius is in the fourteenth chapter of the second book of his Ecclesiastical History; where, having in the foregoing chapters given the history of the success of St. Peter's preaching the gospel at Rome, and his defeat of Simon Magus in that city, he proceeds: 'But[f] the lustre of religion had so enlightened the minds of Peter's hearers [at 'Rome,] that, not content with a single hearing, nor with an unwritten instruction in the 'divine doctrine, they with many prayers intreated Mark, the follower of Peter, whose gospel 'we have, that he would leave them in writing a memorial of the doctrine which had been 'delivered to them by word of mouth; nor did they desist, till they had prevailed with him. 'And thus they were the means of writing the gospel, which is called according to Mark.—It 'is said, that[g] when the apostle knew what had been done, the Spirit having revealed it to him, 'he was pleased with the zeal of the men, and authorized that writing [or scripture] to be read 'in the churches. Clement gives this account in the sixth book of his Institutions; and 'herein agrees with him[h] Papias, bishop of Hierapolis.'

2. The next passage of Eusebius to be here taken notice of is in the 13th chapter of the sixth book of his Ecclesiastical History: where, mentioning divers of St. Clement's works, and particularly his Stromata, he says: 'Moreover[i] in these works, he makes use of testimonies 'out of those scriptures which are contradicted; as out of that which is called the Wisdom of 'Solomon, and the book of Jesus the son of Sirach; and the epistle to the Hebrews, and the 'epistle of Barnabas, and Clement, and Jude.'

3. The third passage of Eusebius is in the next chapter, the title of which is: What Scriptures are mentioned by Clement. It begins thus: 'But[k] in his Institutions, to speak briefly, 'he gives short explications of all the canonical scripture [or, as Valesius renders it, of the 'scriptures of each Testament], not omitting those that are contradicted: I mean the epistle 'of Jude, and the other catholic epistles, and the epistle of Barnabas, and the book called the 'Revelation of Peter. And he says, that the epistle to the Hebrews is Paul's, and that it was 'written to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language; and that Luke, having carefully translated 'it, published it for the use of the Greeks; which is the reason of that conformity of style which 'is found in this epistle and the Acts of the apostles: but that he did not make use of that 'inscription, Paul the apostle, of which he assigns this reason: For, says he, writing to the 'Hebrews, who had conceived a prejudice against him, and were suspicious of him, he wisely 'declined setting his name at the beginning, lest he should offend them. And afterwards he

[a] Contra Jul. l. 3. p. 87. E. l. 6. p. 205. B. l. 7. p. 231. E. l. 10. p. 342. D. ed. Lips. 1696. [b] L. 2. c. 35. p. 130.

[c] Cod. cix. [d] En effet, il y a de l'apparence que cet ouvrage n'étoit autre chose, qu'un recueil des auteurs ecclésiastiques qui l'avoient précédé, & dont une partie étoient hérétiques. Hist. Crit. des Commentat. du N. T. ch. 2. p. 18.

[e] Le Clerc Bibl. Univ. T. x. p. 231. [f] Euseb. H. E. l. 2. c. 14. [g] Γνονία δε τα πραχθεν φασι τον αποστολον, αποκαλυψαντος αυτω τε πνευματος, ησθηναι τη των ανδρων προθυμια, κυρωσαι τε την γραφην εις ενεγνωσιν ταις εκκλησιαις.

[h] See before p. 339—340. [i] Κεχρηται δ' εν αυτοις και ταις απο των ανηλεγομενων γραφων μαρτυριαις·—και της προς Εβραιους επιστολης· της τε Βαρναβα και Κλημεντος και Ιουδα.

[k] Euseb. H. E. l. 6. cap. 14.

'says: Now as the blessed presbyter said: Forasmuch as the Lord was sent as the apostle of 'Almighty God to the Hebrews, Paul out of modesty, as being sent to the Gentiles, does not 'style himself the apostle of the Hebrews: both out of respect to the Lord, and that, being 'the preacher and apostle of the Gentiles, he over and above wrote to the Hebrews. More- 'over in the same books Clement has a tradition concerning the order of the gospels, which 'he had received from presbyters of more ancient times, and which is to this purpose: He 'says,[a] that the gospels containing the genealogies were first written: that the occasion of 'writing the gospel according to Mark was this: Peter having publicly preached the word at 'Rome, and having spoken the gospel by the Spirit, many who were there intreated Mark to 'write the things that had been spoken, he having long accompanied him [Peter,] and retain- 'ing what he had said; and that when he had composed the gospel, he delivered it to them who 'had asked it of him: which when Peter knew, he neither forbade it nor encouraged it: and 'that last of all John, observing that in the other gospels those things were related that con- 'cerned[b] the body [of Christ,] and being persuaded by his friends, and also moved by the Spirit 'of God, wrote a spiritual gospel. So far Clement.'

III. These are the three passages of Eusebius. We must begin our remarks on them, with considering the difficulties in the two accounts which Eusebius has given concerning St. Mark's gospel in the first and last of these passages. One difficulty concerns the interpretation of some words in the former of them: the other is the disagreement which there seems to be between these two accounts.

1. The first difficulty relates to the interpretation of some expressions in the first of these passages, where after the account of Mark's writing his gospel at the desire of the Romans, it is added: 'It is said, that when the apostle knew what had been done, the Spirit having 'revealed it to him, he was pleased with the zeal of the men;' which is also the sense of Valesius's translation. And yet one may be apt to suspect this interpretation, though perfectly agreeable to the present text of Eusebius; because the thing itself is unlikely, that Peter should have a relation of such a thing made to him. I have sometimes thought, that the meaning or design of these words might be taken without inconvenience from the latter account; wherein it is said, that 'Peter had publickly preached the word, and spoken it by the Spirit.' The revelation of the Spirit to Peter, then, is not to be understood of the fact of Mark's having written a gospel, or of his having been desired by the Romans to do so, but only of the gospel which had been preached by Peter.

But yet it must be owned, that these words in Eusebius seem to have been formerly understood of the fact, that Mark had written a gospel; this passage having been translated in that sense[c] by Rufinus, as well as by learned[d] modern interpreters. And Theophylact, of the eleventh century, in his preface to St. Mark's gospel writes to this purpose: 'That Mark 'usually accompanied Peter, and particularly was with him at Rome. 'The faithful[e] there- 'fore at Rome entreated him, not only to preach by word of mouth, but also to write out for 'them the history of the life of Christ. After much persuasion he wrote: and it was revealed 'to Peter from God, that Mark had written a gospel. Having seen it, and confirmed the

[a] Προγεγραφθαι ελεγεν των ευαγγελιων τα περιεχοντα τας γενεαλογιας· το δε καθ Μαρκον ταυτην εσχηκεναι οικονομιαν· τω Πετρω δημοσια εν Ρωμη κηρυξαντος τον λογον, και πνευματι το ευαγγελιον εξειποντος, τους παροντας πολλους ονας παρακαλεσαι τον Μαρκον, ως ακολουθησαντα αυτω πορρωθεν, και μεμνημενον των λεχθεντων, αναγραψαι τα ειρημενα· ποιησαντα δε το ευαγγελιον, μεταδοναι τοις δεομενοις αυτου· οπερ επιγνοντα τον Πετρον, προτρεπτικως μητε κωλυσαι μητε προτρεψασθαι· τον μεντοι Ιωαννην εσχατον συνιδοντα ὁτι τα σωματικα εν τοις ευαγγελιοις δεδηλωται· πεποιημενα ὑπο των γνωριμων, πνευματι θεοφορηθεντα, πνευματικον ποιησαι ευαγγελιον: τοσαυτα ὁ Κλημης. Eus. ib. p. 216. B.

[b] So the original words are rendered by Valesius: quæ ad corpus Christi pertinent. Others may choose they should be rendered, 'which apper- 'tained to Christ's humanity.'

[c] Petrus vero, ut per Spiritum Sanctum religioso se spoliatum comperit furto, delectatus est, fidem eorum per hæc devotionemque considerans: factumque confirmavit, et in perpetuum legendam scripturam ecclesiis tradidit. Rufinus.

[d] Modern Interpreters. I choose to put down here some of their translations. Aiunt autem apostolum, cum ex instinctu Spiritûs Sancti factum hoc cognovisset, delectatum esse virorum istorum voluntate, & scriptum hoc evangelium ecclesiis ad legendum auctoritate sua confirmâsse. Wolf. Muscul. Basil. 1611. Cum ergo Petrus apostolus divinâ Spiritûs Sancti revelatione suggerente intelligeret, illud opus editum esse: ferunt eum propenso & acri hominum studio magnoperè fuisse delectatum, hancque scripturam auctoritate suâ ratam fecisse, quo in ecclesiis passim perlegeretur. (Ex interpretatione Christophorsoni, & recognitione Suffridi Petri.) Quod cum Petrus per revelationem Sancti Spiritûs cognovisset, delectatus ardenti hominum studio, librum illum auctoritate suâ comprobâsse dicitur, ut deinceps in ecclesiis legeretur. Henr. Vales.

[e] Ἡτησαντο αν αυτον οι εν Ρωμη πιστοι, μη μονον αγραφως κηρυσσειν, αλλα και εγγραφως αυτοις εκθεσθαι την καθ Χριστον πολιτειαν· μολις ουν πεισθεις συνεγραψατο· τω δε Πετρω απεκαλυφθη παρα Θεου, ὁτι Μαρκος συνεγραψεν ευαγγελιον· ιδων ουν, και επιβεβαιωσας ως αληθες, εθτα επισκοπον αυτου εξαπεστειλεν εις Αιγυπτον. Theophyl. præfat. ad Marc.

'truth of it, he sent him away to be bishop in Egypt.' This must weaken our supposition that this sentence may be interpreted by the latter account, and understood of the gospel preached by Peter. But if we should not quite remove this difficulty, we may be the less uneasy, because this part of the relation is introduced in Eusebius, with an 'it is said:' of which more hereafter, when I hope we may likewise farther clear up this passage.

2. The other difficulty is the disagreement between these accounts, one saying, that 'Peter 'authorised Mark's gospel:' the other, that he 'neither forbade it nor encouraged it.'

The method which Valesius takes to reconcile these accounts is this: 'The difficulty,' says he, 'is, that[a] in the latter passage Eusebius seems to make Clement speak differently 'from what he had done in the former. But,' says he, 'if we consider these things carefully, 'there is no contradiction between them. For Clement says, that when Peter knew that 'Mark's gospel was written and published, he did not openly forbid it, or commend it: there-'fore he approved it by a tacit consent. Thus are these two places to be reconciled.—More-'over Rufinus took them in this sense, translating thus: "When Peter afterwards knew what 'was done, although he had not ordered it, yet when it was done, he did not forbid it." 'But 'perhaps,' says Valesius, 'Papias had spoken more plainly than Clement, and said, that Mark's 'gospel was confirmed by Peter.'

So then Valesius abides by this last passage, as containing the justest account of what Clement had written; in which I take him to be in the right. But neither had Papias said expressly, that Mark's gospel was confirmed by Peter, as I have[b] shewn formerly; in that these words of Eusebius concerning Papias do not necessarily imply any such thing; and in that there is nothing like it in the very particular account which Eusebius has given us of the testimony of Papias to Mark's gospel: to which I now add, that there is nothing like it in the account given of Mark's gospel by Irenæus, who was so well acquainted with the books of Papias. As to Papias, therefore, the case appears to me very clear, that he had said no such thing.

I shall now endeavour to remove this difficulty in these several propositions.

1.) The last passage of Eusebius does probably contain the most exact and distinct account of what Clement had written concerning St. Mark's gospel. In the first passage Eusebius writes in the quality of an historian, as from his memory, in a continued narration of the affairs of St. Peter; and mentions an opinion, which he introduces with a proper distinction: 'it is 'said:' and then adds: 'Clement gives this account in the sixth book of his Institutions, and 'Papias agrees with him:' which words are plainly to be understood in a general way, that Clement writes 'to this purpose.' At the writing of the last passage, Eusebius has Clement before him, and he quotes and transcribes him word for word.

2.) It is Eusebius whom we are to reconcile, and not Clement, if there is any disagreement between these two accounts.

3.) These two accounts of Eusebius may be well reconciled in this manner.

(1.) Eusebius needs not be supposed to affirm in the first passage, that Clement, or Papias, had said that Peter did expressly authorize Mark's Gospel: all that Eusebius intends to ascribe to them may be supposed to be in the former part of that passage. Then he adds: 'It is said' —by which he may be reckoned to hint, that he there inserts the opinion of some of his own time, or perhaps of some anonymous writers before him. And those words, 'it is said,' and what follows in that sentence, might be very well read in a parenthesis. This supposition is confirmed by the exact agreement of the full and particular accounts of the two testimonies of Clement and Papias with the former part of this passage of Eusebius.

(2.) And it may be said, that this very account is in the main agreeable to that in the third and last passage, containing only some improvement of it. In this last passage it is said, 'that Peter's hearers at Rome intreated Mark to write the things that had been spoken—and 'that when he had composed the gospel, he delivered it to them who had asked it of him: 'which when Peter knew, he neither forbade it nor encouraged it:' that is, as Valesius well

[a] Hic vero Clementis verba ex eodem libro referens Eusebius aliter eum loquentem inducit. Verum si rem attentius consideremus, hæc inter se non pugnant. Ait enim Clemens, Petrum cum evangelium a Marco scriptum editumque esse cognovisset, palam nec vetuisse nec laudâsse. Rem igitur tacito consensu approbavit. Atque ita concilianda sunt hæc duo loca, quæ Christophorsonus inter se pugnare existimavit. Sed & Rufinus eundem sensum secutus est, cum ita vertit: 'Cumque factum Petrus postmodum cognovisset, licet fieri 'ipsum non jusserit, tamen factum non prohibuit.'——Fortassè autem Papias apertius locutus fuerat quam Clemens, & Marci evangelium a Petro confirmatum fuisse dixerat. Vales. ad L. vi. c. 14.

[b] Ch. ix. p. 339, 340.

expresses it, he 'approved it by a tacit consent.' For though Peter did not expressly authorize it, yet by permitting it to be delivered to his hearers, or published, as a history of his preaching, he allowed it to be a faithful and true narrative of what he had taught by word of mouth. This may have been understood and represented by some, as amounting to an authorizing of that gospel, according to what Eusebius observes in the first passage: 'It is said, that when 'the apostle knew what had been done—he was pleased with the zeal of the men, and 'authorized that writing to be read in the churches.'

I think these two accounts are thus well reconciled.

Nevertheless I intreat the reader's patience, whilst I examine afresh a part of this last passage, which appears somewhat obscure, and which I have already thus translated. Clement says: that 'many of Peter's hearers intreated Mark to write the things which had been spoken' —and [a] 'that when he had composed the gospel, he delivered it to them who had asked it of 'him: which when Peter knew, he neither forbade it nor encouraged it.' I now propose another translation to be considered. 'The occasion of the writing the gospel according to 'Mark was this: Peter [b] having publicly preached the word at Rome, and having spoken 'the gospel by the Spirit; many who were there intreated Mark to write the things that had 'been spoken, he having long accompanied him [Peter], and retaining what he had said; and 'when he had composed it, to deliver it to them that had asked it of him: which when Peter 'knew, he neither forbade it nor advised it.'

According to the sense of the first translation, it seems that Peter knew nothing of this request of his hearers, or the work of Mark, till that gospel was both composed and delivered: and when he knew what had been done, he permitted the whole to pass without any express approbation or dislike. According to the sense of the second translation, St. Peter, by revelation of the Spirit, or some other information, knew of the request of his hearers, to have a gospel written and delivered to them, before they had actually received it from St. Mark. He might therefore have seen and read the gospel, before it was delivered and published; and his 'not forbidding or advising' will relate chiefly to the publication of it. He therefore permitted it to be delivered; which amounts to a tacit approbation of that gospel, as a faithful history of what he had said. So Theophylact seems to have understood it, if he refers to this place. For he says: 'It was revealed to Peter by God, that Mark had written a gospel. Having 'seen it, and confirmed it as true, he sent him away to be bishop in Egypt.' So the opinion, mentioned by Eusebius in his first passage, was, that 'when Peter knew what had been done '[that the gospel had been written,] the Spirit revealing it to him, he authorized that writing 'to be read in the churches:' or, approved it by a tacit consent.

In a word, according to each of these interpretations, this gospel is represented to have a tacit or implicit approbation of Peter. If he did not know of it till after it was delivered by Mark; yet he owns it to be a faithful history, by not discountenancing or disallowing it. If he saw it, and read it, before it was published; he also approves it, though he did not command or advise the publication, since he did not forbid it.

Perhaps it will be here observed by some, that this account does not agree with that given [c] by Irenæus, who says, that Mark wrote his gospel after the 'exit of Peter and Paul.' But my present concern is to represent, as I am able, the testimony of Clement. If there are any differences between the testimonies of several writers, they may be better considered at some other time.

It may be likewise objected, that there are several things very strange and unlikely in this account. The Christians at Rome, hearers of St. Peter, are represented as applying in a clandestine manner to St. Mark, to afford them a written gospel. St. Mark too is hardly persuaded to undertake this work, and consents not without much intreaty. And at last, when it is composed, the apostle Peter does not advise or command the publication.

To which I answer, that there is nothing improbable in this whole relation, excepting only

[a] The learned reader, if he thinks fit, is referred to the Greek before transcribed, p. 397. The version of Valesius is thus: Marcus igitur evangelium composuit, iisque qui illud ab ipso rogabant impertiit. Quod cum Petrus comperisset, nec prohibuit omnino rem fieri, nec ut fieret incitavit.

[b] The translation of Wolfgangus Musculus is thus: Cum Petrus Romæ publice prædicaret verbum, & evangelium Spiritu promulgaret, multos præsentium Marcum, tamquam eum qui apostolo jam diu fuisset assectator, dictorumque illius adhuc recordaretur, rogâsse, ut quæ dicta ab illo essent, conscriberet, conscriptumque evangelium illis daret, qui hoc ab ipso peterent. Hoc ubi Petro innotuisset, illum nec prohibuisse, nec jussisse.

[c] See ch. xvii. p. 365.

the revelation given to Peter of the fact, that Mark had written a gospel; which Eusebius has not delivered to us as a relation of Clement, but as a common report or doubtful opinion of some of his own time, or perhaps also of some before him. Every other part of this history may be accounted for from the great humility and modesty of the apostle Peter. The Christians then at Rome were desirous of a written relation of the things they had heard, which might be a perpetual help to their memory, and of constant use among them. But considering the before-mentioned virtues of that apostle, which they were well acquainted with, they were afraid to petition him directly for such a thing; and were even apprehensive that, if they did, he might prohibit it. They therefore, in the most private manner, apply themselves to St. Mark. And he, knowing the uncommon humility of St. Peter as well, or better than any man, is afraid to comply with the request made to him, lest he should offend the person for whom he had the highest respect. At length he yields to perform what was desired; but still conceals his undertaking from St. Peter as much as possible. However, by some unforeseen method, which scarce any man could account for, the thing was discovered to Peter; who, when he knew the writing had been composed, did not expressly direct the publication, nor yet forbid it.

This is the sum of this relation; and these seem to be the grounds and reasons of the conduct of the several persons here mentioned. And the gospel called according to St. Mark, which in this account is represented as the substance of St. Peter's preaching, is a monument of the humility and modesty here ascribed to that apostle; 'there being in the Gospel History 'several very remarkable circumstances in favour of St. Peter, which are related by the other 'evangelists, and not so much as mentioned or hinted at by St. Mark.' This is an observation of Mr.[a] Jones, who has given a catalogue of the several places in the other gospels, which relate things tending to the honour of St. Peter, which are not mentioned by St. Mark in his gospel: nor has he forgot to mention an observation of Estius to the like purpose, concerning the apostle Peter's modesty.

IV. Having considered these difficulties, and removed them so far as I am able, we are now to make some remarks of another kind.

1. Here is a very valuable testimony to the four gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John, all which were owned and received by Clement. Moreover, here is a tradition concerning the order in which these four gospels were written, which he had received from presbyters of more ancient times. It affords a proof of the curiosity and inquisitiveness of the ancient Christians concerning the sacred books of the New Testament, which they had received.

2. We have here an assurance of the genuineness of the genealogies in the first chapter of St. Matthew, and the third chapter of St. Luke. This likewise Clement had received from more ancient presbyters. This testimony to the first chapter of St. Matthew's gospel is so strong, that it seems to put the antiquity and genuineness of it out of question.

3. Here is a particular account of the occasion of writing St. Mark's gospel; and it agrees with those of Papias and Irenæus, in that this gospel is said to contain the substance of St. Peter's preaching, and to have been composed by one who had been long a companion or follower of Peter, and who retained in his memory the things that had been spoken by that apostle.

This then is[b] the third ancient father, who puts the authority of St. Mark's gospel upon the foundation of its being a faithful and true narrative of the apostle Peter's public discourses to his hearers. Nor let any therefore be in pain for the credit and authority of this gospel, though not written nor expressly authorized by an apostle. The authority of it seems to be very well maintained by these writers, especially by Clement in this account. Peter spoke the gospel by the Spirit. Mark had long and often heard him at Rome, and at other places, and remembered the things he had spoken. He wrote his gospel at the request of many hearers of Peter at Rome, and then delivered it to them who asked it of him. These persons, who set so great a value on Peter's discourses, and were not contented with a single hearing, and unwritten instruction, could not but know, whether the written gospel, which they received from Mark, was agreeable to the words they had lately heard from Peter. It is by

[a] New and Full Method of settling the canonical Authority of the N. T. V. 3. p. 78—81.
[b] Papias, ch. ix. p. 111, 112. Irenæus, ch. xvii. p. 158. 176.

no means reasonable to suppose, that Mark could form a design of deceiving or imposing upon any. Here is, however, an additional argument for the truth and exactness of his narration, that it was delivered, when composed, to those who had heard Peter preach, of which there was a considerable number. Lastly, it is here intimated, that the apostle Peter himself knew of this gospel, either before it was published, or soon after. And though he did not advise the publication, nor recommend the gospel when published, yet he did not forbid the publication, nor disallow of it afterwards: which amounts to a tacit or implicit approbation of it, and a confirmation of the truth of it, as containing a just relation of his preaching. There is, according to this account, the fullest security given, that Mark's written gospel contains the very gospel which the apostle Peter had spoken by the Spirit.

It will be very proper to put down here a passage, or note, of the Adumbrations beforementioned, which we have in a Latin translation made by Cassiodorius, or his order. "There [a] 'saluteth you Mark my son." [1 Pet. v. 14.] 'Mark, the follower of Peter, (Peter preach-'ing the gospel at Rome before some of the emperor's knights, and giving many testimonies 'to Christ, that the things which had been spoken might be well fixed in their memory,) com-'posed out of the things spoken by Peter the gospel which is called according to Mark: as 'Luke also wrote the Acts of the Apostles, and translated the epistle of Paul to the Hebrews.' Or, possibly, these last words should be thus understood: As Luke also 'wrote a gospel,' and likewise the Acts of the Apostles, and translated the epistle of Paul to the Hebrews.

This likewise confirms the account, that St. Mark's gospel is the substance of St. Peter's sermons. And he says nothing of it having been afterwards authorized by Peter, nor so much as its having been ever seen by him. It is true, Cassiodorius left out [b] some things of St. Clement, that might give offence. But certainly these things would not have offended, or hurt any man.

It is not very improbable, that Cassiodorius had here before him that very history in Clement, which Eusebius has preserved; wherein it is said, that 'Peter neither forbid nor encouraged,' or recommended, what Mark had done in this affair: or some other account to the like purpose. But that did not thoroughly please Cassiodorius, and therefore he left it out. But whether we guess right here, or not, I cannot help wishing that we had entire the Institutions of Clement, a writer [c] near in time [d] to the immediate successors of the apostles. I do not believe that work would do us any harm.

4. Of St. John he says, that he wrote last. He likewise supposes him to have seen and approved the other three gospels. St. John having observed what the other evangelists had written, added in his gospel some things omitted by the others. The occasion of his writing was the persuasion of his friends, and moreover he was moved by the Spirit.

5. The Acts of the Apostles also is owned by him, and ascribed to Luke as the author, who likewise translated the epistle to the Hebrews.

6. The epistle to the Hebrews is owned for Paul's; and Clement had been informed, that it was written in Hebrew. He had received likewise a tradition, giving an account of the reason why that apostle did not set his name to this, as he did to his other epistles.

7. Clement was a commentator of the scriptures. Eusebius says, that in his Institutions he had given short explications of all the canonical scripture. Photius however seems to render this doubtful in the account he gives of the same work. He says, 'the [e] Institutions of 'Clement contain discourses on some passages of the Old and New Testament, which he also 'explains and interprets in a brief and summary manner.' This indeed does not restrain Clement's commentaries to any particular books of scripture; for he might explain some passages in every book, without explaining the whole of any one. But Photius says afterwards: 'The

[a] 'Salutat vos Marcus filius meus.' [ver. 14.] Marcus Petri sectator, palam prædicante Petro evangelium Romæ coram quibusdam Cæsareanis equitibus, & multa Christi testimonia proferente, penitus ab eis ut possent quæ dicebantur memoriæ commendari, scripsit ex his quæ Petro dicta sunt, evangelium quod secundum Marcum vocitatur. Sicut Lucas quoque & Actus apostolorum stylo executus agnosceret, & Pauli ad Hebræos interpretatus epistolam. Clement. Adumbr. in 1. Petr. Epist. Oxon. p. 1007. [b] Ubi multa quidem subtiliter, sed aliqua incaute locutus est: quæ nos ita transferri fecimus in Latinum, ut exclusis quibusdam offendiculis purificata doctrina ejus securior posset hauriri. Cassiod. Divin. Lect. cap. viii. [c] See before p. 392.

[d] Ὧν εν τῳ πρωτῳ περι ἑαυτε δηλοι, ὡς εγγις α της των αποστολων γενομενε διαδοχης. Euseb. H. E. l. vi. c. 13. p. 215. A. [e] Αἱ μεν ουν ὑποτυπωσεις διαλαμβανεσι περι ῥητων τινων της τε παλαιας και νεας γραφης· ὧν και κεφαλαιωδως, ὡς δηθεν, εξηγησιν τε και ἑρμηνειαν ποιειται. Cod. cix.

'whole [a] scope of the work seems to be an interpretation of Genesis, Exodus, the Psalms, the epis-'tles of the divine Paul, and the catholic epistles, and Ecclesiasticus.' Which may well render it doubtful, whether Clement had commented upon all the books of scripture: or rather, it affords good ground to conclude, that Clement had explained only some books of the Old and of the New Testament. And so it is likely, Eusebius ought to be understood: for Photius seems to have had before him entire the Hypotuposes of Clement, in which these expositions were.

8. Lastly, Eusebius says, Clement had 'given in that work short explications of the scrip-'tures, not omitting those that are contradicted; as the epistle of Jude, and the other catholic 'epistles, and the epistle of Barnabas, and the book called the Revelation of Peter.' But I think it does not hence follow, that Clement paid a like or equal respect to all these books. Le Clerc in our time has written notes upon the writings of the apostolical fathers, as well as upon the books of scripture commonly received as canonical, without having the same regard for the former as for these latter. But of this we shall see more hereafter: for having thus shewn what Eusebius, and some other ancients, have oberved of St. Clement's method of quoting scripture, I shall briefly observe upon his remaining works.

V. In his Stromata, or Various Discourses, he says in answer to an objection: 'We [b] have 'not this passage in the four gospels delivered to us, but in that according to Egyptians.'

The four gospels are often quoted: I shall put down a particular or two of each.

1. 'In [c] the gospel according to Matthew the genealogy from Abraham is brought down to 'Mary, the mother of the Lord.'

2. In the three larger works of Clement, the Exhortation to the Gentiles, the Pædagogue, and the Stromata, the gospel of St. Mark is not quoted by name, though there are divers passages taken from it. But in the short treatise, 'Who is the rich man that may be saved?' having quoted the words of Mark, x. 17—31, he adds: 'These [d] things are written in the gos-'pel according to Mark.'

3. 'The [e] truth of this is evident. For thus it is written in the gospel according to Luke:' "Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar the word of the Lord came unto 'John the son of Zacharias." Ch. iii. 1, 2.'

4. 'The [f] Lord, in the gospel according to John, speaks figuratively:' "Eat my flesh," saith he, "and drink my blood." Referring to ch. vi. 53, 54.

5. We should here just take notice of an observation of Clement, That there were some who had written short marginal notes or interlineary explications of texts of the New Testament, or at least of the gospels. This seems to be what he means, when he says: 'Blessed [g] 'are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake, because they shall be called the sons of 'God [see Matth. v. 9, 10:] or, as some of those who explain [or paraphrase] the gospels,' "Blessed," says he, "are they which are persecuted by righteousness, *because they shall be* '*perfect*." And, "Blessed are they which are persecuted for my sake, *because they shall have* '*a place where no persecution reaches*." I only put down this passage. Mill, who is in every body's hands, may [h] be consulted upon it.

VI. The book of the Acts of the Apostles is often quoted in these works. It is ascribed to St. Luke thus: 'As [i] Luke in the Acts of the Apostles records Paul to have said:' "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious." Quoting ch. xvii. 22, 23.

VII. I shall give the following account of his quoting St. Paul's epistles:

1. 'The [k] apostle in the epistle to the Romans,' Ch. xvi. 19. "Behold" [l] therefore, saith Paul, "the goodness and severity of God," &c. Ch. xi. 22. 'In [m] like manner writes Paul in 'the epistle to the Romans,' Ch. vi. 2, 6—13.

[a] Ὁ δε ὁλος σκοπος, ὡσανει ἑρμηνειαι τυγχανεσι της Γενεσεως, της Ἐξοδε, των Ψαλμων, τε θειε Παυλε των επισολων, και των καθολικων, και τε Ἐκκλησιαςικε. ibid.

[b] Πρωτον μεν ουν, εν τοις παραδεδομενοις ἡμιν τετραρσιν ευαγγελιοις εκ εχομεν το ῥητον, αλλ' εν τῳ καθ' Αιγυπτιους. Str. l. iii. p. 465. D.

[c] Εν δε τῳ καθ Ματθαιον ευαγγελιῳ ἡ απο Ἀβρααμ γενεαλογια, μεχρι Μαριας της μητρος τε Κυριε, περαινεται. Str. l. i. p. 341. B.

[d] Ταυτα μεν εν τῳ καθ Μαρκον ευαγγελιῳ γεγραπται· Quis div. &c. sect. 5. p. 938. Oxon.

[e] Ὁτι δε τη ἀληθες εςιν, εν τῳ ευαγγελιῳ τῳ καθ Λεκαν γεγραπται ουτως· κ. λ. p. 340. A. Str. l. i.

[f] Αλλαχοθι δε και Κυριος εν τῳ καθ Ιωαννην ευαγγελιω. κ. λ. Pæd. l. i. p. 100. A.

[g] Η ὡς τινες των μελαθενθων τα ευαγγελια, κ. λ. Str. l. iv. p. 490. C.

[h] Prolegom. ad N. T. n. 287. 640.

[i] Καθο και ὁ Λεκας εν ταις Πραξεσι των αποςολων απομνημονευει τον Παυλον λεγοντα· Ἀνδρες Ἀθηναιοι. κ. λ. Strom. l. v. p. 588. B.

[k] Εν τη προς Ῥωμαιες επιςολη χαιρειν ὁ αποςολος ὁμολογει κ. λ. Pæd. l. i. p. 89. B.

[l] Ἰδε ουν, φησιν ὁ Παυλος. κ. λ. p. 117. C.

[m] Ὁμοιως, δε και ὁ Παυλος εν τη προς Ῥωμαιες επιςολη γραφει. Str. l. iii. p. 457. B.

2. 'The [a] blessed Paul, in the first epistle to the Corinthians:' "Brethren, be not children in understanding: howbeit, in malice be ye children, but in understanding be men." Ch. xiv. 20. And in like manner frequently.

3. He has also many passages out of the second epistle to the Corinthians. 'The apostle 'calls [b] the common doctrine of the faith a "savour of knowledge," in the second to the Corin-'thians.' [See ch. ii. 14,] where he also proceeds to quote 2 Cor. iii. 14. Again: 'Hence also [c] 'Paul:' "Ye have these promises," says he, "dearly beloved: let us cleanse our hearts from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God." 2 Cor. vii. 1.

4. 'Wherefore also [d] Paul writing to the Galatians says:' "My little children, of whom I travail in birth again, until Christ be formed in you." This epistle is also frequently cited as the apostle's, as Paul's.

5. 'Wherefore [e] the blessed apostle:' "I testify in the Lord," says he, "that ye walk not as other Gentiles walk." Eph. iv. 17, 18, 19, in another place: 'Wherefore [f] in the epistle to 'the Ephesians he writes:' "Submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of God," &c. Eph. v. 21, 22.

6. 'When Paul [g] confesseth of himself:' "Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect," &c. Philip. iii. 12—14. He quotes [h] part of the first and second chapters of this epistle, as expressly concerning the Philippians. He quotes it again in this manner: 'The [i] 'apostle also of the Lord exhorting the Macedonians, says: "The Lord is at hand," take heed 'that we be not found empty.' Philip. iv. 5.

7. The epistle [k] to the Colossians is often quoted by Clement, expressly with that title, as the apostle's, or as Paul's.

8. This the [l] blessed Paul plainly signified, saying: "When we might have been burdensome, as the apostles of Christ, we were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children." 1 Thess. ii. 6, 7. Words of this epistle are quoted by him several times, as the apostle's.

9. 'And the [m] apostle says: "There is not in every man that knowledge." [1 Cor. viii. 7.] "But pray ye, that we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men: for all men have not faith." 2 Thess. iii. 2. I think this is the only place in which this epistle is quoted by Clement.

10. 'Of which [n] the apostle writing, says: "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science, falsely so called; which some professing, have erred concerning the faith." [1 Tim. vi. 20, 21.] "The heretics 'confuted by this saying, reject the epistles to Timothy.' This alone amounts to a strong assertion of the genuineness of two epistles of the apostle to Timothy. Moreover he has frequently quoted words of the second epistle, and mentions it [o] expressly as Paul's.

11. The epistle to Titus is also quoted several times. And he observes, 'tht Paul [p] had 'cited Epimenides the Cretan in his epistle to Titus, after this manner: "One of themselves, 'a poet of their own, said: "The Cretans are always liars," &c. Tit. i. 12, 13.

12. The epistle to Philemon is no where quoted in the remaining works of Clement. This may be ascribed to its brevity.

13. We have already seen enough in a passage of Eusebius, taken chiefly from the Institutions of Clement, to satisfy us that Clement received the epistle to the Hebrews as Paul's. Nevertheless it will not be improper to observe a passage or two in his remaining works, in

[a] Σαφεστατα γαν ὁ μακαριος Παυλος εν τῃ πρωτερα προς Κορινθιους επιστολῃ. Pæd. l. i. p. 96. D. [b] Τὴν δε κοινην διδασκαλιαν της πιστεως οσμην γνωσεως ειρηκεν, εν τῃ δευτερα προς Κορινθιους. Strom. l. iv. p. 514. A. [c] Ὁθεν και ὁ Παυλος· . . . . Ταυτας ουν εχετε τας επαγγελιας, φησιν, αγαπητοι· καθαρισωμεν ἑαυτων τας καρδιας. κ. λ. Strom. l. iii. p. 456. D. [d] Διο και Παυλος Γαλαταις επιστελλων, φησι· Τεκνια μου. κ. λ. Str. l. iv. p. 468. B. [e] Δια τουτο ὁ μακαριος αποστολος· μαρτυρομαι εν Κυριῳ, φησιν, κ. λ. Adm. ad. G. p. 54. A. B. [f] Διὸ και εν τῃ προς Εφεσιους γραφει. κ. λ. Str. l. iv. p. 499. C. [g] Αυτε ὁμολογουντος τε Παυλε περι ἑαυτε· εχ ὅτι ηδη ελαβον. κ. λ. Pæd. l. i. p. 107. D. [h] Της φιλιππησιους συμμετοχης της χαριτος καλων. Str. l. iv. p. 511. A. [i] Ταυτῃ και ὁ αποστολος τε κυριου, παρακαλων τους Μακεδονας· . . . Ὁ Κυριος ηγγικεν, λεγων· μηδεν μεριμνατε· και τὸ· Ἱνα μη καταληφθωμεν κενοι. Adm. ad Gent. p. 56. B. [k] Και τῃ προς Κολοσσαεις επιστολῃ. Str. l. i. p. 277. B. Vid. l. iv. p. 499. D. l. v. p. 576. C. l. vi. p. 645. D. [l] Τουτο τοι σαφεστατα ὁ μακαριος Παυλος υπεσημηναατο, ειπων· Δυναμενοι εν βαρει ειναι ὡς Χριστε αποστολοι, κ. λ. Pæd. l. i. p. 89. A. [m] Και ουκ εν πασι, φησιν ὁ αποστολος, ἡ γνωσις· προσευχεσθε δε, κ. λ. Str. l. v. p. 554. A. [n] Περι ης αποστολος γραφων, Ω Τιμοθεε, φησιν, ... ὑπο ταυτης ελεγχομενοι της φωνης οι απο των αιρεσεων, τας προς Τιμοθεον αθετησιν επιστολας. Str. l. ii. p. 383. C. [o] Εν τῃ ετερα προς Τιμοθεον επιστολῃ ὁ γενναιος διαβασσεται Παυλος. Strom. l. iii. p. 448. C. [p] Οι δε Επιμενιδην τον Κρητα . . . ου μεμνηται ὁ αποστολος Παυλος εν τῃ προς Τιτον επιστολῃ. κ. λ. Str. l. i. p. 299. B. C.

confirmation of what has been said by Eusebius. 'Nor does[a] Paul (says Clement in his 'Stromata) appear to have blamed philosophy in his epistles, though he would not have the 'more perfect return to it.—Wherefore writing to the Hebrews, who were declining from 'the faith to the law:' "Have ye need," says he, "that one teach you again, which be the first 'principles of the oracles of God, and are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong 'meat?" [Heb. v. 12.] 'In like manner to the Colossians, converted from Gentilism: "Be-'ware, lest any spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit." [Col. ii. 8.] Thus he expressly ascribes the epistle to the Hebrews to Paul, and to the same person who wrote that to the Colossians. And in many other places of these works he quotes[b] the epistle to 'the Hebrews 'as the apostle's, the divine apostle's, and Paul's.

VIII. Thus we have gone over the epistles of Paul. We proceed next to the seven epistles called Catholic. And I think it best to be very particular here, to see how far the remaining works of Clement confirm, or disagree with, the account given by Eusebius.

1. Having quoted Isa. xl. 6, 7, 8, "All flesh is as grass, the flower fadeth"—and Jer. xiii. 24—Clement proceeds: 'This[c] is the flower of the grass, and to walk according to the flesh, and 'to be carnal, according to the apostle, as they are who are in their sins.' Compare James i. 10. "But the rich, in that he is made low: because as the flower of the grass he shall pass away." But I perceive here no reference to St. James. It is an obvious comparison enough. Besides, it is also in Isaiah, whom Clement had quoted; and also in 1 Pet. i. 24. 'To be carnal, 'according to the apostle,' is a reference to St. Paul.

James, ii. 8. "If ye fulfil the royal law according to the scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, ye do well." Clement having quoted Matth. v. 20, adds: 'That it is not sufficient to abstain 'from evil: for unless[d] ye become more perfect, so as to love your 'neighbour, and be able to do good, ye will not be royal.' This may be thought by some a reference to the above-mentioned text of St. James. But 'to love our neighbour' is a frequent precept of the New Testament: and in the phrase, being 'royal,' I rather think he refers to the Stoic maxim, that a wise man only is a king. The title of the sixth chapter of the third book of Clement's Pædagogue is, that a 'Christian only is a rich man.'

James, ii. 23, says: 'Abraham was called the friend of God.' Clement has the same observation[e] several times; but there is no evidence that he took it from St. James: it is more likely that he borrowed it from the Old Testament. See before in St. Clement of Rome, ch. ii. n. 38.

Clement has twice[f] observed, 'that the scripture says:' "God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble:" which words are likewise in James, iv. 6. But they are also in 1 Pet. v. 5. and Prov. iii. 34.

James, v. 12. "But above all things, my brethren, swear not: ... but[g] let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay." 'Again,' says[h] Clement, 'that is to be compared with the Lord's saying: "Let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay." Which words are indeed extremely agreeable to those in James. But he quotes them not as his, but Christ's, and must therefore be supposed to refer to[i] Matth. v. 37. In another place he says: 'It is the[k] epitome of justice to say: "Your yea shall be yea, and your "nay nay." He refers likewise[l] once more to the same precept; but without any particular intimation whence he takes it.

Clement has also this expression, that 'charity[m] covers a multitude of sins.' But there is no reason to suppose he refers to James v. 20. He takes it as from Clement of Rome's description of charity, the main part of which we before transcribed, ch. ii. numb. 13. and 41. And these words are also in 1 Pet. iv. 8.

Upon the whole, I perceive not in St. Clement any quotation of the epistle of St. James, or any allusion or reference to it, that can be depended upon.

[a] Επει και Παυλος εν ταις επιστολαις α φιλοσοφιαν διαβαλλων φαινεται ... διο και τοις Εβραιοις γραφων, τοις επανακαμπτουσιν εις νομον εκ πιστεως, Η παλιν, φησι, χρειαν εχετε τα διδασκειν υμας —— ; αρα και τοις εξ Ελληνων επιστρεφουσι Κολοσσαευσι. κ. λ. Str. l. vi. p. 645. C. D. [b] Strom. l. ii. p. 362. B. 4. A. p. 420. B. C. l. iv. p. 514. C. D. 515. A. & alibi.

[c] Τουτο γαρ το ανθος του χορτου, κ λ. Str. l. iv. p. 540. B. [Oxon. p. 639.] [d] Συν τω μετα της εν τοις τελειωσεως, και τα των πλησιον αγαπαν, και ευεργετειν δυνασθαι, εκ εστεστε βασιλικοι. Str. lib. vi. p. 696. B. [Oxon. p. 825.]

[e] Pæd. l. iii. p. 221. A. [Ox. p. 259.] ib. p. 238. C. [Ox. p. 279.] Str. l. ii. p. 367. C. [Ox. p. 439.] [f] Str. l. iii. p. 440. C. [Ox. p. 533.] l. iv. p. 516. D. [Ox. p. 611.]

[g] Ητω δε υμων το ναι, ναι· και το ου, ου, εκεινο απεικαστεον. Str. l. v. p. 596. C. [Oxon. p. 707.] [i] Εγω δε ὁ λογος υμων, Ναι ναι, Ου ου. [k] Δικαιοσυνης γαρ την επιτομη φαναι· Εστω υμων το ναι ναι, και ου ου. Str. l. vii. p. 739. A. [Ox. p. 872.] [l] Ibid. p. 729. A. [Oxon. p. 861.]

[m] Str. l. iv. p. 518. [Oxon. p. 613.].

Since the writing of this, I have observed, that Clement of Alexandria is not mentioned by Mr.[a] Richardson among those fathers who have quoted the epistle of St. James; nor by Huet,[b] nor by Tillemont.[c] The same thing may be said, it is likely, of other learned moderns, if consulted.

2 The first epistle of Peter is often quoted by Clement: 'But[d] and if we suffer for 'righteousness sake, says Peter, we are happy: and be not afraid of their terror, neither be 'troubled:'——1 Pet. iii. 14, 15, 16, 17. Again: 'And[e] Peter says the like things in his 'epistle.' I put down in the margin[f] a few more places, where this epistle is expressly quoted as Peter's.

3. 2 Pet. ii. 2. "And many shall follow their pernicious way, by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of." Clement says: 'Cease[g] to obstruct the way of truth.' But this is also an Old Testament phrase. Ps. cxix. 30. Here is no sign of a reference to Peter. This is the only place in the remaining works of Clement, which I have observed to have any relation to the second epistle of Peter. In the Oxford edition of this father, by mistake, is put 2 Pet. iv. 8. for 1 Pet. iv. 8. both in the Index at the end, and in the work itself at p. 306.

4. The first epistle of John is often quoted. 'This[h] is the love of God,' says John, 'that 'we keep his commandments: and his commandments are not grievous.' 1 John v. 3. It is quoted as John's[i] several times; and once in this manner: 'John[k] also in his larger epistle 'seems to shew the difference of sins: "If any man see his brother sin a sin, which is not unto death." 1 John v. 16. It is plain therefore he knew and owned one more epistle of St. John, and possibly two more: which he ascribed not to John the elder, but to John the apostle; the same who is the author of the first, or larger epistle. But I do not perceive any reference to either of these two epistles in his works. It is without ground, as I apprehend, that in the Oxford edition there is[l] marked a reference to 3 John, ver. 15; or, as in our English Bibles, ver. 14, 'Peace be to thee.'

5. The epistle of St. Jude is several times quoted as his: 'I will that ye[m] should know,' says Jude, 'that God having once saved the people out of the land of Egypt.' Jude, ver. 5, 6, and 11. But Clement quotes from his memory. Again: 'Of these[n] and the like heretics, 'I think, Jude spoke prophetically in his epistle: "Likewise also these dreamers." ver. 8.—16.

In the Adumbrations upon the epistle of St. Jude, as we now have them in Latin, is an observation concerning the modesty of the writer: 'That[o] Jude did not style himself, at the 'beginning of his epistle, brother of the Lord, though he was related to him, but "Jude the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James." Which observation may serve to shew, whom Clement took to be the writer of this epistle. See Matth. xiii. 55. Mark xv. 40.

6. We have seen then, in St. Clement's remaining works, quotations of the first epistle of Peter; the first epistle of John, with an intimation that he had written another, if not also a third epistle; and of the epistle of Jude.

Suppose now we should compare this with the account which Eusebius has given of the books cited by St. Clement? Eusebius said, in the second passage quoted from him, that Clement had in his Stromata, and other books he there speaks of, 'taken testimonies out of those 'scriptures that are contradicted; as the epistle to the Hebrews, and the epistle of Barna-'bas, and Clement and Jude.' And what we find in those works is agreeable to what Eusebius says: these scriptures are there quoted, as we have particularly seen concerning the epistle to the Hebrews, and the epistle of Jude. But in the third passage Eusebius says, that Clement had in his Institutions given 'short explications of all the canonical 'scriptures, not omitting those that are contradicted: I mean the epistle of Jude, and the other catholic epistles, and the epistle of Barnabas, and the book called the Revelation of

[a] See the Canon of the N. T. vindicated, p. 42. the third edit. [b] Demonstr. Ev. Prop. i. sect. 12. p. 25. Paris. 1690. [c] Mem. Ec. T. i. S. Jaque le Mineur. not. xv. [d] Str. l. iv. p. 493. A. [e] Και ὁ Πεῖρος εν τῃ επιστολῃ τα ὁμοια λεγει. ib. l. iii. p. 473. B. [f] Pæd. l. i. p. 103. A. l. ii. p. 258. D. Διο και ὁ θαυμασιος Πεῖρος φησιν: Str. l. iii. p. 457. A. l. iv. p. 493. B. Ὁ Πεῖρος εν τῃ επιστολῃ φησι. p. 525. C. [g] Και την ὁδον της αληθειας εμποδιζονίες. Adm. ad Gent. p. 66. C. [h] Pæd. l. iii. p. 257. B. [i] P. 264. D. 444. D. 445. A. 514. B. [k] Φαινεῖαι δε και Ιωαννης εν τῃ μειζονι επιστολῃ, τας διαφορας των ἁμαρτιων διδασκων εν τοῖς. κ. λ. Str. l. ii. p. 389. B. [l] Pæd. l. ii. p. 203. [Paris. p. 173. C.] [m] Ειδεναι γαρ ὑμας, φησιν ὁ Ιουδας, βουλομαι, κ. λ. Pæd. l. iii. p. 239. C. [n] Επι τουτων οιμαι . . . προφητικως Ιουδαν εν τῃ επιστολῃ ειρηκεναι. Str. l. iii. p. 431. A. B. [o] Judas, qui catholicam scripsit epistolam, frater filiorum Josephi, extans valde religiosus, quum sciret propinquitatem Domini, non tamen dixit, se ipsum fratrem ejus esse. Sed quid dixit? 'Jacobus servus Jesu Christi,' utpote Domini, 'frater autem Jacobi.' Vid. Adumbr. in Ep. Judæ ep. Clem. A. p. 1007. Ed. Oxon.

'Peter.' Photius likewise mentions Clement's explications of the catholic epistles. But yet in the remaining works of Clement we find no notice taken of the epistle of James, or the second of Peter. This seems to me somewhat strange: for if he had written short explications on them in his Institutions, one might reasonably expect to see them quoted in these remaining works. It is certain all the other books there mentioned by Eusebius are quoted in those works, which we still have; as the epistle of Jude, and Barnabas; excepting only the Revelation of Peter. Methinks this may justly create a suspicion, whether Clement had commented upon all the seven catholic epistles; particularly that of James, and the second of Peter. Besides, it is very observable, that Cassiodorius says: 'Clement,[a] presbyter of 'Alexandria, author of the Stromata, explained the canonical epistles: that is, the first epistle 'of St. Peter, the first and second of St. John, and the epistle of James;' it is probable it[b] should be Jude: and mentions no other. These likewise, Cassiodorius says, he ordered to be translated into Latin. And that he had no comment of Clement upon the other catholic epistles, is evident from what he there proceeds to say: 'That St. Augustine[c] had explained the epistle 'of James; but that he was still solicitous for a comment upon the rest of the canonical 'epistles: and to his great satisfaction he met with a book of Didymus, containing an exposi-'tion of the seven canonical epistles.' And accordingly the Latin Adumbrations of Clement, supposed to be those translated by Cassiodorius, or by his procurement, are upon the first epistle of Peter, first and second of John, and the epistle of Jude. Nor is there any reason, that I know of, to question, whether Cassiodorius had the Hypotuposes, or Institutions, of Clement entire: which seem to have been in being long after, in the time of Photius. In another place Cassiodorius says: 'It is[d] reported that Clement of Alexandria explained in the 'Greek tongue all the divine scriptures of the Old and New Testament, from the beginning to 'the end.' Which manner of speaking seems to shew, that this was more than he had certain proof of. It is likely, this common report he speaks of was founded on the general expressions of Eusebius, which either are inaccurate, or ought to be interpreted in a general way, with an allowance for some exceptions.

Upon the whole, it appears to me probable, that St. Clement had not, even in his Institutions, any comment, or short exposition, of the epistle of James, or the second of Peter, or the third of John, notwithstanding what Eusebius and Photius have said of his short explications of the catholic epistles: for they may be understood to speak in a loose and general manner only: just as Cassiodorius says, that Clement had written of the canonical epistles: though at the same time he means only some, and not all of them. Nor can I see why Eusebius should not have mentioned the epistle of James, and the second of Peter, as well as that of Jude, when they were all, in the time of Eusebius, among the scriptures that were contradicted: but only that Jude was expounded by Clement, and the rest not.

We have not then at present any ground to think, that the epistle of James, the second of Peter, or the third of John, were received by Clement, or so much as known to him. However, as to the third epistle of John, considering the shortness of it, we have no good argument to conclude he was unacquainted with it.

IX. The book of the Revelation is several times quoted by Clement, and once in this manner: 'Such[e] an one, though here on earth he be not honoured with the first seat, shall sit upon 'the four-and-twenty thrones, judging the people: as John says in the Revelation.' See Rev. iv. 4. xi. 16. But Clement joins together the words of several[f] texts, and quotes by memory. See Matth. xix. 28. Luke xxii. 30. And that he supposed this writer to be John the apostle, appears[g] from another place, where he refers to Rev. xxi. 21, as the words of an[h] apostle.

X. I shall now immediately sum up the testimony given by Clement to the books of the

[a] In epistolis autem canonicis Clemens Alexandrinus presbyter, qui & Stromateus vocatur, id est in epistolâ Sancti Petri primâ, Sancti Joannis primâ & secundâ, & Jacobi, Attico sermone declaravit. Divin. Lect. c. 8. [b] Vid. Fell. not. edit. Op. Clem. Ox. p. 1006. [c] Sanctus quoque Augustinus epistolam Jacobi apostoli solitâ diligentiæ suæ curiositate tractavit.—Sed cum de reliquis canonicis epistolis magna nos cogitatio fatigaret, subito nobis codex Didymi Græco stylo conscriptus expositionem septem canonicarum epistolarum, Domino largiente, concessus est. ibid. [d] Ferunt itaque scripturas divinas Veteris Novique Testamenti, ab ipso principio usque ad finem, Græco sermone declarâsse Clementem A. cognomento Stromateum. Præfat. ad libr. de Institutione Divin. Lectionum. [e] Εν τοις εικοσι και τεσσαρσι καθεδειται θρονοις, τον λαον κρινων, ως φησιν εν τη αποκαλυψει Ιωαννης. Strom. l. vi. p. 667. B. [f] Vid. notas in h. l. edit. Oxon.

[g] Και τας δωδεκα της ερανοπολεως πυλας, τιμιοις απεικασμενας λιθοις, το περιοπτον της αποστολικης φωνης αινιττεσθαι χαριτος εκδεχομεθα. Pæd. l. ii. c. 12. p. 207. A.

[h] However, see Lampe in Johan. Evang. t. i. p. 117. not. (d.)

New Testament. He has expressly owned the four gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and the Acts of the apostles, which he also ascribes to Luke. He owns likewise all the fourteen epistles of Paul, except the epistle to Philemon, which he has no where mentioned, that we know of: but this omission may be very well supposed owing to no other reason but the brevity of that epistle. He has also quoted the first epistle of Peter, the first and second epistle of John, and the epistle of Jude, and the book of the Revelation: but we have not found any quotations of the epistle of James, the second of Peter, or the third of John, nor any evidences that these were owned by him.

XI. I shall in the next place observe some general names, titles, and divisions of the books of the N. T. and some expressions of high respect for them.

Quoting some of our gospels: 'For proof of this,' says[a] Clement, 'I need not use many 'words, but only to allege the evangelic voice of the Lord.' Again: 'The[b] Lord will confirm 'this by what he says in the gospel. And: 'The[c] Lord expressly in the gospel.' Aagain: 'It 'is said[d] in the gospels.'

He quotes the epistles of Paul and the other apostles in this manner: 'Wherefore[e] the blessed apostle: Admirably[f] the 'blessed Peter.' It should be Paul. He refers to words in 1 Tim. ii. 'Excellently[g] well the divine apostle directs us to put on Christ: The excellent[h] 'apostle: The[i] admirable Paul admonishes: The[k] Holy Spirit in the apostle says.'

'If there is one master in heaven, as[l] the scripture says: Therefore[m] also the scripture says.' He calls them 'Divine[n] scriptures, divinely inspired[o] scriptures.' Again: 'Which[p] are 'written in the holy books.'

Clement observes, that there is a consent and harmony between[q] the 'law and the prophets, 'the apostles and the gospel.' This and other passages shew the sacred Christian scriptures were divided into two parts, under the titles of apostolical epistles, and gospels. Again: 'There is[r] one God, who is preached by the law, the prophets, and the gospel.' Here, and in other places, the gospel is the whole New Testament. 'That we should do these things, 'both[s] the gospel and the apostle command.' Having cited the words of Tit. iii. 3, he adds: 'As the[t] apostolical scripture says.' Here the apostle, and the apostolical scripture, mean the collection of epistles, and the gospel is the collection of the gospels. He says again: 'The 'law[u] and prophets, together with the gospel, conduct to one and the same knowledge in the 'name of Christ.' And: 'There[x] are two ways spoken of by the gospel, and the apostles, and 'by all the prophets.' In the treatise, 'Who is the rich man that may be saved,' he uses these 'terms:[y] Prophecies, gospels, and apostolical words.'

He says: 'The[z] scriptures, which we believe have been confirmed by almighty authority; and that 'one God, and Almighty Lord, is taught by the law, and the prophets, and the blessed 'gospel.' He calls the books of the New Testament,[aa] the true evangelical canon.' Finally,' 'he[bb] calls them the scriptures of the Lord,' and recommends the reading them, as useful and 'necessary for proving what we assert.'

XII. It remains only, that we now enquire whether Clement quotes any other writings as sacred, or of authority, and with the same respect which he expresses for those now commonly received as canonical, of which we have hitherto spoken. And it has been already

[a] Την ευαγγελιον τε Κυριε παραθεμενω φωνην. Pæd lib. i. p. 117. D. [b] Εν τω αυλω μαρτυρησει Κυριος ευαγγελιω, λεγων p. 118. B. [c] Σαφως δε ὁ Κυριος εν τω ευαγγελιω. Pæd. l. ii. p. 210. B. [d] Εν τοις ευαγγελιοις λεγεται. Strom. l. i. p. 325. C. [e] Διο τελο ὁ μακαριος αποστολος. Adm. ad Gent. p 54. A. B. [f] Παυ εν θαυμασιως ὁ Πετρος ὁ μακαριος. Pæd. l. ii. p. 211. B. [g] Παγκαλως ἡμιν θειος αποστολος συμβελευει, κ. λ. Pæd. l. iii. p. 245. B.

[h] Καλα τον γενναιον αποστολον. Str. l. ii. p. 420.

[i] Ὁ θεσπεσιος παρηνεσε Παυλος. Str. l. v. p. 546. D.

[k] Το εν τω αποστολω ἁγιον πνευμα λεγει. Pæd. l. i. p. 106. A. [l] Ὡς φησιν ἡ γραφη. Pæd. l. i. p. 88. A.

[m] Διο και φησιν ἡ γραφη. p. 112. A. [n] Μετα μικρον δε και θειαις επιστυφω γραφαις. Pæd. l. iii. p. 219. A.

[o] Καλα τας θεοπνευστες γραφας. Str. l. vii. p. 761. B.

[p] Εγγεγραφειαι ταις βιβλοις ταις ἁγιαις. Str. l. i. p. 264. C.

[q] Νομω και προφηταν ὁμω, και αποστολων, συν και τω ευαγγελιω. Str. l. vi. p. 659. C. [r] Τον δια νομε, και προφητων, και ευαγγελιε κηρυσσομενον. Str. l. iv. p. 510. A.

[s] Το τε ευαγγελιον, ὁ τε αποστολος, κελευσι.

[t] ἡ φησιν ἡ αποστολικη γραφη. p. 4. A. [u] Νομος τε ὁμε και προφηται, συν και τω ευαγγελιω, εν ονομαλι Χριστε εις μιαν συναγονται γνωσιν. Str. l. iii. p. 455. C.

[x] Παλιν αυ δυο ὁδες ὑπολιθεμενα τε ευαγγελιε και των αποστολων, ὁμοιως τοις προφηταις απασι. Str. l. v. p. 561. A.

[y] Πιστευειν προφητειαις, ευαγγελιοις, λογοις αποστολικοις. Quis D. S. prope fin.

[z] Ὡς και τας γραφας, αις πεπιστευκαμεν, κυριας εσας εκ αυθενλιας παντοκρατορικης επιδειξανλας, . . . ενα δεικνυναι Θεον, και Κυριον παντοκρατορα, τον δια νομε, και προφητων, προς δε και τε μακαριε ευαγγελιε. Str. l. iv. p. 475. A. [aa] Τω καλα την αληθειαν ευαγγελικω στοιχησανλες κανονι. Str. l. iii. p. 453. D. [bb] Ητε των γραφων των κυριακων αναγνωσις εις αποδειξιν των λεγομενων αναγκαια. Str. l. vi. p. 660. C.

observed, upon the third passage of Eusebius concerning this father, that his writing notes upon any book is no certain proof that he owned it for sacred, or of authority.

But that we may the better judge of this question, we shall consider particularly Clement's quotations of two sorts of writings: those which we call Christian and ecclesiastical writings, and some others which we generally call apocryphal.

Of the former sort there are several: the epistle of Barnabas, the epistle of Clement of Rome, and the Shepherd of Hermas. These are the books, of this sort, which seem to be quoted by Clement with higher marks of respect than others, as they are deserving of it on account of their early age, and their authors acquaintance with the apostles or apostolical men. We have no occasion to take notice here of Tatian, or any other writers beside these.

1. St. Barnabas is cited by Clement five or six times at least. I shall observe the manner of these quotations. 'Rightly [a] therefore said the apostle Barnabas. And soon after: 'And '[b] the apostle Barnabas: Thus [c] says Barnabas: Truly [d] Barnabas says mystically: For this I 'need not [e] use many words, but only to allege the testimony of the apostolic Barnabas, who 'was one of the seventy, and fellow-labourer of Paul.' In another [f] place Barnabas is mentioned, where his name seems to have been put by mistake for Clement.

Upon these citations I shall make but two remarks. First, that Clement, though he sometimes calls Barnabas apostle, does not hereby mean, that he was an apostle in the highest sense of the word: so as the twelve, and Paul, were apostles. The word is sometimes used in an inferior sense by the ancient Christians. I need not refer to particular places. However I will just observe, that [g] Tertullian calls all the seventy disciples apostles: and it is plain that Clement so uses the word; for at another time he calls Barnabas apostolical only, and says, he 'was one of the seventy, and fellow-labourer of Paul.' These are the highest characters which he really intends to give to Barnabas, and what he means when he styles him apostle: therefore he need not be supposed to ascribe to Barnabas that large measure of inspiration and high authority, which was peculiar to the apostles, strictly and properly so called.

Secondly, it has been observed by [h] Cotelerius, and by Mr. [i] Jones after him, that Clement contradicts an assersion of Barnabas in a place where he cites some of his expressions, without naming him; 'which,' says Cotelerius, 'he would not have done, if he had thought his epistle belonged to the canon.'

2. St. Clement of Rome is also several times quoted by our Clement. As, 'Clement [k] in 'the epistle to the Corinthians:' And, 'the [l] apostle Clement, in the epistle to the Corinthians.' In another place: 'It is [m] written in the epistle of the Romans to the Corinthians.' And in some other [n] places this epistle is quoted as Clement's.

Upon these citations we may observe, that when our author calls Clement apostle, he gives him that title in the inferior sense of the word, as equivalent to apostolical, in the like manner that he had given it before to Barnabas: it cannot be here used by him otherwise. Clement was not an apostle in the strictest and highest sense of the word. And farther it is to be observed, that he considers this epistle as the epistle also of the church of Rome.

3. Hermas too is frequently quoted by Clement. I shall take those places which contain the strongest expressions of respect, and refer the reader for the rest to the testimonies in Le Clerc's Patres Apostolici. 'Divinely [o] therefore the power which speaks to Hermas by reve-'lation. For [p] the power that appeared in vision to Hermas says.' And, 'The [q] shepherd, the 'angel of repentance, says to Hermas concerning the false prophet.' And in some other places: 'The [r] shepherd says: as the shepherd says.'

Concerning these citations of Hermas, I think we may say, it is reasonable to suppose that

[a] Εικοτως εν ὁ αποστολος Βαρναβας. Str. l. ii. p. 373. B.

[b] Και βαρναβας ὁ αποστολος. p. 375. B. [c] Ταυτα μεν ὁ Βαρναβας. p. 389. D. φησιν ὁ Βαρναβας. Str. l. v. p. 571. D.

[d] Αμελει μυστικως ὁ Βαρναβας. Str. l. ii. p. 396. D.

[e] Ου μοι δει πλειονων λογων, παραθεμενω μαρτυν τον αποστολικον, βαρναβαν· ὁ δε των εβδομηκοντα ην, και συνεργος τε Παυλε. p. 410. D. [f] Str. l. vi. p. 646. C.

[g] Adlegit & alios septuaginta apostolos super duodecim. Adv. Marcion l. iv. c. 24. p 540. D. [h] Quippe qui opus, quod credidit esse Barnabæ, impugnat, licet suppresso honoris causâ nomine. Pædagogi, l. ii. c. 10. Id porro nequaquam commisisset, si ad canonem pertinere fuisset arbitratus. Coteler. Judicium de Ep. S. Barnabæ. [i] The New and Full Method, &c. vol. ii. p. 537. [k] Αυτικα Κλημης εν τη προς Κορινθιους επιστολη. Str. l. i. p. 289. A.

[l] Ναι μην εν τη προς Κορινθιους επιστολη ὁ αποστολος Κλημης. Str. l. iv. p. 516. A. [m] Αλλα και τη προς Κορινθιους Ρωμαιων επιστολη—γεγραπται. Str. l. v. p. 580. B.

[n] Str. l. iv. p. 518. C. l. v. p. 586. B. [o] Θειως τοινυν ἡ δυναμις, ἡ τω Ερμα παια αποκαλυψιν λαλουσα. Str. l. i. p. 356. B. [p] Φησι γαρ εν τω ὁραματι τω Ερμα ἡ δυναμις ἡ φανεισα. Str. l. ii. p. 360. A. [q] Λεγει δε και ὁ ποιμην ὁ αγγελος της μετανοιας τω Ερμα, κ, λ. Str. l. i. p. 311. D.

[r] Str. l. ii. p. 384. D. l. iv. p. 503. C.

Clement could not ascribe to Hermas a higher character than that given to Barnabas and Clement: which is that of apostolical, or apostle in the lower sense of the word.

4. And with regard to the citations of these three writers, I would observe in general, that it seems not very easy to determine the exact measure or degree of respect which Clement had for them; but I do not perceive any plain evidence of his having the same respect for them which he had for the gospels, and the epistles of the apostles. He might well esteem them worthy of the highest respect, next to that given to apostles: and, in citing books of the next order to those of the apostles, the forms of citation may possibly bear a resemblance with those used when their writings are cited. But still there may be a superior regard had to the writings of the apostles above all other; as I think there was by our Clement, and all catholic Christians in general.

Mark and Luke, apostolical men, may write histories of our Lord's and his apostles' preaching, and doctrine, and miracles, which shall be received as sacred, and of authority; but no epistles, or other writings, delivering doctrines and precepts (except only in the way of historical narration) can be of authority, but those written by apostles. Many of the ancient Christian writers seem to have gone upon this supposition. Some instances of it must have been observed in the passages we have[a] already produced. But the more particular consideration of this point is deferred till hereafter.

XIII. Beside these, there are other books, called apocryphal, cited by Clement: and it has been thought that some of them are quoted by him as authentic scripture. Le Clerc,[b] and some others, are of this opinion. On the contrary, Mill[c] says, 'That though Clement quotes 'apocryphal gospels, he carefully distinguishes them from ours, where there is occasion.' The nature of our design will not allow us to omit an enquiry into this matter; but I hope that, after all that has been already said, it may be dispatched in a few words.

The books of this sort quoted by Clement are these following: The gospels according to the Hebrews, and according to the Egyptians; the Preaching of Peter, the Revelation of Peter, the Acts of Peter: Traditions of Matthias: to which we may add some words of Christ, not in our gospels.

1. We shall begin with the two before-mentioned gospels. The gospel according to the Hebrews is but once expressly quoted by him. Having just before quoted the traditions of Matthias, he adds: 'And[d] to the same purpose it is written in the gospel according to the Hebrews: "He who admires shall reign, and he who has reigned shall be at rest."

The gospel according to the Egyptians is quoted several times. The fragments of it preserved in Clement may be seen in Grabe,[e] and[f] Jones, and others. With regard to these gospels we need only to observe these two things.

1.) That Clement owned our four gospels, and those only. This is evident from the passages before cited from Clement, and from the numerous quotations of these gospels in all his works.

2.) In several of the places where the gospel according to the Egyptians is quoted there are expressions used by Clement, which shew that he did not own it as a genuine authentic history of Christ and his doctrine. 'But,' says he[g] in one place, 'they who oppose the creation of God 'by their specious continence, urge also the things spoken to Salome, which I mentioned before: 'they are, I think, in the gospel according to the Egyptians: for they say, that our Saviour 'himself said:' which sufficiently shews, that Clement was little acquainted with this gospel, and had no regard to it, but when he was obliged to confute the false opinions which others endeavoured to support by it. And it seems somewhat probable that he had never read the gospel itself, but only the quotations of it which he had met with in heretical writers.

[a] I suppose particularly, that Papias, Irenæus, and our Clement himself, go upon this ground in receiving St. Mark's gospel as a faithful narrative of St. Peter's preaching; though written after that apostle's death, or not expressly approved by him. For Papias see p. 339; for Irenæus, p. 365. 377; and for Clement, in this chapter, Numb. III. p. 395, &c. But yet they do not receive the Shepherd of Hermas, the epistles of Clement of Rome, Polycarp, no nor Barnabas, as sacred scripture; and of authority. This I think has appeared plainly with regard to St. Irenæus, Ch. XVII. Numb. XII. And I suppose that it has been now shewn of our Clement, that there is no proof he was of a contrary opinion.

[b] See Bibliotheque Univ. tome x. p. 195 and 230, &c.

[c] Cum enim in omnigenis veterum monumentis spatiaretur [Clemens A.] ac ne quidem apocrypha evangelia præteriret intacta (quæ tamen, ubi opus est, cautè distinguit a παραδεδομενοις ἡμιν, sive quatuor nostris canonicis) & quæ seq. Prol. n. 627. edit. Kust.

[d] ἡ καὶν τω καθ' Ἑβραιες ευαγγελιω . . . γεγραπται. Str. l. ii. p. 380. A.

[e] Spicileg. t. i. p. 35, 36.

[f] New and Full Method, vol. i. p. 244–247.

[g] Οἱ δε ανθιλασσομενοι τη κλισει τε Θεε δια της ευφημε εγκρατειας, κἀκεινα λεγεσι τα προς Σαλωμην ειρημενα, ὠν προϊερον εμνησθημεν· φερεται δε οιμαι εν τω καθ' Αιγυπτιες ευαγγελιω, φασι γαρ ὁτι αὐτος ειπε σωτηρ, κ. λ. Str. l. iii. p. 452. C.

A little after: 'Well,[a] but do not they who choose to follow any thing, rather than the true 'evangelical canon, quote what follows there, as said to Salome?' Again: 'Wherefore[b] Cas-'sianus [an heretical writer of Clement's own time] says, that when Salome asked, "When 'the things should be known concerning which she enquired," the Lord answered——' To which Clement immediately replies: 'First of all, we have not this passage in the four 'gospels delivered to us, but in that according to the Egyptians.' See before Numb. V. p. 400.

Mr.[c] Jones has made several good remarks upon the passages of this gospel in Clement. He asserts, that 'Clemens Alexandrinus never saw the gospel of the Egyptians, nor made any 'citations out of it; but on the contrary rejected it, as an impious, heretical, and apocryphal 'book.'

I need say nothing more particularly about the gospel according to the Hebrews, which is but once cited by Clement, and was probably unknown to him; for it being written in Hebrew, he could not read it in a language he was unacquainted with. It is likely, the single passage cited out of it was taken at second hand from some author who had made use of it.

I have but one thing to add: that what we have just seen in Clement seems to afford a convincing argument of the obscurity of these gospels at this time, and particularly of that according to the Egyptians. For if Clement, who lived at Alexandria, and was so well acquainted with almost all sorts of books, had but a slight, or no knowledge at all of this gospel, how obscure must it have been at this time? how little regarded by catholic Christians?

2. The next book of this sort is, The Preaching of Peter, which is often quoted by this father. It is of this in particular that Le Clerc speaks, when he says, Clement used apocryphal books. 'He[d] often cites,' says Le Clerc, 'supposititious books, as if they were owned by every 'body; as may be observed in the passage of the Preaching of St. Peter, which we before 'quoted; and in another of St. Paul, which seems to be taken out of the book of his Travels.' As to this passage of St. Paul, I think Le Clerc mistaken about the book from whence Clement took it. It appears to be taken out of the same book, The Preaching of Peter.

In the place before referred to,[e] Le Clerc expresses himself thus: 'He cites also a book as-'cribed to St. Peter, which was intitled, The Preaching of Peter. It is apparent that Clement 'had no doubt but the book was Peter's.' If this be so, it must be supposed Clement owned this as a book of scripture in the highest sense: a writing of the apostle Peter would certainly be esteemed by him of canonical authority. But herein I differ from Le Clerc.

1.) The first observation, therefore, upon Clement's citations of the book we are now examining, must be this: That I see no reason to think that this book was supposed by Clement, or any one else, to be Peter's. The title of it imports no such thing; nor do the forms of quotation used by Clement oblige us so to understand him. A book containing an account of Peter's discourses, may be called Peter's Preaching, whether written and composed by Peter, or another. If written by a disciple of Peter, it is fitly called The Preaching of Peter: it is the substance of the book that gives it a right to that title. When Clement says: 'In the Preaching of Peter you may find 'the Lord called the Law and the Word:' or, 'Peter says in the Preaching,' or his Preaching; the plain meaning of these words is: Peter says this in the book intitled The Preaching of Peter; without determining, or so much as implying in the least, that it was written and composed by that apostle. So Clement says: 'And[f] Peter says in the Acts: "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons." Ch. x. 34, 35. And it is common to say, that Peter, or Paul, says such a thing in the Acts, without intending that the book of the Acts was written by either of those apostles. There is a great uniformity in Clement's quotations of this book, the Preaching of Peter; and they none of them seem to imply any thing more than what I have said. I have collected them for my own satisfaction, and shall put them in the[g] margin

[a] Τι δε; αχι και τα εξης των προς Σαλωμην ειρημενων επιφερουσιν οι μαλα μαλλον η τω καλα την αληθειαν ευαγγελικω συνιχησανιες κανονι. Ibid. p. 453. D. [b] Str. l. iii. p. 465. C. D. [c] New and Full Method, &c. v. i. p. 253—257. [d] Il cite souvent des écrits supposes, de même que s'ils avoient été reconnus de tout le monde, comme on le peut remarquer par le passage de la Prédication de St. Pierre que l' on a rapporté, & par un autre de St. Paul, qui semble être tiré du livre de ses Voiages. Bibl. Univ. as above, p. 231. [e] Il cite ailleurs [Str. l. vi. p. 635.] Κ re qu'on attribuoit à St. Pierre, & qui étoit intitulé ηρυγμα Πετρε, La Prédication de St. Pierre. Il paroit que Clément ne doutoit point que ce livre ne fût de St. Pierre. Ibid. p. 195. [f] Και μην και ο Πετρος εν ταις Πραξεσιν. Str. l vi. p. 646. B. [g] Εν δε τω Πετρε κηρυγματι ευροις αν, κ. λ. Str. i. p. 357. A. ο Πετρος εν τω κηρυγματι. Str. ii. p. 390. A. Πετρος εν τω κηρυγματι λεγει. l. vi. p. 635. A. αυτος διασαφησει Πετρος επιφερων. ibid. C. Δηλωσει προς τω Πετρε κηρυγματι ο αποστολος λεγων Παυλος· p. 636. C. Δια τουτο φησιν ο Πετρος ειρηκεναι τον Κυριον τοις αποστολοις, κ. λ. ib. D. Αυτικα εν τω Πετρε κηρυγματι ο Κυριος φησι προς τους μαθητας μετα την αναστασιν· p. 639. B. οθεν και ο Πετρος εν τω κηρυγματι περι των αποστολων λεγων, φησιν· p. 678. A.

because they may be of use to others. Sometimes it is, 'Peter says in the Preaching:' sometimes only, 'Peter says,' if he had but a little before expressly named the book: just as it is usual to quote what Paul or Peter says in the Acts.

And that Clement did not suppose this book to be St. Peter's, may be argued from his quotation of a passage of St. Paul out of the same book, in this manner: 'This [a] the apostle Paul will manifest, saying in the Preaching of Peter.' This seems to shew, that Clement thought this book was composed by some person who wrote the history of Peter's preaching, inserting also some discourses of the apostle Paul, and perhaps of others likewise; but calling the whole, from the principal subject of it, The Preaching of Peter.

2.) I observe then farther, that Clement has no where mentioned the name of the author of this book as he has done of the book of the Acts, containing the history of the preaching of Peter, and some others, though chiefly of Paul, which he has ascribed to St. Luke. Nor does it appear that he knew who was the author of the Preaching of Peter: if he had, it is likely he would have mentioned him. Of any book, to be received as of authority, one would be glad to know the name and character of the author; whether he was an apostle, or at least an apostolical man; a follower or disciple of apostles, and intimately acquainted with them.

3.) Clement has no where called this book 'scripture,' or used any particular expression of high respect and veneration in his quotations of it.

4.) The testimony of Eusebius ought to be of considerable weight in this point. Having, in his Ecclesiastical History, spoken of the first and second epistle of Peter, he says: 'But [b] the 'book intitled his Acts, and the gospel named according to him, and that which is termed his 'Preaching, and that called his Revelation, we know that they have not been delivered (to us) 'as catholic writings; forasmuch as no ecclesiastical writer of the ancients, or of our time, 'has made use of testimonies out of them.' It is very strange that Eusebius should so forget himself as to say this, if so great a man as Clement of Alexandria had quoted the Preaching of Peter, as a book of that apostle, or of an apostolical man. Or, if he had quoted it as a book of authority, we must suppose the stream of antiquity to have been strong against him; otherwise Eusebius could hardly have expressed himself in this manner.

5.) Nevertheless it seems that Clement, when he quotes any words of Peter, or Paul, out of this book, quotes them as if he thought them to be really theirs, and that they were there recorded in a credible manner. This seems to appear in these expressions: 'Peter says in the 'Preaching: This Peter himself will manifest, when he subjoins: Wherefore also Peter, in 'the Preaching, speaking of the apostles, says.' And yet perhaps it may be questioned, whether Clement has not so distinctly named this book, whenever he takes any thing out of it, with a design that every one may the better judge of the authority of what he produces from it: as much as to say, I take this out of the book intitled The Preaching of Peter; and let it avail as much as it can. There may be some foundation for this conjecture, since Clement has never called this book Scripture, nor mentioned the name of the author or composer of it.

Upon the whole, it must be allowed to be difficult to decide, what authority Clement assigned to this book; but, at the same time, I see no proofs of his esteeming it a book of sacred scripture, in the highest meaning of these terms.

I would observe in general concerning the Preaching of Peter, which contained, as it seems, a history of the Preaching of Peter chiefly, but also of the preaching of Paul, and perhaps of some others: that if it had been composed by an apostolical man, a disciple of apostles, intimately acquainted with them, and there had been a credible tradition concerning the book, and the author of it; it might be a book of sacred authority, like the Acts of the apostles, written by Luke, an apostolical man: provided also, that it had in it nothing manifestly false and absurd; as I suppose it would not, if it had been written by such a person, and credibly wit-

[a] The Greek words are among the citations[z], and are thus justly rendered by Grabe: Declarabit in Petri Prædicatione apostolus Paulus dicens. Spic. T. i. p. 65. Whereas in the Latin version in St. Clement's works it is, præter Petri Prædicationem declarabit Paulus.

[b] Το τε μην των επικεκλημενων αυΐε πραξεων, και το καΐ' αυΐον ωνομασμενον ευαγγελιον, το, τε λεγομενον αυΐε κηρυγμα, και την καλουμενην αποκαλυψιν, ουδ' ὁλως εν καθολικοις ισμεν παραδεδομενα· ὁτι μη τε αρχαιων μη τε των καθ' ἡμας τις εκκλησιαστικος συγγραφευς ταις εξ αυΐων συνεχρησαΐο μαρτυριαις. H. E. l. iii. sect. 3. p. 72. A.

nessed to as such. But hitherto we have not met with, as I apprehend, any testimony to this book, the Preaching of Peter, that it was written by an apostle, or an apostolical man.

No one, I hope, will be offended at the prolixity of the argument upon this question, who considers the importance of it.[a]

3. The Revelation of Peter is to be next considered. Of this Eusebius has informed us, that Clement in his Institutions, where he had written notes upon divers books of scripture that were contradicted, had written notes also upon this. And it still appears quoted twice or thrice in the Extracts[b] of the Scriptures of the Prophets, supposed to be a fragment of Clement's Institutions, or collected out of them. But that this was not esteemed by Clement a book of authority, may be concluded from what Eusebius says in the passage lately cited from him, that it had not been delivered as a 'catholic writing' or scripture: and secondly, in that it is not quoted in any of the remaining works of Clement. If it had been reckoned by him a book of that character, it is very probable it would have been there quoted.

4. Clement has a passage too, which Grabe[c] supposes to have been a book called the Acts of Peter: but if it was, it is plain this book was not owned by Clement, as a book of scripture; since he has never quoted it, and this passage is introduced by Clement as an uncertain report. 'They say[d] therefore of Peter,' and what follows: which shews, it is a matter of which he was not well assured.

5. Clement has likewise[e] cited a book called Traditions of Matthias, or Traditions in general, in which are some words ascribed to Matthias. But, from the places in which he mentions these Traditions, it is evident[f] he did not rely upon them, if he did not think them forged by some heretics. The passages of Clement, in which he mentions or refers to these Traditions, are collected by Grabe[g], and[h] Jones, to whom the reader is referred. There is no need we should insist any longer upon them here.

But, beside the passages collected by those learned men from Clement's remaining Greek works, there[i] is another passage in the Latin Adumbrations upon the first epistle of St. John,

[a] I have discoursed largely of St. Clement's opinion of the authority of this book: I add a conjecture concerning the age of it. It was written before the end of the second century, as appears from Clement's quotations of it: it was written after the Sibylline Verses, because it refers to them. If therefore they were composed about the middle of the second century, this book was written somewhat later. That the Sibylline Verses are referred to in this book, the Preaching of Peter, appears to me probable from two quotations of it in St. Clement, which I here put down. 'That, as God desired the salvation of the Jews, giving them prophets; so likewise, raising up the most approved of the Greeks to be prophets to them in their own language, as they were able to receive the divine beneficence, he distinguished them. from the bulk of Mankind, the apostle Paul will manifest in the Preaching of Peter, saying: "Take likewise the Greek books. Consider the Sibyl, how she declares the one God, and things future. Take also and read Hystaspes, and you will there find the Son of God most clearly and evidently described." Str. l. vi. p 636. C. D. See Blondel Des Sibylles, l. i. c. 5. This suits our Sibylline Verses; beside that it also shews, that the Preaching of Peter was written after Hystaspes, another forgery. In the other passage the Sibylline Verses are plainly described: 'Whence also Peter in 'The Preaching, speaking of the apostles, says: "But when we had perused the books which we had of the prophets, mentioning Jesus Christ sometimes in parables, sometimes enigmatically, sometimes clearly and expressly; we found his coming, and death, and cross, and all the other sufferings which the Jews inflicted on him, and his resurrection and assumption to heaven, before the building of Jerusalem, as all these things had been written, which he was to suffer, and which should be after him." Str. l. vi. p. 678. A. B. [καθως εγεγραπτο ταυτα πανια, α εδει αυτον παθειν, και μετ' αυτον α εσται. So I propose these words should be pointed, and I have translated them accordingly]. For the original words I must refer the more learned and inquisitive to St. Clement himself: but every one may judge of the probability of this argument from what we shall hereafter produce out of the Sibylline books. I would only observe farther at present, that whereas Peter in this second passage speaks of the 'books of the prophets;' in the style of the Christian writers about this time the Sibyl is often called a prophet or prophetess, particularly by St. Clement himself. Adm. ad Gent. p. 17. B. 32. D. 33. A. In the first of these quotations likewise he calls the Sibyls prophets. So also Theoph. ad Aut. l. ii. p. 112. A. B. Nor ought it to be reckoned any objection against this opinion, that this book was cited by Heracleon, a follower of Valentinus, as we learn from Origen. Comm. in Johan. T. xiv. p. 211. E. Indeed Heracleon is placed by Grabe at the year 123. Spicileg. T. i. p. 62. But his age is not certain. Vid. Massuet. Disserta. prævi. in Irenæ. p. 52. sect. 93. He might live much longer. His master Valentinus continued to the time of Anicetus, as we are assured by so good authority as that of St. Irenæus, l. iii. c. 4. sect. 3. It is needless to guess at the writer of the Preaching of Peter; but possibly he is the author of the Sibylline Verses. He might well be fond of so curious a work, and recommend it in his following performances: it is very likely they were not his only forgery. See Jones, New and Full Method, v. i. p. 453—456.

[b] Sect. 41. 48, 49.

[c] Vid. Spicileg. Patr. T. i. p. 79.

[d] Φασι γουν τον μακαριον Πετρον, κ. λ. Str. l. vii. p. 736. B.

[e] Ματθιας εν ταις παραδοσεσι παραινων. Str. l. ii. p. 380. A.

[f] Λεγεσι γαν [Carpocratiani] και τον Ματθιαν ουτως διδαξαι. Str. l. iii. p. 436. D. Vid. & Str. vii. p. 765. B.

[g] Spicileg. Patr. T. ii. p. 117, 118.

[h] New and Full Method of settling the canonical Authority of the N. T. vol. i. p. 316. & seq.

[i] Fertur ergo in traditionibus, quoniam Joannes ipsum corpus quod erat extrinsecus tangens, manum suam in profunda misisse, et ei duritiam carnis nullo modo reluctatam esse, sed locum

taken from some traditions: which passage supposeth the genuineness of that epistle of St. John. Beausobre is of opinion, that[a] this passage was in a work of Leucius, called Travels of the Apostles.[b]

6. Clement has also a saying, which he is supposed to ascribe to our Lord: 'Ask,'[c] says he, 'great things, and the small shall be added to you.' These words are not exactly in any of our gospels, and it has been suspected that he took them out of some other gospel; but it has been sufficiently shewn that Clement owned only our four gospels. This passage may be allowed then to be a loose quotation of the sense of Matth. vi. 33. without confining himself exactly to the words of the text. Mr. Jones[d] was much of this opinion, when he says: 'Clement rather chose to expound the words [of Matth. vi. 33.], than literally to cite them. And 'this is most undeniably proved by another place, which I find in the same Clement, where he 'both produces the text, and these words as an exposition. Seek ye first the[e] kingdom of 'heaven and its righteousness, "for these are the great things; but the small things," and things relating to this life, these shall be added to you.' Perhaps this exposition was added to the 33d verse of the sixth chapter of Matthew, in some copies of that gospel. The curious may do well to consult Mill upon the place.

This is the only 'saying of Christ,' not in our gospels, taken out of Clement, in Grabe's collection[f] of these things. As for any quotations of words of Christ from the gospel according to the Hebrews, or the gospel according to the Egyptians, we have sufficiently considered them already, in what has been said of those gospels.

I think, upon the whole, it appears that there is no good reason to suppose that St. Clement received as 'scripture,' in the highest sense of the word, any Christian writings beside the books of the New Testament, now commonly received by us.

XIV. I have as yet taken no particular notice of St. Clement's opinion of the Sibylline books: for, if they are genuine, they are not a Christian, but a Jewish or a Heathen writing, published long before the nativity of our Saviour. However, I think myself obliged to acknowledge, before I conclude this chapter, that St. Clement, St. Theophilus, and some other Greek fathers of the second century, had a much greater respect for the Sibyls than they deserved: for I am well satisfied that the Sibylline Verses quoted by them are the forgery of some Christian. The ancient Sibylline Verses did not recommend the worship of the one God alone, condemning all manner of idolatry, as these do which are cited by[g] Justin, [h] Theophilus, and [i] Clement; not to mention at present any other things. Nevertheless it must be owned, that Clement calls the Sybil a prophetess, and seems to quote her verses as scripture,[k] in the strictest sense of the word,[l] together with the scriptures of the Old Testament: so that if there be any books improperly advanced by him into the rank of sacred scripture, we may say that the Sibylline are the books. But yet, after all, I think it not likely that he did esteem them of equal authority with the books of the Jewish canon.

I shall observe but one thing more: That Clement himself affords us evidence, that those verses, which he quotes to the Greeks, were rejected by them in his time. For having proposed to them the 'Sybil[m] prophetess, as a mistress' to teach them, and quoted some verses

manui præbuisse discipuli. Propter quod et infert: Et manus nostræ contrectaverunt de verbo vitæ, &c. Adumbr. in 1 Joh. i. 1. p. 1009. [a] Comme on opposoit aux Docetes la prédication et les écrits des apôtres, il y en eut d'assez hardis pour composer de faux Actes de ces saints hommes, où ils les faisoient parler conformément à leurs erreurs. C'est ce que fit en particulier Leuce Carin, dans un livre, qu'il intitula Les Voyages des Apôtres. Clement d'Alexandrie l'a cité sous le nom de Traditions, dans un petit Commentaire sur la 1 Ep. de S. Jean.—Nous verrons tout à l'heure, que cette fable se trouvoit dans Les Voyages de S. Jean par Leuce. Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 383. [b] See ch. 63. sect. vi. numb. ix. [c] Αἰτεισθε γαρ, φησι, τα μεγαλα, και τα μικρα ὑμιν προστεθησεται. Str. l. i. p. 346. B.

[d] As before, p. 553. [e] Ζητειτε δε πρωτον την βασιλειαν των ουρανων, και την δικαιοσυνην· ταυτα γαρ μεγαλα· τα δε μικρα, και περι τον βιον, ταυτα προστιθησεται ὑμιν. Str. l. iv. p. 488. A. [f] Spicileg. Patr. T. i. p. 14.

[g] Cohort. ad Gr. p. 16, 17. [h] Ad Autol. l. ii. p. 112, 113. [i] Admon. ad Gent. p. 32. D. 41. β. & alibi.

[k] Ὡρα τοινυν, . . . επι τας προφητικας ειναι γραφας· . . . γραφαι δε αἱ θειαι, και πολιτειαι σωφρονες, συνηθεις σωτηριας ὁδοι· . . . αυτικα γουν ἡ προφητις ἡμιν ασαλως πρωτη Σιβυλλα το ασμα το σωτηριον . . . ενθεως σφοδρα την μεν απαλην απεικαζουσα τῳ σκολιει. . . . Ιερεμιας δε ὁ προφητης, ὁ πανσοφος, μαλλον δε εν Ιερεμια το ἁγιον πνευμα. κ. λ. Adm. ad G. p. 50. C. D. 51. A. [l] If the Sibylline Verses are the prophetical books recommended in the Preaching of Peter, as appears probable from what has been said at note [a], they seem to be represented also as ancient and divine scripture by the author of that work. I shall transcribe his words, to be considered by those who are so disposed. So Peter goes on in the place there cited: Καθως εγεγραπτο ταυτα πανται, ἁ εδει αυτον παθειν, και μετ' αυτον ἁ εσται. Ταυτα εν επιγνωτες, επιστευσαμεν τῳ Θεῳ δια των γεγραμμενων εις αυτον· Και μετ' ολιγα επιφερει παλιν, θεια προνοια τας προφητειας γεγενησθαι παριστας ὡδε· Εγνωμεν γαρ ὁτι ὁ Θεος αυτα προσεταξεν ουτως, και ειδεν αὐτῳ γραφης λεγομεν. Str. l. vi. p. 678. B. [m] Διδασκαλον δε ὑμιν παραθησομαι την προφητιν Σιβυλλαν. Adm. ad G. p. 32. D.

from her, he adds: 'But [a] if you do not choose to hearken to a prophetess, hear your philoso-'pher, the Ephesian Heraclitus.' Why should they not hearken to a prophetess as ready as to a philosopher? Clement gives us the reason: the philosopher was theirs, the prophetess not. The heathen people therefore knew nothing of these verses till they were found out, or rather forged, by some Christian, and then incautiously and imprudently recommended by others.

CHAP. XXIII.

POLYCRATES. HIS HISTORY.

POLYCRATES [b] was bishop of the church of Ephesus, the latter part of the second century. He was the eighth Christian bishop of his family. About the year 196, he called a numerous synod of the bishops of Asia, upon occasion of the controversy about the time of celebrating Easter, which was then kept by the churches of Asia Minor on the fourteenth day of the moon, on whatever day of the week it happened; but by the Romans, and most other churches, on the Lord's day following. Victor, bishop of Rome, required the bishops of Asia to follow the custom of other churches. Polycrates, having consulted the bishops of Asia, wrote a letter with their approbation to Victor, and the church of Rome, declaring their resolution to keep Easter at the time they had hitherto observed it: whereupon Victor excommunicated [c] all the churches of Asia, and those in their neighbourhood. Of this epistle there are two fragments in Eusebius. This is in short the history of Polycrates. It will be confirmed by that part of his letter which I am now about to transcribe, so far as is suitable to our purpose.

Only I would first of all observe, that Jerom [d] confirms the account given by Eusebius; and farther speaks of Polycrates as a person of considerable capacity and authority; and says, he flourished in the time of the emperor Severus, who began his reign in 193.

'We therefore,' says [e] Polycrates, 'observe the true and genuine day, neither adding nor 'detracting any thing. For in Asia there are great lights buried, which shall be raised up in 'the day of the Lord's advent, in which he shall come with glory from heaven, and shall raise 'up all his saints; as Philip, one of the twelve apostles; and moreover John, [f] who leaned 'upon the Lord's breast. And what need I mention Melito, the eunuch, who conducted him-'self in all things by the Spirit; who rests in Sardis, expecting the visitation from heaven, at 'which he shall rise from the dead? All [g] these have kept the day of Easter on the fourteenth 'day according to the gospel; not transgressing in the least, but following the rule [or canon] 'of faith. And so have I Polycrates, who am the least of all, according to the tradition of my 'relations, some of whom also I have followed; for seven of my relations have been bishops, 'and I am the eighth: and my relation always kept the day, when the people [of the Jews] 'cast away their leaven. I therefore, brethren, who [h] am sixty-five years of age in the Lord, 'and who have conversed with the brethren in many parts of the world, and have read over 'all the holy scripture, am not moved at what I am threatened with. For they who are greater 'than me have said: "We ought to obey God rather than men." Acts, v. 29.

We are at present to observe only what has a relation to any particular books of the New Testament, or to the collection of them in general.

When Polycrates calls Melito an eunuch, possibly he refers to Matth. xix. 12, where our Lord says: "There be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake."

[a] Συ δε, αλλ' ει μη προφητιδος επακουεις, τω γε σω ακουσον φιλοσοφω τω Εφεσιω Ηρακλειτω. ib. p. 33. B. [b] Vid. Eus. H. E. l. iii. c. 31. l. v. c. 24. [c] Eus. l. v. c. 24. p. 192. B. C. & Socrat. H. E. l. v. c. 22. p. 284. B.

[d] Hæc propterea posui, ut ingenium & auctoritatem viri ex parvo opusculo demonstrarem. Floruit temporibus Severi principis. De Vir. Ill. cap. 45. [e] Ap Eus. p. 191.

[f] Επι δε και Ιωαννης ὁ επι το στηθος Κυριω αναπεσων.

[g] Ουτοι παντες ετηρησαν την ημεραν της τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατης τω πασχα κατα το ευαγγελιον· μηδεν παρεκβαινοντες, αλλα κατα τον κανονα της πιστεως ακολουθουντες. p. 191. D.

[h] Εγω ουν, αδελφοι, εξηκοντα πεντε ετη εχων εν Κυριω, και συμβεβληκως τοις απο της οικουμενης αδελφοις, και πασαν αγιαν γραφην διεληλυθως, ου πτοουμαι επι τοις καταπλησσομενοις. Οι γαρ εμου μειζονες ειρηκασι, πειθαρχειν δει Θεω μαλλον η ανθρωποις. p. 192. A.

When he observes of John, that he 'leaned on the Lord's breast;' he very probably refers to those places of St. John's gospel where this particular is mentioned: as ch. xiii. 25; xxi. 20.

Where he says, that greater than he had said: "We ought to obey God rather than men," there is an undoubted reference to Acts, v. 29.

He moreover speaks of many who had observed this feast on the fourteenth day 'according 'to the gospel;' probably meaning thereby the collection of gospels, which he likewise calls 'the rule of faith.'

Lastly, he says, he had 'read over the holy scripture;' meaning, it is likely, the scriptures of the Old and the New Testament, and perhaps those of the New in particular.

This testimony needs not be summed up: it lies in a short compass.

CHAP. XXIV.

Heraclitus, and several other writers near the end of the second century.

HERACLITUS, says [a] Cave, flourished about the year 196. He is mentioned by Eusebius in his [b] Ecclesiastical History, together with several other writers of the church, who lived in the reign of Commodus and Severus, or about that time.

'Moreover,' says he, 'there still remain, in the hands of many, divers monuments of the 'laudable industry of those ancient and ecclesiastical men. Of such of them as have come to 'our knowledge [c] are the writings [or commentaries] of Heraclitus upon the apostle: and of 'Maximus, concerning the question so much discoursed of among the heretics, Whence pro-'ceeds evil? and concerning the creation of matter: and of Candidus upon the six days work, 'and of Appion upon the same argument. Likewise the treatise of Sextus on the resurrection, 'and a book of Arabianus, and innumerable other:' whose time, Eusebius says, he did not know. He goes on: 'There are besides treatises of many others, whose names we have not 'been able to learn; [d] orthodox and ecclesiastical men, as the interpretations of the divine 'scripture given by each one of them manifest.'

St. Jerom has inserted a short account, in his book of Illustrious Men, of all these writers, whom Eusebius has mentioned by name: of [e] Heraclitus, [f] Maximus, [g] Candidus, [h] Appion, [i] Sextus, and [k] Arabianus. And Eusebius in another work [l] has preserved a large fragment of Maximus, of whom he there gives a great encomium.

Of Heraclitus St. Jerom [m] says, agreeably to Eusebius: 'In the time of Commodus and 'Severus he wrote commentaries upon the apostle:' by which is generally understood, that Heraclitus wrote commentaries upon the epistles of St. Paul. It is pity, Eusebius, or Jerom, if they had read Heraclitus, did not give us a more particular account of his performance, and how many of the apostle's epistles he had explained.

I have nothing farther to add here, but that it may be probably concluded that all, or most, of those writers, who, as Eusebius says, had manifested their orthodoxy by their 'interpre-'tations of the divine scriptures,' had taken some notice of the books of the New, as well as of the Old Testament.

[a] Hist. Lit. p 60. [b] L. v. c. 27. [c] Ὧν γε μην αὐτοι διεγνωμεν, ειη τα Ἡρακλειτε εις τον αποστολον. ib.
[d] Ορθοδοξων μεν και εκκλησιαστικων, ὡς γε δη ἡ ἑκαστε παραδειχνυσι της θειας γραφης ἑρμηνεια. ibid. [e] Cap. 46. [f] Cap. 47. [g] Cap. 48. [h] Cap. 49. [i] Cap. 50. [k] Cap. 51. [l] Præp. Evan. I. vii. p. 337. A. &c. [m] Heraclitus sub Commodi Severique imperio in apostolum commentarios composuit. De Vir. Ill. c. 46.

CHAP. XXV.

HERMIAS.

HERMIAS has left us a short, but elegant discourse, called [a] A Derision, or banter, of the Gentile Philosophers. In the inscription of this work he has the title of Philosopher; but who he was, and when he lived, is unknown. Some have thought him to be a writer [b] of the fourth or fifth century: Cave supposes that he wrote in the second century; whose arguments appear to me sufficient to render his opinion probable. The work itself seems to shew, as that learned author [c] observes, that Gentilism still prevailed: and Du Pin [d] agrees with him, that it was written before the fall of Paganism. Tillemont [e] likewise thinks the argument of his book gives ground to suppose, it was written in the first ages of the church. I have therefore placed him here in the last year of the second century.

I have not observed, in this discourse, any reference to the books of the New Testament, except a quotation at the very beginning of it, to this purpose: 'The [f] blessed apostle Paul, [f] writing to the Corinthians in Laconic Greece, did not speak beside the purpose, when he said: "The wisdom of this world is foolishness with God." 1 Cor. iii. 19.

CHAP. XXVI.

SERAPION.

WE have already seen the testimony of two bishops of the church of Antioch, Ignatius and Theophilus; under which last we observed the succession of the bishops of that church from the time of the apostles. Theophilus was succeeded [g] by Maximin, about the year 181; and he by Serapion, the eighth in that succession, who was bishop from about [h] the year 190 to 211, or somewhat later. I may therefore well place him here, at the year 200.

Eusebius [i] says, Serapion wrote many pieces: but he had not seen any of them, beside a letter to Caricus and Ponticus, concerning the Montanists; another to Domninus, who in the time of the persecution [probably that of Severus] forsook the faith of Christ, and turned Jew; and some other epistles. 'There is also,' says Eusebius, 'another book of his concern-'ing the Gospel intitled according to Peter, wherein he confutes the falsities of that Gospel; 'which book he composed for the sake of some in the parish of Rhossus [in Cilicia,] who by 'means of that writing were led into heterodox opinions. It cannot be improper to transcribe 'some short passages, in which he declares his sentiment of that book.' "We,[k] brethren, 'receive Peter, and the other apostles, as Christ: but, as skilful men, we reject those writings 'which are falsely ascribed to them; well knowing, that we have received no such. When I 'was with you, I supposed you had all held the right faith: and, not having read the Gospel

[a] Ἑρμιε φιλοσοφε διασυρμος των εξω φιλοσοφων.

[b] Vid. Cave Hist. Lit. P. i. p. 50. P. ii. p. 35, 36. Fabric. Bib. Gr. Tom. v. p. 96.

[c] Ex toto opusculi contextu constare videtur, vigente adhuc gentilismo scriptum fuisse. Hist. Lit. P. ii. p. 30.

[d] Il n'y a pas de doute, qu'il est ancien, & qu'il vivoit avant que la religion payenne fût détruite. Bibl. Ecc. Tom. i.

[e] Tout ce que nous en pouvons dire, c'est que son sujet donne lieu de croire, qu'il écrivit dans les premiers siècles de l'Eglise, où l'on s'occupoit à détruire le paganisme. Memoires Ecc. T. iii. p. i. en Hermogene.

[f] Παυλος ὁ μακαριος αποστολος, τοις την Ἑλλαδα την Λακωνικην παροικεσι Κορινθιοις γραφων, ω αγαπηλοι, απεφηναλο λεγων· η σοφια τε κοσμε τελε μωρια παρα τω Θεω, εκ ασκοπως ειπων. p. 175. B. Paris.

[g] Vid. Eus. H. E. l. iv. c. 24. l. v. c. 19.

[h] Vid. Cave Hist. Lit. p. 52. Du Pin. Bibl. Tillemont. Mem. Ec. T. ii. Les Montanistes, art. iv. & T. iii. Serapion.

[i] H. E. l. vi. c. 12.

[k] Ἡμεις γαρ, αδελφοι, και Πετρον και τες αλλες αποστολες αποδεχομεθα, ὡς Χριστον· τα δε ονομαλι αυλων ψευδεπιγραφα, ὡς εμπειροι παραιτεμεθα· γινωσκονλες, ὁλι τα τοιαυλα ου παρελαβομεν. Εγω γαρ, γενομενος παρ' ὑμιν, ὑπενοεν τες πανλας ορθη πιστει προσφερεσθαι. Και μη διελθων το ὑπ' αυλων προφερομενον ονομαλι Πετρε ευαγγελιον, ειπον· ὁτι ει τετο εστι μονον το δοκειν παρεχειν μικροψυχιαν, αναγινωσκεσθω. κ. λ. ibid.

'offered to me under the name of Peter, I said, if that be the only thing that causeth a differ-
'ence among you, let it be read. But now having understood, by what has been told me, that
'their minds are secretly filled with some heresy, I will do my endeavour to come to you
'again: therefore, brethren, you may expect me shortly. And we, brethren, have found what
'was the heresy of Marcianus, and that he contradicted himself, not understanding what he
'said: as you may perceive from what is here written to you. For we have obtained the sight
'of that Gospel from others that make use of it; that is, from the successors of those who
'were the authors of that opinion, whom we call[a] Docetæ, (for the chief sentiments of it be-
'long to that sect.) Having[b] therefore obtained it of them to read it over, we have found that
'the main part of the book is agreeable to the right doctrine of our Saviour. Nevertheless
'there are some other things added, which we have noted down, and sent to you."

Jerom, in his book of Illustrious Men,[c] says: 'Serapion was ordained bishop of Antioch in
'the eleventh year of Commodus,' or the year of our Lord 191. His catalogue of Serapion's works is agreeable to that in Eusebius. He says, particularly, 'That[d] he wrote a book con-
'cerning the 'Gospel,' that goes under the name of Peter, which he sent to the church of
'Rhossus in Cilicia, which had been led into heresy by reading of it.'

The fragment of this book deserves some remarks.

1. We see the great respect paid by Christians to the writings of the apostles. Serapion assures us, the church received the apostles as Christ; that is, their writings, as the very words and doctrine spoken and preached by Christ himself.

2. We see his method of judging of the genuineness and authority of any books of scripture: those which had been delivered with an authentic tradition, as the apostles, he received: others he rejected.

3. The book called the Gospel of Peter was no part of canonical scripture, nor any writing of Peter: it had not been delivered as such.

4. We learn the obscurity of this book, called the Gospel of Peter. Here is a bishop of the large and celebrated church of Antioch, about the end of the second century, who had never read it, or seen it: and who, as far as we are able to judge, was not unworthy of his high office. He seems to have been a learned man, and a vigilant pastor. He wrote divers treatises and epistles. This book, concerning the Gospel of Peter, which he composed for the benefit of the Christians at Rhossus, is a good proof of his ability and diligence. Nothing could be more to the purpose, to demonstrate the obscurity and insignificance of the book called the Gospel of Peter, than this letter or treatise of Serapion. It is plain, it was in no repute with the catholic Christians: nor could Serapion find a copy of it among them. In order to procure a sight of it, he was obliged to send to some of those called Docetæ, and borrow it of them.

5. It may at first appear somewhat strange, that he should consent to the use of this writing: but really there is nothing at all strange or improper in it. Serapion supposed the people of Rhossus had all held the right faith: and not having read the book complained of by some, he took it for granted, it was a pious orthodox book, which Christians might read with edification. Being also a lover of peace, and unwilling to deliver unnecessary precepts, he consented to their use of it. However he prudently took an opportunity to procure and examine this writing: and having perceived there were in it some false and absurd notions, mixed with those which are true and right, he was at the pains of collecting the several errors of it in a distinct treatise, which he immediately sent away to Rhossus: and promises them a second visit upon this occasion, if needful. Thus acted this Christian bishop of Antioch.

Grabe,[e] and Beausobre,[f] suppose this Gospel of Peter to have been a composition of Leucius,' the famous forger of apocryphal pieces.

[a] They denied that Jesus Christ had a true human body.

[b] Χρησαμενοι παρ' αυτων διελθειν· και ευρειν μεν τα πλειονα τε ορθε λογε τε Σωτηρος· τινα δε προσδιεσταλμενα, ά και ὑπεταξαμεν υμιν. ibid.

[c] C. 41.

[d] Et alium de evangelio, quod sub nomine Petri fertur, librum ad Rhossenses Ciliciæ ecclesiam, quæ in hæresim ejus lectione diverterat. ibid.

[e] Evangelium Petri fuisse reor figmentum Leucii hæretici, seculo ii. plura ejusmodi cudentis, eaque nominibus apostolorum supponentis. Grabe Spic, T. i. 58.

[f] Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 349, 350. 358. 375. & 458.

CHAP. XXVII.

TERTULLIAN.

I. *His history, works, time, and character.* II. *His testimony to the scriptures of the N. T. particularly the four gospels.* III. *The integrity of St. Luke's gospel.* IV. *Upon what grounds he receives the gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke.* V. *More passages concerning the four gospels.* VI. *Of the Acts of the apostles.* VII. *St. Paul's epistles.* VIII. *The meaning of authentic letters.* IX. *Of the epistle to the Hebrews.* X. *He received thirteen epistles of St. Paul.* XI. *Of the Catholic epistles.* XII. *The Revelation.* XIII. *A summary of the books received by him.* XIV. *The integrity of the Scriptures.* XV. *Their authority.* XVI. *General titles and divisions.* XVII. *The order of the books of the N. T.* XVIII. *Of chapters.* XIX. *A Latin translation in his time.* XX. *The Scriptures of the N. T. open to all men.* XXI. *Whether he cites apocryphal books.* XXII. *A book forged in the name of St. Paul.* XXIII. *The conclusion.*

I. 'QUINTUS Septimius Florens Tertullianus,' or Tertullian, generally reckoned the most ancient Latin father now remaining, was born at Carthage, the capital city of Africa, not long after the middle of the second century. His father[a] was a proconsular centurion, that is, a military officer under the proconsul of Africa, which is not reckoned to have been a post of any great consideration. Tertullian was well acquainted with the Roman laws; but it does not appear that he went to the bar, or any other way practised the law as a profession. He had besides read the Greek and Roman poets, historians, orators, philosophers, and other heathen writers of all sorts, as his works shew abundantly. His skill in Greek was so considerable, *that he[b] wrote several books in that language.* From divers[c] expressions of Tertullian in his works, it is concluded by learned men that he was once a heathen: whether they afford full proof of this, may be disputed. They may be however allowed, together with his father's profession of a soldier, to be sufficient to render it probable. We have no particular account of the time, or circumstances, of his conversion. He was a man of a lively fancy, as well as extensive knowledge, but of a severe temper. The character of his style given by[d] Lactantius may be allowed by all: that it is 'rugged and unpolished, and very obscure:' and yet, as[e] Cave observes, 'it is lofty and masculine, and carries a kind of majestic eloquence along with it, that 'gives a pleasant relish to the judicious and inquisitive reader.' He wrote a multitude of books, some of which are lost: but there still remains a good number, some composed before, others after he embraced the errors of Montanism. His apology is a master-piece; and his other performances are written with wit and force, and are edifying and instructive. Though he had a great deal of vehemence and positiveness in his constitution, there appear[f] in his writings frequent tokens of true unaffected humility and modesty; virtues in which the primitive Christians were generally so very eminent.

The ecclesiastical writers mentioned by him (not to insist on any reputed heretical authors)

[a] Vid. Tertull. Apol. c. 9. p. 10. A. & Hieron in Chron. & de Vir. Ill. cap. 53. [b] Sed & huic materiæ propter suaviludios nostros Græco quoque stilo satisfecimus. De Corona, c. 6. ad fin. p. 123. D. Sed de isto plenius jam nobis, in Græco digestum est. De Baptismo, cap. 15. p. 262. D. At ego, si quid utriusque linguæ præscripsi. Adv. Praxeam, cap. 3. p. 636. A. Paris. 1634. [c] Hæc & nos risimus aliquando; de vestris fuimus. Apol. cap. 18. Pœnitentiam, hoc genus hominum, quod & ipsi retro fuimus, cæci sine Domini luce, naturâ tenus nôrunt, &c. De Pœnit. c. i. Vid. & de Spectaculis, c. 19. p. 99. A. De Resurrectione, cap. 49. p. 427. A. [d] Septimius quoque Tertullianus fuit omni genere literarum peritus, sed in eloquendo parum facilis, & minus comptus, & multum obscurus fuit. Divin. Instit. l. v. c. 1. [e] Lives of the Primitive Fathers, p. 211.

[f] Literæ ad hoc seculares necessariæ: de suis enim instrumentis secularia probari necesse est. *Quantulas attigi*, credo sufficient. De Corona, cap. vii. Nec tantus ego sum, ut vos alloquar; & quæ sequuntur. Ad Martyres, cap. 1. Confiteor ad Dominum Deum, satis temere me, si non etiam impudenter, de patientiâ componere ausum, cui præstandæ idoneus non sim, ut homo nullius boni. De Patientia, cap. 1. It seems that Tertullian had convinced Praxeas that he had been in an error, and brought him to a recantation! yet he expresseth himself in this modest manner: Fruticaverant avenæ Praxeanæ, hic [Carthagine] quoque superseminatæ, ... traductæ dehinc *per quem Deus voluit*, etiam avulsæ videbantur. Contr. Prax. cap. 1. p. 634. D. Vid. Tillemont, Mem. Ecc. Tertullien, artic. iii. Pagi Critic. in Baron. 171. sect. 3. Tho. Ittig. de Hæresiarchis, sect. ii. cap. 16. p. 257.

are[a] Hermas,[b] Justin Martyr, Miltiades, Proculus, once a catholic, afterwards a montanist: of all whom (excepting Hermas) he speaks together, with great respect. And in[c] another place he makes a general mention of divers Christian authors who had written learned defences of their religion against the Gentiles.

Having given this general account of Tertullian, I shall next put down some of the testimonies of the ancients, and then proceed to the observations of the moderns.

Lactantius, in the place just cited, where he censures Tertullian's style, says, he was 'well 'skilled in all parts of learning;' and, in another place, that '[d] he had fully defended the Chris-'tian cause in his Apology.' Eusebius says, in his Ecclesiastical History, where he several times quotes Tertullian's Apology, that '[e] he was extremely well acquainted with the Roman 'laws: eminent likewise on other accounts, and especially celebrated at Rome;' or, as Valesius renders it, 'and most renowned among the Latin writers.'

I believe we may do well to take here entire St. Jerom's history of this father, in his book of Illustrious Men. 'Tertullian, a[f] presbyter, is now reckoned, after Victor and Apollonius, 'the first of the Latins. He was born in the province of Africa, in the city of Carthage. His 'father was a proconsular centurion. He was a man of an[g] eager and vehement temper: 'flourished chiefly in the time of the emperors Severus and Antoninus Caracalla: and wrote a 'great number of books, which, because they are generally known, I omit. I have seen one 'Paul of Concordia, which is a small town in Italy, then an old man, who said, that when he 'was very young, he had seen the secretary of the blessed Cyprian, then of a great age: and[h] 'that he was wont to tell him, that not a day passed but Cyprian read something in Tertullian: 'and that he would often say to him, "Bring me my master," intending[i] Tertullian. When 'he had continued a presbyter of the church till about the middle part of his age, on account 'of the envy and reproaches of the clergy of the Roman church, he went over to the sect of 'Montanus: and in many of his books makes mention of that new prophecy. Several books 'especially were composed by him against the church, as these: Of Chastity, Of Persecution, 'Of Fasts, Of Monogamy [or, against second marriages,] Of Extasy, in six books: to which he 'added a seventh, written against Apollonius. He is said to have lived to an extreme [or 'decrepit] old age: and to have written many books beside those which are now extant.'

In his Chronicle, at the 15th of Severus, and 208th year of our Lord, Jerom says: 'Ter-'tullian,[k] an African, son of a proconsular centurion, is famous in all the churches.'

Jerom has in other places extolled Tertullian's wit and learning, and says: 'His Apology,[l] and his other books against the Gentiles, take in all the treasures of human learning.'

The encomium of Tertullian, given by Vincentius Lirinensis, a writer of the fifth century, is beautiful, but too long to be transcribed, and had better be read in himself. The sum of it is in the very beginning: That, 'as[m] Origen had the first place among the Greeks, so Tertul-'lian ought to be esteemed without dispute the prince of all the Latin writers of the church.'

So far of testimonies from the ancients. I shall now represent the sentiments of some learned moderns.

Cave[n] places Tertullian at the year 192. He supposes he might be born a little before the middle of the second century, and that he embraced christianity about the year 185, and was

[a] De Oratione, cap. 12. p. 154. A. De Pudicitia, cap. 10. p. 727. A. B. & cap. 20. p. 741. C. [b] Ut Justinus philosophus & martyr, ut Miltiades ecclesiarum sophista, ut Irenæus omnium doctrinarum curiosissimus explorator, ut Proculus noster, virginis senectæ, & Christianæ eloquentiæ dignitas: quos in omni opere fidei, quemadmodum in isto, optaverim assequi. Adv. Valent. cap. 5. p. 291. B. [c] Nonnulli quidem, quibus de pristinâ literatura & curiositatis labor & memoriæ tenor perseveravit, ad gentes opuscula penes nos condiderunt. De Testimon. Animæ, cap. 1. p. 80. B.

[d] Quamquam Tertullianus eandem causam plene peroraverit in eo libro, cui Apologetico nomen est. Divin. Instit. lib. v. cap. 4. [e] Ταυτα Τερτουλλιανος της Ρωμαιων νομης ηριζωκως· ανηρ τα τε αλλα ενδοξος, και των μαλιστα επι Ρωμης λαμπρων. H. E. l. ii. c. 2. p. 41. B.

[f] Tertullianus presbyter nunc demum primus post Victorem & Apollonium Latinorum ponitur. [g] Hic acris & vehementis ingenii. [h] Referreque sibi solitum, nunquam Cyprianum absque Tertulliani lectione unum diem præteriisse, ac sibi crebro dicere, 'Da magistrum;' Tertullianum videlicet significans. [i] It is observed learned men, that Tertullian is not once quoted by Cyprian, in his works now extant. Nevertheless in another place Jerom says positively, that Cyprian's works shew he esteemed Tertullian his master. Et beatus Cyprianus Tertulliano magistro utitur, ut ejus scripta probant. Hieron. ep. 69. And it is allowed that he imitates Tertullian in some of his remaining works.

[k] Tertullianus, Afer, centurionis proconsularis filius, omnium ecclesiarum sermone celebratur. p. 172. Amsterd 1658.

[l] Quid Tertulliano eruditius? quid acutius? Apologeticus ejus et Contra Gentes libri cunctam sæculi obtinent disciplinam. Ad Magnum Oratorem, ep. 84. [m] Sed & Tertulliani quoque eadem ratio est; nam sicut ille apud Græcos, ita et hic apud Latinos, nostrorum omnium facile princeps judicandus est. Commonitorium adv. Hæres. cap. 24. init.

[n] Hist. Lit.

made a presbyter of the church of Carthage about 192. What Jerom says of Tertullian's leaving the catholic church about the middle of his age, is understood by that learned writer not of his natural, but Christian life: he therefore concludes, he became a Montanist about the year 199, and died, as may be conjectured, about 220.

Du Pin[a] says, Tertullian flourished chiefly in the time of Severus and Antoninus Caracalla; that is, from about the year 194 to 216.

Tillemont[b] computes him to have been born in 160, under Antoninus Pius, or his successor; to have left the church, and become an open Montanist, about 205; and to have died under Philip, about the year 245, when he was between 80 and 90 years of age.

Many learned[c] men have employed their labour in settling the time of the several works of this author. They generally divide them into two periods, those written before, and those after his fall into Montanism. I shall only observe some of their opinions concerning the date of the Apology, the most celebrated of all his pieces. Cave reckons but three of his books, written whilst he was a catholic; Of Baptism, Of Penitence, and of Prayer; and thinks the Apology to have been written about the year 202. Du Pin places his Apology in 200, before he became Montanist, which, according to him, happened in 202 or 203. Tillemont likewise places it at the year 200; Basnage[d] in 203; Pagi[e] in 205, but I think his argument not sufficient to prove it so late; and Mr. Mosheim, after a very laborious examination of this point, concludes that[f] it was composed in the year 198. The Apology, as is now generally allowed by learned men, was not addressed to the senate of Rome, but to[g] the governors of provinces, or perhaps to the proconsul of Africa, and the chief magistrates residing at Carthage, where it was written.

I am desirous to speak of Tertullian about the time of his writing his Apology. He is often reckoned a writer of the second century; but a large part of his remaining works were written in the third century. I place him therefore at the year 200, which I take to be soon enough.

Tertullian's conversion to Montanism is a remarkable event in his life; but we know little of the causes of that change in him, beside what Jerom says, who ascribes it to the envy and reproaches of the Roman clergy. Divers other particular reasons have been assigned by some moderns; as, a disappointment of the bishoprick of Rome, or Carthage: but Tertullian is now generally acquitted by learned men of that charge. Some indeed do still conjecture, that the specious pretences of the Montanists to greater mortification in fasts and continence had an effect upon Tertullian, who was of a severe temper; which is not improbable.

However, the principles of Montanism made so little alteration in this author, that there are several of his pieces, concerning which it is not easy to determine, whether they were written by Tertullian a Montanist, or Tertullian still a Catholic. To use the words of[h] Daille: 'As for Tertullian, I must confess his very turning Montanist has taken off indeed very much 'of the repute which he before had in the church, both for the fervency of his piety, and also 'for his incomparable learning. But yet, beside that a great part of his works were written 'while he was yet a catholic, we are also to take notice, that this his Montanism put no separ-'ation at all betwixt him and other Christians, save only in point of discipline; which he, 'according to the severity of his nature, would have to be most harsh and rigorous. For as 'for his doctrine, it[i] is very evident that he constantly kept to the very same rule, and the 'same faith, that the catholics did: whence proceeded that tart speech of his: That "[k] people 'rejected Montanus, Maximilla, and Priscilla, not because they had any whit departed from 'the rule of faith, but rather because they would have us fast oftener than to marry."

[a] Nouv. Bib. des Aut. Ec. Tertullien. [b] Mem. Ec. Tom. iii. Tertullien, article 13. [c] Joseph. Scal. Animadv. ad Euseb. Chron. p. 229. Cave, Hist. Lit. Allix, Disserta. de Vit. & Scriptis Tertulliani. Du Pin, Bibl. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. Basnage, Annal. P. E. 200. sect. 4, 5, 6, & seq. Pagi, Vid. indicem Criticæ in Baron. V. Tertullianus. [d] Ibid. A. D. 200. sect. 8.

[e] Critic. in Baron. A. D. 199. sect. 6. [f] Vid. ejusd. Diss. de Ætate Apolog. Tertull. n. xxix. xxx.

[g] The Apology begins: Si non licet vobis, Romani imperii antistites, in aperto & edito, in ipso fere vertice civitatis præsidentibus ad judicandum, palam dispicere, &c. Apol. cap. 1. Hoc imperium, cujus ministri estis, civilis, non tyrannica dominatio est. Cap. 2. p. 3. D. Hoc agite, boni præsides. Cap. 30. p. 30. C. Vid. & cap ult. p. 45. B.

[h] Right Use of the Fathers, b. ii. ch. 4. p. 69. London, 1675. [i] Vid. lib. de Monogam. cap. 2. &c. et De Jejuniis, cap. 1. [k] Hi Paracleto controversiam faciunt; propter hoc novæ prophetiæ recusantur; non quod alium Deum prædicent Montanus, & Priscilla, & Maximilla; nec quod Jesum Christum solvant; nec quod aliquam fidei aut spei regulam evertant; sed quod plane doceant sæpius jejunare quam nubere. De Jejuniis, cap. 1. p. 701. C.

Tertullian nevertheless, from this time forward, believed[a] the spirit of God to have spoken in Montanus, and his two prophetesses Priscilla and Maximilla; and to have made by them some farther discoveries, for the greater perfection of Christians, than had been made before. He approved of the longer, more strict and more frequent fasts of the Montanists; condemned second marriages,[b] as unlawful in all; and denied the power of the church to pardon any great sins committed after baptism; that is, to receive again to communion any[c] who had fallen into fornication, adultery, or any such like offences after their baptism. He also often arrogantly calls his own people spiritual, and the catholics, as[d] contemptuously, animal or carnal.

II. We proceed to consider his testimony to the books of the New Testament.

I begin with a passage of Tertullian concerning the four gospels, and their authors, taken out of his books against Marcion, written[e] in the year of Christ 207 or 208.

'In the first[f] place we lay this down for a certain truth, that the evangelic[g] scriptures '[literally, evangelic instrument] have for their authors the apostles, to whom the work of pub-'lishing the gospel was committed by the Lord himself. And if also [it have for authors] 'apostolical men, not them alone, but with the apostles, and after the apostles. [Which was 'very fit.] Forasmuch as the preaching of the disciples might have been suspected as liable 'to the charge of a desire of glory, if not supported by the authority of the masters, yea, of 'Christ, who made the apostles masters. To conclude, among the apostles John and Matthew '[first] teach us the faith: among apostolical men Luke and Mark refresh it, going upon the 'same principles, as concerning the one God the creator, and his Christ born of a virgin, the 'accomplishment of the law and the prophets.' And soon after: 'But[h] Marcion having got 'the epistle of Paul to the Galatians, who blames the apostles themselves, as not walking up-'rightly, according to the truth of the gospel [ch. ii. 14.], and also charges some false apostles 'with perverting the gospel of Christ, sets himself to weaken the credit of those gospels[i] 'which are theirs, and are published under the name of apostles, or likewise of apostolical 'men.' [That is, are published under the name of apostles, or however of apostles and apostolical men.]

These passages shew at once the number of the gospels universally received, the names of the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and their proper characters; two of which were apostles, and companions of Christ himself; and the other two apostolical men, or companions of Christ's apostles.

[a] Sed & si nubendi jam modus ponitur, quem quidem apud nos spiritalis ratio, Paracleto auctore, defendit, unum in fide matrimonium præscribens. Adv. Marcion. l. i. p. 452. B. Hanc & Ezechiel novit, & apostolus Joannes vidit, & qui apud fidem nostram est, novæ prophetiæ sermo testatur, ut etiam effigiem civitatis ante repræsentationem ejus conspectui futuram in signum prædicarit. Adv. M. l. iii. p. 499. B.

[b] Vid. De Monogam. c. 12. & alibi. [c] Vid. De Pudicitia, c. 19. p. 740. D. 741. [d] Mirarer Psychicos, si solâ luxuriâ tenderentur, quâ sæpius nubunt; & non etiam ingluvie lacerarentur, quâ jejunia oderunt. . . . Agnosco igitur animalem fidem studio carnis, quâ tota constat, tam multivorantiæ quam multinubentiæ pronam; ut merito spiritalem disciplinam pro substantia æmulam, in hac quoque specie continentiæ accuset. De Jejuniis, c. 1. p. 701. A. B. Licet nec hoc Psychici curent. De Monog. c. 11. p. 684. A. Evasisti, Psychice, si velis, vincula disciplinæ totius. Ib. c. 12. p. 685. B. [e] Adv. Marcion. l. i. c. 15. p. 440. B.

[f] Constituimus in primis, evangelicum instrumentum apostolos auctores habere, quibus hoc munus evangelii promulgandi ab ipso Domino sit impositum. Si & apostolicos, non tamen solos, sed cum apostolis, & post apostolos. Quoniam prædicatio discipulorum suspecta fieri posset de gloriæ studio, si non adsistat illi auctoritas magistrorum, immo Christi, qui magistros apostolos fecit. Denique nobis fidem ex apostolis Joannes & Matthæus insinuant; ex apostolicis, Lucas et Marcus instaurant, iisdem regulis exorsi, quantum ad unicum Deum attinet creatorem, & Christum ejus, natum ex virgine, supplementum legis & prophetarum. Adv. Marc. l. iv. c. 2. p. 502. D. 503. A. [g] By the evangelical scriptures, in this place, Tertullian means the collection of the gospels. [h] Sed enim Marcion nactus epistolam Pauli ad Galatas, etiam ipsos apostolos sugillantis, ut non recto pede incedentes ad veritatem evangelii, simul & accusantis pseudapostolos quosdam pervertentes evangelium Christi, connititur ad destruendum statum eorum evangeliorum, quæ propria, & sub apostolorum nomine eduntur, vel etiam apostolicorum. Ibid. c. 3. p. 503. C. [i] 'Which are 'theirs,' or 'their own,' 'quæ propria,' I have translated literally; but Tertullian hereby intends likewise 'of the 'highest authority.' And because all the four gospels are not written by apostles, and therefore, strictly speaking, are not all theirs; nor, according to Tertullian, in themselves of the first and highest authority; after saying, they were 'theirs,' and published under the name of apostles,' he corrects himself, or represents the case more distinctly; adding, 'or 'likewise of apostolical men;' that is, of apostles, or however of apostles and apostolical men. That this is what Tertullian means, is evident from a passage, where he joins together the words 'properly' and 'principally,' and ascribes the highest and primary authority to apostles only: Disciplina igitur apostolorum proprie quidem instruit ac determinat principaliter sanctitatis omnis erga templum Dei antistitem, & ubique de ecclesiâ eradicantem omne sacrilegium pudicitiæ, sine ullâ restitutionis mentione. Volo tamen ex redundantiâ alicujus etiam comitis apostolorum testimonium superducere idoneum confirmandi de proximo jure disciplinam magistrorum. Exstat enim & Barnabæ titulus ad Hebræos. De Pudicitia, c. 20. p. 741. B. C.

III. In the next passage to be here taken, Tertullian asserts against Marcion the genuineness and integrity of the copies of St. Luke's gospel, owned by himself and Christians in general. For this he appeals to divers apostolical churches. He asserts at the same time the truth of the other three gospels; and that Christians had the fullest persuasion of the genuineness and authority of the gospels which they had received, upon the ground of a very sure and credible testimony of the churches, from the time of writing them to his own age.

'In[a] a word,' says he, 'if it be certain, that is most genuine which is most ancient, that 'most ancient which is from the beginning, and that from the beginning which is from the 'apostles; in like manner it will be also certain, that has been delivered from the apostles 'which is held sacred in the churches of the apostles. Let us then see, what milk the Corin-'thians received from Paul; to what rule the Galatians were reduced; what the Philippians 'read; what the Thessalonians, the Ephesians, and likewise what the Romans recite, who are 'near to us, with whom both Peter and Paul left the gospel sealed with their blood. We have 'also churches which are the disciples of John; for though Marcion rejects his Revelation, 'the succession of bishops traced up to the beginning will shew it to have John for its author. 'We know also the original of other churches [that is, that they are apostolical]. I say then, 'that with them, but not with them only which are apostolical, but with all who have fellow-'ship with them in the same faith, is that gospel of Luke received from its first publication, 'which we so zealously maintain:' that is, the genuine entire gospel of Luke, not that which had been curtailed and altered by Marcion. He adds presently afterwards: 'The same[b] 'authority of the apostolical churches will support the other gospels, which we have from 'them, and according to them [that is, according to their copies]: I mean John's and Mat-'thew's; although that likewise, which Mark published, may be said to be Peter's, whose in-'terpreter Mark was. For Luke's Digest also is often ascribed to Paul. And indeed it is 'easy to take that for the master's, which the disciples have published.'

IV. It has been sometimes said, that Tertullian here supposes the gospels of Mark and Luke to have been reviewed, and then approved and confirmed, by the apostles Peter and Paul; since he is willing to allow them to be the gospels of those apostles, though written by apostolical men. But I think that Tertullian means no more, than that they were the gospels of these apostles, for the matter or substance of them. He had just before mentioned particularly the authority of the gospels written by Matthew and John, who were apostles: he adds, that the other two, though written by apostolical men, were of the like authority; because it is reasonable to suppose that what the disciples published is the same that was taught by their masters, or perfectly agreeable to their doctrine: and therefore what they have published has in it the very authority of those apostles.

He supposes, likewise, that the gospels of Mark and Luke are confirmed and authorized by the gospels of Matthew and John, without intimating in the least that they were reviewed, and expressly approved, by either of these apostles. This is apparent from what he says at the beginning of the first passage here cited: 'If also apostolical men, not them alone, but with 'apostles, and after apostles. Forasmuch as the preaching [or work] of the disciples might 'have been suspected as liable to the charge of a desire of glory, if not supported by the 'authority of the masters, yea of Christ, who made the apostles masters.'

This is still more apparent from what follows in the same book against Marcion, when he says, that if '[c] Marcion had introduced a gospel under the name of Paul himself, that work

[a] In summâ, si constat id verius quod prius, id prius quod et ab initio, id ab initio quod ab apostolis; pariter utique constabit, id esse ab apostolis traditum, quod apud ecclesias apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum. Videamus, quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauserint; ad quam regulam Galatæ sint recorrecti; quid legant Philippenses, Thessalonicenses, Ephesii; quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent; quibus evangelium & Petrus & Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt. Habemus & Joannis alumnas ecclesias. Nam, etsi Apocalypsin ejus Marcion respuit, ordo tamen episcoporum ad originem recensus in Joannem stabit auctorem. Sic & cæterarum generositas recognoscitur. Dico itaque apud illas, nec solas jam apostolicas, sed apud universas, quæ illis de societate sacramenti confœderantur, id evangelium Lucæ ab initio editionis suæ stare, quod cum maxime tuemur. Adv. Marcion. l. iv. c. 5. p. 505. B.

[b] Eadem auctoritas ecclesiarum apostolicarum cæteris quoque patrocinabitur evangeliis, quæ proinde per illas, & secundum illas habemus; Joannis dico & Matthæi; licet & Marcus quod edidit, Petri adfirmetur, cujus interpres Marcus: nam & Lucæ Digestum Paulo adscribere solent. Capit magistrorum videri, quæ discipuli promulgârint. Ib. c. 5. p. 505. C. D.

[c] Ut & si sub ipsius Pauli nomine evangelium Marcion intulisset, non sufficeret ad fidem singularitas instrumenti, destituta patrocinio antecessorum. Exigeretur enim id quoque evangelium quod Paulus invenit, cui fidem dedit, cui mox suum congruere gestiit. Siquidem propterea Hierosolymam ascendit ad cognoscendos apostolos & consultandos, ... Igitur si ipse

'alone would not be of sufficient credit, if unsupported by his predecessors. For it would be 'reasonable to consider what was that gospel which was in being before Paul.' He then insists on Paul's journey to Jerusalem, to confer with those who were apostles before him, and says: 'If even Luke's instructor wished to have the authority of his predecessors for 'his faith and preaching, how much more may I desire it [their authority, the authority 'of the former apostles] for Luke's gospel, which was necessary for the gospel of his 'master?' And more follows there to the like purpose. That is, I may justly expect that Luke's gospel be found agreeable to the gospels written by apostles, or I cannot receive it as of authority.

And he supposes that the preaching and gospels of Apostles derive their authority from Christ himself, who made them masters: not that their gospels were reviewed and approved by Christ, but because it is reasonable to conclude, that what they have written is no other than the doctrine which they received from him, and which he commanded them to publish to the world. So in another place [a] he calls the whole collection of the gospels, 'the gospel of the Lord.' They are his gospel for the matter and substance, not as written, or expressly approved by him after they were written.

Exactly in this manner had Justin Martyr spoke before, calling the gospels [b] the 'Commentaries,' or histories, 'of the apostles of Christ;' not that they were all written [c] by apostles, but because they contain the doctrines and sense of the apostles, as [d] Dodwell justly explains him. Justin also calls them 'His,' [e] that is, Christ's commentaries, [not Peter's commentaries, meaning St. Mark's gospel, as Mr. Jones [f] supposed,] as containing the doctrine preached by Christ during his ministry here upon earth.

Tertullian's opinion then was this: That the gospels of Mark and Luke are supported by the authority of the apostles; forasmuch as it is reasonable to think that they contain the very doctrine of the apostles Peter and Paul, whom they particularly attended; and are also agreeable to the gospels written by the apostles Matthew and John; and have the testimony of the churches that they are genuine: and all the gospels are authorized by Christ, as truly representing his doctrine. Or: It may be depended upon that the gospels were written by the persons whose names they bear. The apostles have truly preached and written the doctrine they received from Christ. The apostolical men have also faithfully published in writing what they received from apostles. All the gospels are therefore supported by the authority of apostles, yea of Jesus Christ.

It is likewise plain why this high authority is ascribed to the apostles above all others: they were immediately appointed by Christ to publish the gospel to the world; and [g] had the largest measure of the gifts of the Spirit, a measure peculiar to themselves.

V. In these passages we have seen the authority, genuineness, and sincerity of all the four gospels asserted with the fullest assurance, and upon the best ground. I shall nevertheless add a few more concerning the gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John.

1. 'And [h] especially Matthew, the most faithful historian of the gospel, as being a com-'panion of the Lord, for no other reason than that we might be informed of the origin of

illuminatori Lucæ auctoritatem antecessorum & fidei & prædicationi suæ optavit, quanto magis eam evangelio Lucæ expostulem, quæ evangelio magistri ejus fuit necessaria? Aliud est, si penes Marcionem a discipulatu Lucæ cœpit religionis Christianæ sacramentum. Cæterum, si & retro decucurrit, habuit utique authenticam paraturam, per quam ad Lucam usque pervenit, cujus testimonio adsistente, Lucas quoque possit admitti. Adv. Marcion. l. iv. c. 2. p. 503. C.

[a] Unus omnino baptismus est nobis, tam ex Domini evangelio, quam ex apostoli literis. De Baptismo, c. 15. p. 262. C. And see before, n. [f] p. 419. [b] Ὡς εν τοις απομνημονευμασι των αποστολων αυτου δεδηλωται. Justin, p. 559. C.

[c] See before, ch. 10. n. [e] p. 345. [d] Sic autem illa tribuit [Justinus] apostolis, quod apostolorum dogmata mentemque complecterentur, ut una tamen aliorum agnoscat in scriptione operam qui fuerint apostolos sectati. Dissert. Irên. i. sect. 40. p. 70. [e] Και το ειπειν μετωνομακεναι αυτον Πετρον ενα των αποστολων, και γεγραφθαι εν τοις απομνημονευμασιν αυτου γεγενημενον και τουτο. Dialog. p. 333. D.

[f] New and Full Method, &c. v. iii. p. 92. If there be any difficulty in understanding this of Christ, it might be conjectured, that, instead of αυτου, Justin wrote αυτων, meaning the apostles: but I see no difficulty herein, as we find the scriptures of the New T. in general sometimes called the scriptures of the Lord. [See ch. 12. p. 352,] and the collection of gospels 'the gospel of the Lord.' [g] Sequere admonitionem cui divinitas patrocinatur. Spiritum quidem Dei etiam fideles habent, sed non omnes fideles apostoli. Cum ergo qui se fidelem dixerat, adjecit postea, Spiritum Dei se habere, quod nemo dubitaret etiam de fideli; idcirco id dixit, ut sibi apostoli fastigium redderet. Proprie enim apostoli Spiritum Sanctum habent in operibus prophetiæ & efficaciâ virtutum, documentisque linguarum, non ex parte, quod cæteri. De Exhort. Cast. c. 4. p. 667. B. [h] Ipse in primis Matthæus, fidelissimus evangelii commentator, ut comes Domini, non aliam ob causam quam ut nos originis Christi carnalis compotes faceret, ita exorsus est: Liber genituræ Jesu Christi, filii David, filii Abraham. De Carne Christi, cap. 22. p. 376. C.

'Christ according to the flesh, began in this manner:' "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham." He quotes likewise some of the last words of this gospel: 'Baptism [a] is appointed, and the form prescribed:' "Go ye," saith he, "teach the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

2. 'Moreover, Luke [b] was not an apostle, but apostolical; not a master, but a disciple; 'certainly less than his master; certainly so much later, as he is a follower of Paul, the last of 'the apostles.' I have put down this passage, as expressing again the true character of Luke: but Tertullian does not say this with a design to diminish St. Luke's testimony, whose gospel he just now said he and all Christians in general 'zealously maintained;' but because Marcion, with whom he is here arguing, received Luke's gospel only, and [c] curtailed even that.

3. Having quoted many passages out of St. John's gospel, he adds: 'How [d] these things 'were spoken, certainly so famous an evangelist and disciple as John knew better than Praxeas.'

VI. The Acts of the Apostles are often quoted by Tertullian under that title.

1. 'So that [e] afterwards,' says he, 'we find, in the Acts of the Apostles, that they who had 'John's baptism had not received the Holy Ghost, nor so much as heard whether there was 'any.' Acts xix. 1, 2, 3. Once, and I think but once, he has expressly ascribed this book to St. Luke; calling it '[f] Luke's commentary,' or history.

2. He had a great respect for this book. 'And truly [g] he [Christ] fulfilled the promise he 'had made [of sending the Spirit, who should lead the disciples into all truth;] the Acts of 'the Apostles attesting the descent of the Holy Spirit. Which scripture they who do not 'receive, cannot be of the Holy Spirit; nor can they prove the Holy Spirit to have been sent 'to the disciples, nor can they defend the church: forasmuch as they have nothing to shew, 'when, and with what beginnings, this body was formed.

This passage shews the great authority and usefulness of this book; and that Christians had then no authentic account of the first preaching and progress of the gospel, after our Saviour's resurrection, beside this one book of the Acts of the Apostles; out of which Tertullian has quoted so many passages, and which we still have.

3. Moreover in another place, in a long argument from the epistle to the Galatians, speaking of Paul, he says: 'Then [h] relating his own conversion, how of a persecutor he became an 'apostle, he confirms the scripture of the Apostolical Acts; in which likewise the substance of 'that epistle is confirmed, that there were some who interposed, and said, that men ought to be 'circumcised, and keep the law of Moses.' See Gal. i. 13, to the end; ch. ii. 1—5, Acts, xv. Tertullian proceeds in the history of that dispute, and the decision of it, as recorded in the Acts; and calls it again the Acts of the Apostles; and says likewise once more, 'that [i] the 'performance of the promise of the Holy Ghost cannot be otherwise proved, but from the 'instrument of the Acts,' as he there calls it.

VII. Most of St. Paul's epistles are expressly and frequently quoted by Tertullian.

1. 'I will therefore by no means [k] say Gods, nor Lords: but I will follow the apostle, so 'that if the Father and the Son are to be mentioned together, I will say God the Father, and

[a] Lex enim tinguendi imposita est, & forma præscripta. Ite, inquit, docete nationes, tinguentes eas in nomen Patris & Filii & Spiritûs Sancti. De Baptismo, cap. 13. p. 262. B.

[b] Porro Lucas non apostolus, sed apostolicus; non magister, sed discipulus; utique magistro minor; certe tanto posterior, quanto posterioris apostoli sectator Pauli sine dubio. Adv. Marc. l. iv. c. 2. p. 503. B.

[c] Nam ex iis commentatoribus quos habemus, Lucam videtur Marcion elegisse, quem cæderet. Ibid.

[d] Hæc quomodo dicta sint, evangelizator, et utique tam clarus discipulus Joannes, magis quam Praxeas novit. Adv. Praxeam. cap. 23. p. 655. D.

[e] Adeo postea in Actis apostolorum invenimus, quoniam qui Joannis baptismum habebant, non accepissent Spiritum Sanctum, quem ne auditu quidem noverant. De Baptismo, cap. 10. p. 263. B.

[f] Porro, cum in eodem commentario Lucæ, & tertia hora orationis demonstretur, sub quâ Spiritu Sancto initiati, pro ebriis habebantur; & sexta, quâ Petrus ascendit in superiora, &c. De Jejuniis, c. 10. p. 708. B.

[g] Et utique implevit repromissum, probantibus Actis apostolorum descensum Spiritûs Sancti. Quam Scripturam qui non recipiant, nec Spiritûs Sancti esse possunt; qui necdum Spiritum possint agnoscere discentibus missum, sed nec ecclesiam defendere, qui quando, et quibus incunabulis institutum est hoc corpus, probare non habent. De Præscript. Hæret. cap. 22. p. 239. A. Possumus et hic Acta apostolorum repudiantibus dicere . . . . Ib. B.

[h] Exinde, decurrens ordinem conversionis suæ de persecutore in apostolum, scripturam Actorum apostolorum confirmat, apud quam ipsa etiam epistolæ istius materia recognoscitur, intercessisse quosdam, qui dicerent circumcidi opertere, et observandam esse Möysi legem. Adv. Marcion. l. v. c 2. p. 578. B.

[i] Quod si et ex hoc congruunt Paulo apostolorum Acta, cur ea respuatis jam apparet, ut Deum scilicet non alium prædicantia quam Creatorem, . . . quando nec promissio Spiritûs Sancti aliunde probetur exhibita, quam de instrumento Actorum. Ibid. C.

[k] Itaque Deos omnino non dicam, nec Dominos; sed apostolum sequar, ut si pariter nominandi fuerint pater et filius, Deum patrem appellem, et Jesum Christum Dominum nominem. Solum autem Christum potero Deum dicere, sicut idem apostolus: Ex quibus Christus, qui est, inquit, Deus, super omnia benedictus in ævum omne. Adv. Praxeam, cap. 13. p. 645. D.

'Jesus Christ the Lord. But when I mention Christ only, I can call him God, as the apostle 'does:' "Of whom Christ came, who is," says he, "over all, God blessed for ever," Rom. ix. 5. This epistle is often quoted expressly, among other epistles of St. Paul, [a] as written 'to the Romans.'

2. 'Paul, in [b] the first epistle to the Corinthians, speaks of them who denied or doubted of 'a resurrection.' See 1 Cor. ch. xv.

Tertullian, in his book of Monogamy, computes [c] it to be about 160 years from St. Paul's writing this epistle to the time when he wrote that book.

3. 'For indeed [d] they suppose the apostle Paul, in the second to the Corinthians, to have 'forgiven the same fornicator whom in the first he had declared ought to be "delivered to 'Satan for the destruction of the flesh." Compare 2 Cor. ii. 6—10, with 1 Cor. v. 5.

4. 'But [e] of this no more needs to be said, if it be the same Paul, who, writing to the Gala- 'tians, reckons "heresies" among "the works of the flesh;" and who directs Titus to "reject 'a man that is an heretic, after the first admonition; knowing that he that is such an one is 'subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself."'

5. 'I pass,' says [f] he, 'to another epistle, which we have inscribed to the Ephesians, but 'the heretics to the Laodiceans.' Afterwards: 'According to [g] the true testimony of the 'church, we suppose that epistle to have been sent to the Ephesians, not to the Laodiceans: 'but Marcion has endeavoured to alter the inscription, upon a pretence of his having made a 'more diligent enquiry into that matter. But the inscriptions are of no importance, since the 'apostle wrote to all, when he wrote to some.' There are some learned remarks upon the title of this epistle inserted in [h] Mr. La Roche's Literary Journal, beside what has been said by [i] Mill and others.

6. 'Of which hope [k] and expectation Paul to the Galatians: "For we, through the Spirit, 'wait for the hope of righteousnes by faith." Gal. v. 5. He does not say we have obtained it; 'but he speaks of "the hope of the righteousness" of God, in the day of judgment, when 'our reward shall be decided. Of which being himself in suspense, when he writes to the 'Philippians, "If by any means," says he, "I might attain to the resurrection of the dead; 'not, as though I had already attained, or were perfect."' Philip. iii. 11, 12.

7. 'From [l] which things [endless genealogies and unprofitable questions] the apostle 'restraining us, expressly cautions us against philosophy, writing to the Colossians: "Be- 'ware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, 'not after the instruction of the Holy Spirit." Coloss. ii. 8.

8. 'And in [m] the same epistle to the Thessalonians, he [the apostle adds: "But of the times and the seasons, brethren, there is no need that I write to you. For yourselves know perfectly, that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night." . . . . [1 Thess v. 1, 2, 3.] 'And in the second [epistle] to the same persons he writes with greater solicitude:' "But I beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, nor be troubled" . . . . 2 Thess. ii. 1—7.

[a] Ut cum ad Romanos, naturâ facere dicens nationes ea quæ sunt legis. De Corona, cap. 6. p. 123. C. Vid. et Scorpiac. c. 13. p. 631. C. D. et alibi. [b] Paulus in primâ ad Corinthios notat negatores et dubitatores resurrectionis. De Præscript. c. 33. p. 243. D. [c] Quum magis nunc tempus in collecto factum sit [vid. 1 Cor. vii. 39,] annis circiter clx. exinde productis. De Monog. cap. 3. p. 675. B.

[d] Revera enim suspicantur Paulum in secundâ ad Corinthios eidem fornicatori veniam dedisse, quem in primâ dedendum Satanæ in interitum carnis pronuntiârit. De Pudicitia, c. 13. p. 728. D. [e] Nec diutius de isto, si idem est Paulus, qui et alibi hæreses inter carnalia crimina numerat, scribens ad Galatas; et qui Tito suggerit, hominem hæreticum post primam correptionem recusandum, quod perversus sit ejusmodi, et delinquat, ut á semetipso damnatus. De Præscript. cap. 6. p. 232. B. [f] Prætereo hic, et de aliâ epistolâ, quam nos ad Ephesios præscriptam habemus, hæretici vero ad Laodicenos. Adv. Marcion. l. v. c. 11. p. 598. C.

[g] Ecclesiæ quidem veritate epistolam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodicenos; sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare gestiit, quasi et in isto diligentissimus explorator. Nihil autem de titulis interest, cum ad omnes apostolus scripserit, dum ad quosdam. Adv. Marcion. l. v. c. 17. p. 607. B. [h] Vol. iii. p. 165. [i] Prolegom. N. 71—79. [k] De quâ spe et expectatione Paulus ad Galatas: Nos enim spiritu ex fide spem justitiæ expectamus; non ait, tenemus. Justitiæ autem Dei dicit ex judicio, quo judicabimur de mercede. Ad quam pendens et ipse, quum Philippensibus scribit, si quâ, inquit, concurram in resurrectionem quæ est a mortuis; non, quia jam accepi, aut consummatus sum. De Resurrectione Carnis, c. 23. p. 395. C, D.

[l] A quibus nos apostolus refrenans, nominatim philosophiam contestatur caveri oportere, scribens ad Colossenses: Videte ne quis vos circumveniat per philosophiam et inanem seductionem, secundum traditionem hominum, præter providentiam Spiritûs Sancti. De Præscr. c. 7. p. 233. A. [m] Et in ipsâ ad Thessalonicenses epistolâ suggerit: De temporibus autem et temporum spatiis, fratres, non est necessitas scribendi vobis. . . . . Et in secundâ, pleniore solicitudine, ad eosdem: Obsecro autem vos, fratres, per adventum Domini. . . . . De Resurrectione Carnis, cap. 24. p. 396. C. D.

9. 'And this [a] word Paul has used, writing to Timothy: "O Timothy, keep [the depositum; or, according to our translation] that which is committed to thy trust." 1 Tim. vi. 20. And again: "That good thing which was committed to thee, keep." 2 Tim. i. 14. He quotes there several other passages of both these epistles.

10. I need not put down here any passage concerning the epistle to Titus, it being quoted already as [b] Paul's, and will be mentioned again in the following passage.

11. Tertullian has no where, in his remaining works, quoted any thing from the epistle to Philemon, nor expressly named it. We may well ascribe this to its brevity. But yet there is a passage which must relate to this epistle, and where one may be apt to think it had been named by Tertullian, though it does not stand there in our present copies. He had quoted and argued from some texts out of the epistle to the Philippians, and then the words of 1 Thess. iv. 17, after this manner: "But we," [c] says he, "shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord." 'If taken up with them, then also changed with them. This 'epistle alone has had an advantage from its brevity, for hereby it has escaped the falsifying 'hands of Marcion. Nevertheless I wonder, that when he receives an epistle to one man, he 'should reject two to Timothy, and one to Titus, which treat of the government of the church. 'He had a mind, I suppose, to alter also the number of the epistles:' that is, as he had done of the gospels.

Here is a character of the epistle to Philemon: it is written to 'one person,' and it does not concern ecclesiastical matter, or relate to the 'government of the church,' as those to Timothy and Titus. And if the words, 'brevity of this epistle,' relate to the epistle afterwards spoken of, as written to 'one person,' here is another thing very suitable to it. Nor can those words relate to the first to the Thessalonians, just quoted before, which is longer than the second to the Thessalonians, and that to Titus: not to mention the second to Timothy, though it is also longer than that. Nor is there any reason to suspect a reference to the second or third of St. John, because here is no mention of any but St. Paul's epistles; beside that, as Mr. Richardson [d] observes, 'Marcion rejected all the canonical epistles, and consequently the 'second and third of St. John, which also were not at that time generally embraced by the 'catholics.' And indeed it seems to me, as I have already hinted, that the epistle to Philemon was originally mentioned here by Tertullian, but has been dropped out of our copies. However here is still enough to satisfy us the discourse is about that epistle, and that it was received by Tertullian, and the catholic church, as a part of scripture.

If it were needful to say any thing more, to confirm this argument, I might add, that we are expressly assured by [e] Epiphanius, that the epistle to Philemon was one of the ten epistles of St Paul, which Marcion received. Moreover there is a passage in [f] Jerom's works, which seems to shew that he also understood Tertullian's words as I have explained them.

VIII. There is a remarkable and well-known passage of Tertullian, which may be not improperly put down here. 'Well, if you [g] be willing to exercise your curiosity profitably in 'the business of your salvation, visit the apostolical churches, in which the very chairs of the 'apostles still preside; in which their very authentic letters are recited, sounding forth the 'voice, and representing the countenance, of each one of them. Is Achaia near you? You 'have Corinth. If you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi, you have Thessalonica. 'If you can go to Asia you have Ephesus. But if you are near to Italy, you have Rome, 'from whence we also may be easily satisfied.'

[a] Et hoc verbo usus est Paulus ad Timotheum: O Timothee, depositum custodi. Et rursum: Bonum depositum serva. De Præscr. H. c. 25. p. 240. A. [b] See p. 423.

[c] Atqui nos, cum illis, dicit, simul rapiemur in nubibus obviam Domino. Si cum illis sublati, utique cum illis et transfigurati. Soli huic epistolæ brevitas sua profuit, ut falsarias manus Marcionis evaderet. Miror tamen, quum ad unum hominem literas factas receperit, quid ad Timotheum duas, et unam ad Titum, de ecclesiastico statu compositas, recusaverit. Affectavit, opinor, etiam numerum epistolarum interpolare. Adv. Marcion. l. v. cap. ult. p. 615. D. [d] The Canon of the New Testament vindicated, sect. 4. p. 2. in the notes.

[e] Epiph. H. 42. n ix. p. 310. A. [f] Et quoniam Marcionis fecimus mentionem, Pauli esse epistolam ad Philemonem, saltem Marcione auctore doceantur. Qui cum cæteras epistolas ejusdem vel non susceperit, vel quædam in his mutaverit atque corroserit, in hanc solam manus non est ausus committere, quia sua illam brevitas defendebat. Hieron. Procem. in Ep. ad Philem. [g] Age jam, qui voles curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuæ, percurre ecclesias apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ apostolorum suis locis præsident; apud quas ipsæ authenticæ litteræ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem, et repræsentantes faciem, uniuscujusque. Proxima est tibi Achaia? habes Corinthum. Si non longe es a Macedoniâ, habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiæ adjaces, habes Romam, unde nobis quoque auctoritas præsto est. De Præscrip. cap. 36. p. 245. B.

By 'authentic letters' some[a] understand the originals themselves, sent in the apostle's hand-writing, or that of the person who wrote for him, and signed at the conclusion by himself. Rigaltius,[b] in his note upon this place, explains the word 'authentic' in the sense of the original Greek language, in which the epistles were written: and supports his interpretation[c] by another place of Tertullian, where he uses the phrase, 'authentic Greek;' appealing to that for the true meaning of St. Paul in one of his epistles. Richard[d] Simon, who embraces the same interpretation, has referred to a passage of St. Jerom, where he uses the phrase, 'authentic books,' for the scriptures of the Old Testament in the Original Hebrew language, in opposition to Greek or other versions; not for the books in the original hand-writing of the prophets. So Tertullian, the churches of Africa using only a Latin version of the New Testament, calls the Greek text 'authentic.'

I think this must be allowed to be a difficult passage; and I question whether either of these interpretations represents to us the true meaning of it. Though Tertullian is an obscure writer, I hope it will not be thought trifling to propose a few remarks, to determine, if possible, his precise meaning.

1. Tertullian, by 'authentic letters,' does not mean the original epistles. If that be his meaning, the persons, whom he sends to some one of these places, could have received satisfaction only concerning one or two, at the most, of St. Paul's epistles sent thither. If they had gone to all these churches, they could have seen no more than the originals of several of St. Paul's epistles: whereas he supposes, that by visiting these apostolical churches, they might hear the authentic letters recited, 'sounding forth the voice, and representing the countenance, of each 'one' of the apostles; that is, of those of them who had written. It is very improbable that Tertullian meant no more than that they [of Africa] might be satisfied of the genuineness of St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, by sending or going to Rome: 'unde no bisquoque auctoritas præsto est.'

2. Nor does he mean letters in their original language. He speaks of the language in which they were 'recited,' or read, 'sounding forth the voice' of the apostles; and he sends some to Rome: but it is probable that in that church the scriptures were read in the Latin tongue. Besides, he proposes a visit to Corinth, or Philippi, or Ephesus, to be made by those who were near Achaia, or Macedonia, or Asia: whereas it is probable that they who were near these countries had the scriptures read to them in their own churches in the original Greek language; and had no occasion to go from home to see or hear a Greek epistle of St. Paul.

3. By 'authentic letters' Tertullian seems to mean certain, well attested; the Greek word is so used by[e] Cicero: and by 'authenticæ literæ' we are not to understand 'authentic letters,' or epistles, but 'scriptures:' so the word ought in my opinion to[f] be rendered. This passage may be well reckoned parallel with another before transcribed, where he appeals to the apostolical churches for the genuineness and sincerity of the gospel of St. Luke, used by all Christians in general; and afterwards for the genuineness likewise of the other three gospels. He appeals there to almost the same churches that he does here; the Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Ephesians, and Romans. Of the last he speaks to this purpose: 'Let us see likewise,' says he, 'what the Romans recite,' or sound forth, 'who are near to us, with whom both Peter 'and Paul left the gospel sealed with their blood. We have also churches, which are disciples

[a] Sequuntur epistolæ Paulinæ, quas a primâ usque scriptione celeberrimas fecere ipsius apostoli tam crebræ peregrinationes, et nota ejus in omni epistolâ manus, et autographa earum in illis quibus datæ essent ecclesiis diutissime ad Tertulliani usque tempora conservata. Dodwell, Diss. Iren. i. sect. 41. See Richardson's Canon of the New Testament vindicated, p. 118. And to the like purpose others.

[b] 'Ipsæ authenticæ literæ eorum.' Linguâ scilicet eâdem quâ fuerunt ab apostolis conscriptæ, sonantes vocem cujusque. Sic ipse de Monogamiâ ad Græcum authenticum Pauli provocat. Rigalt. [c] Sciamus plane non sic esse in Græco authentico. De Monog. c. 11. p. 684. A. [d] Comme on ne lisoit dans les églises d'Afrique que la version Latine du Nouveau Testament, il donne le nom d'authentique au texte Grec. St. Jérome se sert aussi d'une semblable expression au regard de l'Ancien Testament, quand il oppose le texte Ebreu aux versions Grecque et Latine: car il appelle le premier, 'veritatem Hebraïcam,' 'la verité Ebraïque;' voulant marquer par là les Originaux de l'Ecriture, qu'il nomme même, comme Tertullien, 'authenticos libros,' dans son commentarie sur le chap. 64. du prophete Isaie. Il ne croyoit pour cela que ce fussent les premiers originaux écrits de la main des prophétes. Histoire Crit. du Texte du N. T. ch. 4. p. 40.

[e] Quid quæris? etiam illud erat persuasum, Pompeium cum magnis copiis iter in Germaniam per Illyricum fecisse: id enim αυθεντικως nuntiabatur. Ad Att. l. x. ep. 9. ad quem locum Ursinus. Videtur scribendum in Galliam, ex loco simili in ep. 6. 'Pompeium *pro certo* habemus per Illyricum proficisci 'in Galliam.' [f] Apud literas sanctas ordine cognoscitur. Ap. c. 22. p. 23. C. Ipsi literarum nostrarum fidem accendunt. C. 23. p. 26. A. Inspice Dei voces, literas nostras. C. 30. p. 30. D. Coimus ad literarum divinarum commemorationem. C. 31. p. 34. D.

'of John. . . . . With all these is that gospel of Luke received, which we so zealously maintain.' Just so here, after the mention of divers others: 'But if you are near to Italy, you have Rome, 'whence we also may be easily satisfied. 'How[a] happy is that church, to which the apostles 'delivered the whole evangelical doctrine together with their blood: where Peter suffered the 'same death which the Lord did; where Paul was crowned with the death of John; where[b] the 'apostle John, after he had been cast into a caldron of boiling oil, without suffering any harm 'was banished into an island!'

As Tertullian before appealed to the apostolical churches for the integrity of St. Luke's gospel, so here he proposes, to such persons as were curious, a visit to some apostolical church which was nearest to them; where the 'very authentic,' well attested, genuine, and uncorrupted 'scriptures' of the apostles 'are received.' It is not then an appeal to these churches for the genuineness of one or more epistles of Paul, written to them in particular; but it is an appeal to each one of these churches for the certainty, genuineness, and integrity of all the scriptures of the New Testament, which they held sacred, and constantly read in their assemblies; whether gospels or epistles, written by Paul or other apostles, or by apostolical men. Though every church, which had communion with apostolical churches, had copies of the several books of the New Testament that might be relied on as genuine and sincere; yet he supposes it to be a satisfaction to know, at the first hand, what was read in the churches planted by apostles;' and that the labour of a visit to some of them was not unbecoming men of curiosity. Here lies the stress of the argument: the scriptures received by apostolical churches are 'authentic;' the testimony[b] given by those churches, according to Tertullian, is an authentic, original, certain testimony.

I am not positive in this interpretation, though it appears to me probable. If I understand this passage right, it would be more properly placed lower, after we have considered this author's particular testimonies to the rest of the books of the New Testament. But I thought it might be too presuming to defer a passage any longer, which has been so generally supposed to relate particularly to some epistles only of St. Paul.

IX. We are in the next place to observe how the epistle to the Hebrews is quoted by him, when he was plainly a Montanist. Having argued from the epistles of Paul, and the first of St. John, and proved his point sufficiently from apostles, as he supposeth, he proceeds: 'Never-'theless[d] I am willing, over and above, to allege the testimony of a companion of the apostles; 'a fit person to shew, at the next remove, what was the sentiment of the masters. For there 'is an epistle of Barnabas, inscribed "to the Hebrews," written by a man of such authority, 'that Paul has placed him with himself in the same course of abstinence: "Or I only and 'Barnabas, have not we power to forbear working?" [or, of doing[e] this, that is, to carry about

[a] Ista quam felix ecclesia! cui totam doctrinam apostoli cum sanguine profuderunt: ubi Petrus passioni Dominicæ adæquatur; ubi Paulus Joannis exitu coronatur; ubi apostolus Joannes, posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur. De Præscr. Hær. c. 36, p. 245. B.

[b] That story is received by some, by others it is reckoned to be doubtful, and by others rejected as a fiction. Authors, with references to them, may be seen in Lampe, Prolegom. de Vit. Joan. Ev. l. i. c. 4. n. iii. iv. v. who himself rejects it, and argues in this manner: First, it relies almost entirely upon the sole credit of Tertullian. Secondly, it is omitted by several ancient writers, who would have mentioned it if there had been any good ground for it, as Irenæus, Origen, and some others; who speak of the sufferings of the apostles, and John's banishment into Patmos, and yet say nothing of this extraordinary miracle. And though Jerom has occasionally mentioned it once or twice, he takes no notice of it in the history of this apostle, inserted in his book of Illustrious Men. Thirdly, nor does this story in its circumstances suit the time in which it is placed; for it is not known that casting into oil was a punishment then in use. That learned author thinks this story might be invented, or at least more readily received, as an accomplishment of Christ's prophecy concerning the two sons of Zebedee. Ego fabulam illam eo avidius acceptam esse censeo, ut ita eo clarior redderetur sensus prædictionis Christi de poculo passionum filiis Zebedæi propinando.

[c] Cæterum si et retro decucurrerit [evangelium,] habuit utique authenticam paraturam, per quam ad Lucam usque pervenit, cujus testimonio adsistente, Lucas quoque possit admitti. Adv. Marcion. l. iv. c 2. p. 503 C. Thus the testimony of apostolical churches is authentic, and prior to that of others.

[d] Disciplina igitur apostolorum proprie quidem instruit ac determinat.——Volo tamen ex redundantiâ alicujus etiam comitis apostolorum testimonium superinducere, idoneum confirmandi de proximo jure disciplinam magistrorum. Exstat enim et Barnabæ titulus ad Hebræos, adeo satis auctoritatis viro, ut quem Paulus juxta se constituerit in abstinentiæ tenore: 'Aut ego solus et Barnabas non habemus hoc operandi potestatam?' Et utique receptior apud ecclesias epistola Barnabæ illo apocrypho pastore mœchorum. Monens itaque discipulos, omissis omnibus initiis, ad perfectionem magis tendere, nec rursum fundamenta pœnitentiæ jacere operibus mortuorum; impossibile est enim, inquit, eos qui semel inluminati sunt, et donum cœleste gustaverunt, et participaverunt spiritum sanctum, et verbum Dei dulce gustaverunt, occidente jam ævo cum exciderint, rursus revocari in pœnitentiam, refigentes cruci in semetipsos filium Dei et dedecorantes. . . . . Hoc qui ab apostolis didicit, et cum apostolis docuit, nunquam mœcho et fornicatori secundam pœnitentiam promissam ab apostolis nôrat. Optime enim legem interpretabatur, et figuras ejus jam in ipsâ veritate servabat. De Pudicitia, cap. 20. p. 741. C. D.

[e] So it is at present in Tertullian. Mill supposes this to be a corrupt reading of that text, 1 Cor. ix. 6. Prolegom. n. 552.

'a sister]. 1 Cor. ix. 6. And certainly the epistle of Barnabas [he means the epistle to the 'Hebrews] is more generally received by the churches than the apocryphal pastor of adulterers '[that is, Hermas.] Admonishing then his disciples, "Leaving all first principles, rather to go 'on to perfection, and not to lay again the foundation of repentance from the works of the 'dead: for it is impossible, says he, for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of 'the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the sweet 'word of God, if they fall away now at the end of the world, to recal them again to repentance, 'since they crucify again the Son of God to themselves, and put him to an open shame."... '[Heb. vi. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.] He who learned this from the apostles, and taught with the apostles, 'never knew that a second repentance had been promised by the apostles to an adulterer and 'a fornicator. For he excellently interprets the law, and shews its figures in the truth.'

Here is enough to satisfy us, that he means the same epistle to the Hebrews which we have under that title; and that he supposed it to be written by Barnabas, an apostolical man, who had been taught by apostles, and taught with them, but especially with Paul.

This is the only passage of Tertullian, in which this epistle is expressly quoted: but I am willing to observe also the other places in which it may seem to be referred to, that we may the better judge of the respect he had for it, or what authority it was of with him.

We find then in him these following expressions: "That[a] Word called his Son, seen of the patriarchs in divers manners, in the name of God, always heard in the prophets." at last 'brought down by the spirit and power of God the Father into the Virgin Mary, &c.' See Heb. i. 1. 2. And presently after he says: 'Being taken[b] up into heaven, he sat "down on the right hand of the Father." See ver. 3. The expressions in another book, that have been thought to allude to the words of ver. 4, have a small resemblance with them. But in the same[c] place he observes: 'Who makes,' saith he, "his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire." Ver. 7. See Ps. civ. 4. And likewise: 'That he had not put in subjection the world to man 'uncapable of governing, and not higher than the angels, to whom he has not put in subjection 'any such thing:' where may be thought an allusion to ch. ii. 5, 6, 7. He calls Melchisedec[d] 'Priest of the most High God' more than once. See Heb. vii. 1 Gen. xiv. 18. He speaks of[e] Christ's being 'God's High Priest, a priest for ever,' and 'after the order of Melchisedec:' which things are treated of in the epistle to the Hebrews; but Tertullian[f] seems to deduce them from Psalm cx. 4. In another place he observes the enmity which there had been against virtue in this world, from the very beginning: 'That Abel[g] was murdered by his brother; 'and that not only righteous men, but prophets also, had been ill treated: that David was 'harassed, Elias banished, Jeremy stoned, and Esaias sawn asunder:' where may be thought a reference to Heb. xi. 4. 32. 37. In another place he says: 'If we[h] think some evils are laid 'upon us by the Lord, toward whom should we behave ourselves patiently, if not to him? Yea 'rather we are taught to rejoice and be glad of the favour of divine chastisement: "I, says he, 'chastise whom I love." See Heb. xii. 5, 6. Prov. iii. 11. 12. Once more, he observes, that[i] 'Christ suffered without the city.' See Heb. xiii. 11, 12.

Whether in these passages there is an allusion to this epistle to the Hebrews, is not easy to determine. But supposing that Tertullian borrowed these thoughts from it, or was led to them by reading it; we are however obliged, I think, to judge of his respect for it by the first passage, in which he has expressly quoted it. And upon that passage we may now make the following remarks.

[a] Id Verbum Filium ejus appellatum, in nemine Dei varie visum a patriarchis, in prophetis semper auditum, postremo delatum, &c. De Præscript. cap. 13. p. 235. C.

[b] In cœlos ereptum sedisse ad dexteram Patris. Ibid.

[c] Sed et imago et similitudo Dei, fortior angelo; sed adflatus Dei generosior spiritu materiali, quo angeli constiterunt. Qui facit, inquit, spiritus angelos, et apparitores flammam ignis. Quia nec universitatem homini subjecisset infirmo dominandi, et non potiori angelis, quibus nihil tale subjecit. Adv. Marc. lib ii. p. 459. D. [d] Unde Melchisedek sacerdos Dei Summi nuncupatus? Adv. Judæos, c. 2. p. 206. D. Quid Ezechias ad Melchisedek Altissimi sacerdotem? Adv. Marc. l. v. p. 593. B. [e] Sed Jesus iste Christus Dei patris summus sacerdos. Adv. Jud. cap. 14. p. 229. A. Tu es sacerdos in ævum. Adv. Marc. l. v. p. 593. B. At in Christum conveniet ordo Melchisedek. Ibid. [f] Sed et hic psalmus Salomoni canere dicitur. Ibid. C.

[g] Statim ut coli Deus cœpit, invidiam religio sortita est. Qui Deo placuerat, occiditur, et quidem a fratre..... Denique non modo justorum, verumetiam et prophetarum: David exagitatur, Helias fugatur, Hieremias lapidatur, Esaias secatur. Scorpiac. c. 8. p 624. B. C. [h] Quod si a Domino nonnulla credimus incuti, cui magis patientiam quam Domino præbeamus? Quin insuper gratulari et gaudere nos docet, dignatione Divinæ castigationis. Ego, inquit, quos diligo, castigo. De Patientia, c. 11. p. 166. B. [i] Extra civitatem crucifixus est. Adv. Judæos, cap. 14. p. 229. B.

1. That at that time it was received by a good number of Christian churches; and those, as we may reasonably suppose, of the Latin communion, which had their place in those parts of the Roman empire where the Latin tongue was used, with which churches Tertullian was most particularly acquainted. By many of these churches it was received, by more than the Shepherd of Hermas, but not by all.

2. Tertullian ascribes this epistle to Barnabas: this must have been therefore a common opinion, at that time, in the churches with which he was acquainted. If he had had any good ground to ascribe it to Paul, he would have done it here, where he esteemed the sentiments of that epistle favourable to him, and was willing to make the best advantage of it.

3. It does not appear that he gave the highest degree of respect to this epistle. He considers it only as written by an apostolical man, and of authority next to the apostles.

4. Nor does it plainly and certainly appear, from any thing which Tertullian has said, what respect was paid to this epistle by those churches which received it; or, whether they received it as of the highest authority or not.

X. I think it is now evident that Tertullian received thirteen epistles of St. Paul, and that they were received universally, or generally, by the Christians of his time. The epistle to the Hebrews he supposed to have been written by Barnabas.

XI. We proceed to the catholic epistles.

1. And here we are first to enquire, whether Tertullian received the epistle of St. James. In his exposition of that petition of the Lord's prayer, 'Lead us not into temptation,' he says; 'But[a] far be it from us to suppose, that the Lord should seem to tempt, as if he was ignorant 'of any man's faith, or had a desire to overthrow it.' Which somewhat resembles James, i. 13: "Let no man say, when he is tempted, I am tempted of God; for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man." But I believe few can be influenced by this to conclude he owned this epistle.

In another place he says: 'Whence[b] was Abraham accounted the friend of God, but for 'the practice of the equity and justice of the law of nature?' St. James says, ii. 23, "And the scripture was fulfilled which saith, Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness: and he was called the friend of God." Abraham has this title, 2 Chron. xx. 7. Isa. xli. 8. I think neither of these places sufficient to prove, that Tertullian was acquainted with this epistle.

Once more: 'Who[c] now should better know the marrow of the scriptures than the school 'of Christ itself?... To whom should he rather reveal his mind than to whom he shewed his 'glory, Peter, James, John, and afterwards Paul?' And then he immediately quotes the first epistle of Peter, and first of John, and his Revelation, and several epistles of Paul; but nothing from the epistle of James, though it might have been so much to his purpose. The quotation from Peter is, 1 Ep. ii. 20, 21: "For what glory is it, if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently?"—And again, iv. 12, 13, 15: "Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial, which is to try you."... It would have been as much to his purpose to h e c ted also James, i. 2: "My brethren, count it all joy, when ye fall into divers temptations; and ver. 3 and 12.... Moreover, after the quotations from Peter, John, and Paul, he comes to the Acts; where, as he observes, are recorded the afflictions and sufferings of Peter, Stephen, James, Paul, and others. Considering all these things, and that James, the author of the epistle which we have, could not be James who saw Christ's glory, but James the Just, or some other of that name; it seems to me very probable, that Tertullian knew nothing of any epistle of James.

Nor was he in the least obliged to omit our epistle of James, because it was not written by James who saw Christ's glory: forasmuch as, after the quotations from Peter, John, and Paul, whom he at first expressly mentioned, he quotes also the Acts, and the gospels.

And if we consider that he knew, and has referred to, the short epistles of Titus and Philemon, as has been shewn; his not citing the epistle of James in this remarkable place, nor in

[a] Cæterum absit ut Dominus tentare videatur, quasi ignoret fidem cujusque, aut dejicere gestiens. De Oratione, cap. 8. p. 152. B. [b] Unde Abraham amicus Dei deputatus, si non de æquitate et justitiâ legis naturalis? Adv. Judæos, cap. 2. p. 209. D. [c] Quis nunc medullas scripturarum magis nosset, quam ipsa schola Christi?.... Cui potius figuram voeis suæ declarâsset, quam cui effigiem gloriæ suæ revelavit, Petro, Jacobo, Joanni, et postea Paulo? Scorpiac. cap. 12. p. 630. B.

any other part of his remaining works, must amount to a kind of proof, that he knew nothing at all of this epistle: or, that he did not esteem it a book of authority, if he did know it. But the former appears to me the more probable supposition of the two.

Mill[a] thinks it likely that Tertullian refers to St. James, when he observes, in the place before quoted, that 'Abraham was accounted the friend of God:' but that nevertheless he did not esteem this epistle a book of authority, or a part of the canon.

2. The first epistle of Peter is expressly quoted as his. In the place just cited, having mentioned those who saw Christ's glory, he adds: 'Peter[b] says to the people of Pontus: "How great glory is it, if, when ye are punished not for your faults, ye take it patiently! For 'this is acceptable, and even hereunto were ye called; because Christ also suffered for us, 'leaving you an example, that ye should follow his steps." 1 Pet. ii. 20, 21: to which he adds 'the words of ch. iv. ver. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. The words themselves and the title assure us, he 'refers to our first epistle of St. Peter, which is inscribed to the "strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia," and other countries thereabout. Again, soon after: 'Peter[c] appointed 'that the king should be honoured.' Referring to 1 Ep. ch. ii. 13. These are the only places, I think, where this epistle is expressly quoted by him as Peter's.

3. There are in Tertullian no express quotations of the second epistle of Peter, or references to it.

Tertullian in his Apology asserts, that all the 'power of dæmons and such like spirits is 'subject to Christians:' but yet he owns that they molest them, and excite persecutions. He accounts for this several ways. One of his solutions is this: 'Besides, being[d] already con-'demned, it is a consolation to them, in their desperate condition, to do mischief, during the 'delay of punishment.' Possibly some may think that here is an allusion to 2 Peter ii. 4: but there is a text to the same purpose in Jude, ver. 6. which epistle was owned by Tertullian, as we shall see presently. But there is no good reason to suppose here an allusion to either of those texts. This was a common notion among the Jews, as may be concluded from what some dæmoniacs said to Christ. Matth. viii. 29 See also Mark v. 27. Luke viii. 28. And it might be common likewise among the Christians, who by this time had learned several things from the Jews. Lactantius has a[e] like thought.

4. The first epistle of John is often quoted. In the place just cited for the first of Peter, where he had mentioned the four apostles who saw Christ's glory, he says: 'John[f] exhorts us 'to lay "down our lives for the brethren, denying there is any fear in love:" for "perfect 'love casteth out fear," and what follows.' 1 John iii. 16. and iv. 18. In another place: 'Last-'ly[g] let us consider whom the apostles saw: "That which we have seen," says John, "which 'we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, and our hands have handled of the word 'of life: for the word of life was made flesh." . . . And we saw his glory, as of the only be-'gotten of the Father.' 1 John i. 1 John i. 14. Here is full proof that he ascribed this first epistle to John the apostle and evangelist.

In another place: 'Whom[h] the apostle John calls antichrists, as denying Christ is come 'in the flesh:' which is thought to be a reference to 2 John 7; but is not decisive, because he writes to the same purpose in the first epistle, ch. ii. 18. 22. but especially iv. 3. Tertullian has more than once referred to these words,[i] as in an epistle of John. And farther, speaking

[a] In eâ [ecclesiâ Africanâ] enim licet jam seculo tertio Tertullianus ad versum 23. cap. ii. hujus epistolæ digitum intendisse videatur, dum libr. contra Judæos, cap. 2. scribit Abrahamum 'amicum Dei deputatum esse;' non tamen auctoritate ejus ad probandum aliquod fidei dogma usus est, aut diserte ipsam canonicis scripturis accensuit. Prolegom. n. 207.

[b] Petrus quidem ad Ponticos: Quanta enim, inquit, gloria, si cum non ut delinquentes puniamini, sustinetis! Hæc enim gratia est, in hoc et vocati estis, &c. Scorpiac. cap 12. p. 630. C.

[c] Condixerat, scilicet Petrus, regem quidem honorandum. Ib. c. 14. p. 633. A.

[d] Præterque et desperata conditio eorum ex prædamnatione solatium reputat fruendæ interim malignitatis de pœnæ morâ. Apol. c 27. p. 29. A.

[e] Ita diaboli satellites facti, ut haberent solatium perditionis suæ, ad perdendos homines se converterunt, quos ut tuerentur advenerunt. Lactant. Epit. cap. 17. p. 42. edit. Pfaff. Conf. Orig. in Num. Hom. xiii. n. 7.

[f] Joannes vero, ut etiam pro fratribus nostris animas ponamus, hortatur, negans timorem esse in dilectione, &c. Scorpiac. c. 12. p. 630. D.

[g] Denique, inspiciamus quem apostoli viderint. Quod vidimus, inquit Joannes, quod audivimus, oculis nostris vidimus, et manus nostræ contrectaverunt de sermone vitæ. Sermo enim vitæ caro factus est . . . et vidimus gloriam ejus tamquam unigeniti a patre, &c. Adv. Praxeam, cap. 15. p. 647. A. B.

[h] ——quos apostolus Joannes antichristos pronuntiavit, negantes Christum in carne venisse. Adv. Marc. lib. iii. cap. 8. p. 483. B.

[i] At in epistolâ eos maxime antichristos vocat [Joannes] qui Christum negarent in carne venisse, et qui non putarent Jesum esse filium Dei. De Præscript. cap. 33. p. 244. B. Certe, qui negat Christum in carne venisse, hic antichristus est. De Carne Christi, cap. 24. p. 378. A.

of heretics, he says, 'we [a] are forbid to converse with them:' in which he has been supposed to refer to 2 John 10: "Receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed." But he may as well refer to Paul's advice, Tit. iii. 10: "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject:" and probably does so.

There [b] is an expression in Tertullian, which at first sight may be understood as if he spoke of a 'former epistle of John:' but it means only 'the former part of the' same 'epistle.' Tertullian is shewing that something said by St. John, in that first epistle, is not inconsistent with what he had said in the former part of it: as may appear to any one that consults the place, and reads that whole chapter of our author. There is therefore no proof of Tertullian's owning, or knowing, the second epistle of John. As for the third, there does not appear any the least notice of it in Tertullian's remaining works.

It is supposed by some learned men, that [c] Tertullian has alluded to the disputed text which we have in the 1 John v. 7, 8. I have put his words in the margin.

5. There is one plain quotation of the epistle of St. Jude, the only place in which it is mentioned: 'Hence [d] it is,' says he, 'that Enoch is quoted by the apostle Jude;' referring to Jude, ver. 14.

XII. The Revelation of John is often quoted. I put together two or three passages, which shew his full persuasion it was written by the apostle and evangelist of that name. 'John [e] in his Apocalypse is commanded to correct those who "eat things sacrificed to idols, and 'commit fornication." [Rev. ii. 20.] 'But in his epistle he especially calls them "antichrists, 'who deny that Christ is come in the flesh, and who did not think that Jesus is the Son of 'God." 1 John ii. 18. 22. iv. 2, 3. v. 5. In the place already referred to more than once, after the mention of the four who had seen Christ's glory, he takes a large quotation out of John's Revelation. 'Again: The [f] apostle John in the Apocalypse describes a "sharp two-'edged sword coming out of the mouth of God." Lastly, we [g] have churches, disciples of 'John: for though Marcion rejects his Revelation, the succession of bishops traced to the 'original will assure us that John is the author.'

XIII. There are then in Tertullian plain testimonies to all the books of the New Testament, commonly received by Christians at this time, except the epistle of James, the second of Peter, the second and third of John. The epistle to the Hebrews he supposed to have been written by Barnabas.

XIV. We have seen in the passages already transcribed several testimonies to the integrity and sincerity of the gospels, and other books of the New Testament in his time, as well as to their genuineness. We will nevertheless take a few more to the like purpose. He affirms, that [h] the three other gospels were in the hands of the churches from the beginning, as well as Luke's: that [i] Luke's gospel, as well as the rest, had been 'preserved entire,' till Marcion pre-'tended to correct it. He says, he may [k] justly say (in the name of the Christian church) to all heretics: 'Who are you? when and whence came you hither? what do you do in my ground 'since you belong not to me? by what right, O Marcion, do you cut down my woods? what 'authority have you, Valentinus, to turn the course of my fountains? who gave you power,

[a] Apud hæreticos? ubi omnia extranea et adversaria nostræ veritati; ad quos vetamur accedere. De Præscr. cap. 12 p. 205. B.

[b] Juxta est igitur ut excidisse sibi dicamus Joannem, in primore quidem epistolâ negantem nos sine delicto esse; nunc vero præscribentem non delinquere omnino. De Pudic. c. 19. p. 740. D. Ita Joanni ratio constabit diversitatis, distinctionem delictorum disponenti, eum delinquere filios Dei nunc adnuit, nunc abnuit. Prospiciebat enim clausulam literarum suarum, et illi præstruebat hos sensus, dicturus in fine manifestius: Si quis scit fratrem suum delinquere delictum non ad mortem, postulabit, &c. Ib. p. 741. A.

[c] Cæterum, de meo sumet, inquit, sicut ipse de Patris. Ita connexus Patris in Filio, et Filii in Paracleto, tres efficit cohærentes, alterum ex altero; qui tres unum sunt, non unus. Quomodo dictum est, Ego et Pater unum sumus: ad substantiæ unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem. Adv. Prax. c. 25. p. 657. C.

[d] Eo acdit quod Enoch apud Judam apostolum testimoniumposidet. De Cultu Fem. l. i. cap. 3. p. 172. A.

[e] Joannes vero in Apocalypsi idolothyta edentes et stupra committentes jubetur castigare. At in epistolâ eos maxime antichristos vocat, &c. De Præscr. cap. 33. p. 244. A. B.

[f] Nam et apostolus Joannes in Apocalypsi ensem describit ex ore Dei prodeuntem, bis acutum, præacutum. Adv. Marc. lib. iii. cap. 14. p. 489. A.

[g] Habemus et Joannis alumnas ecclesias. Nam etsi Apocalysim ejus Marcion respuit, ordo tamen episcoporum ad originem recensus in Joannem stabit auctorem. Adv. Marc. lib. iv. cap. 5. p. 505. B.

[h] Itaque et de his Marcion flagitandus, quid, omissis eis, Lucæ potius institerit; quasi non et hæc apud ecclesias a primordio fuerint, quemadmodum et Lucæ. Adv. Marcion. l. iv. c. 5 p. 505. D.

[i] Denique emendavit, quod corruptum existimavit. Sed nec hoc merito, quia non fuit corruptum. Si enim apostolica integra decucurrerunt; Lucæ autem quod est secundum nos, adeo congruit regulæ eorum, ut cum illis apud ecclesias maneat; jam et Lucæ constat integrum decucurrisse usque ad sacrilegium Marcionis. p. 506. A.

[k] De Præscript. c. 37.

'Apelles, to overthrow my fences? what do you sowing and feeding here at your pleasures? 'The possession is mine. I have enjoyed it a long time. I first enjoyed it. I derive a cer- 'tain original from the authors themselves, whose it was. I am the heir of the apostles. As 'they ordained in their testament, as they committed to my trust, as they adjured, so I still 'hold it.' A large part of this passage is translated by [a] Mr. Richardson: I have taken his translation, as far as it goes. Tertullian soon after calls heretics 'foreigners, and enemies of the 'apostles.' 'They [b] who were resolved to teach otherwise, were under a necessity of new 'modelling the records of the doctrine, that they might have some ground to go upon. As 'they could not succeed in corrupting the doctrine without corrupting the records of it, so the 'true doctrine [of the apostles] could not have been with us, nor could it have been delivered 'by us to others, if we had not the records entire wherein it is taught. For what do we main- 'tain contrary to them? what have we added of our own heads to the doctrine, that we should 'be obliged to alter any thing in the scriptures, by adding to them, or taking from them, or trans- 'posing any parts of them? What [c] we are, that the scriptures were from the beginning: we 'agree with them, as they were before they were altered, before they were interpolated, by you.' Then he severely censures Marcion for altering the text of the scriptures, 'openly em- ploying a knife,' as [d] he says, 'not a stile;' the better to render them agreeable to his erroneous opinions.

XV. In many of the passages already transcribed we have seen the great authority of the books of the New Testament, and the respect which was shewed to them: but it may be pro- per to observe a few more to this purpose.

In his disputes [e] with Praxeas, and others, he plainly supposes the scriptures to be the rule of the Christian faith. He greatly commends the church of Rome, that '[f] she joins the 'law and the prophets with the evangelic and apostolic scriptures, and thence takes her faith.' He plainly supposeth them written by divine inspiration, and calls them the words of God, in a passage to be transcribed presently at length.

'The Spirit of the Lord,' says [g] he, 'has declared by the apostle, that covetousness is the 'root of all evil.' 1 Tim. vi. 10. This is an observation which might be made by the human understanding; nevertheless he says, 'The Spirit of the Lord has declared it by the apostle:' which seems to imply, that the apostles, in their epistles written for the direction and edifica- tion of the churches, were under a special direction of the Holy Spirit. Afterwards he says, in the same book: 'The apostle [h] recommends charity with all the force of the Holy Spirit;' referring to 1 Cor. xiii. which chapter he there quotes largely. Having mentioned Matthew under the character of the companion of the Lord, and the most faithful historian of the gos- pel, and referred particularly to his genealogy, he adds: 'And Paul [i] likewise, as being both a 'disciple and a master, and also a witness of the same gospel, inasmuch as he was an apostle of 'the same Christ, confirms the account that Christ was of the seed of David, according to the 'flesh.' And we may here recollect the passage before quoted, where he had equalled the apostle Paul with the chief of the apostles, those three who saw Christ's glory on the mount. Another proof of the high respect which these writings were in with Christians, is the reading them in their religious assemblies. In his description of the Christian worship, in his Apology, he says, among other things: 'We [k] come together to recollect the divine scriptures. We 'nourish our faith, improve our hope, confirm our trust, by the sacred words.'

XVI. We should next observe some forms of quotation, and general titles and divisions of the books of the New Testament.

Justin Martyr often calls the gospels commentaries, or short histories of Christ. In like

[a] The canon of the N. T. vindicated. p. 119.

[b] Ib. c. 38. [c] Quod sumus, hoc sunt scripturæ ab initio suo: ex illis sumus, antequam aliter fuit; antequam a vobis interpolarenter. Ib. p. 246. B. [d] Marcion enim exerte et palam machærâ non stylo, usus est: quoniam ad materiam suam cædem scripturarum confecit. Ibid. 246. C.

[e] Probare autem tam aperte debebis ex scripturis, quam nos probamus illum sibi Filium fecisse sermonem suum. . . . Aut exhibe probationem quam expostulo meæ similem; id est, sic scripturas eundem Filium et Patrem ostendere, quem- admodum apud nos distincte Pater et Filius demonstrantur. Adv. Prax. c. 11. p. 641. D. [f] Legem et pro- phetas cum evangelicis et apostolicis literis miscet, et inde potat fidem. De Præscr. c. 36. p. 245. C.

[g] Cupiditatem omnium malorum radicem Spiritus Domini per apostolum pronuntiavit. De Patientia cap. 7. p. 163. D.

[h] Quam [dilectionem] apostolus totis viribus Sancti Spiritûs commendat. De Pat. c. 12. p. 167. B. [i] Sed et Paulus, utpote ejusdem evangelii et discipulus, et magister, et testis, quâ ejusdem ipsius Christi apostolus, confirmat Christum ex semine David secundum carnem, utique ipsius. De Carne Christi. cap. 22. p. 376. C. [k] Coimus ad literarum divinarum commemorationem; si quid præsen- tium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit, aut recognos- cere, certe fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus. Apol. cap. 39. p. 34. D.

manner, and possibly in imitation of him, Tertullian calls the evangelists [a] commentators, or historians of the gospel; and their [b] writings commentaries, or short histories.

'For the [c] Lord in the gospel admonishes Peter: "Behold," says he, "Satan has desired 'to have you, that he may sift you as wheat," Luke xxii. 31. And in [d] the gospel the 'wedding garment may signify the holiness of the flesh.' 'He [e] remembered the evangelical 'maxim: "Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness sake." But [f] enough has 'been alledged from the prophets: I now appeal to the gospels.' He presently after speaks of them by the name of scripture: 'But [g] observe how the scripture relates this: "He spake also a parable unto them." Luke v. 36.

The gospels are distinguished by the names of the writers, as we have already seen. One instance may not be amiss here. 'We [h] have considered John's gospel; .... and I shall not now,' says he, 'insist on the other gospels.'

He calls the gospels [i] 'our Digesta,' in allusion, as it seems, to some collection of the Roman laws digested into order; as in a passage before cited he called Luke's gospel 'his Digest.' Again: 'Justly [k] the evangelist: "The law and the prophets were until John." He speaks [l] at once of the 'sayings of the prophets, gospels, and apostles.' Here 'apostles' seems to stand for the collection of the epistles of the apostles. In another book: 'What [m] patriarch, what 'prophet, ... what priest, or in later times what apostle, or evangelist, or bishop, is found 'crowned?

'Let [n] us be mindful of the predictions of the Lord, and the epistles of the apostles.' He says: 'We [o] have one baptism according to the gospel of the Lord, and the epistles of the 'apostle.' 'Marcion,' he says, 'had two different Gods, one [p] of each Instrument, or (which 'is more commonly said) Testament.' In another place: 'If [q] I do not clear this point from 'all the difficulties of the ancient scripture, I will take the proof of our interpretation from 'the New Testament. ... For behold, I perceive, both in the gospels and the apostles, God to 'be visible and invisible.' This plainly shews, that the collection of the sacred Christian books was called the New Testament; and that it was divided into two parts, one of which was called the 'gospels,' the other the 'apostles.'

XVII. It is very likely that the Revelation was included in this latter part, and was joined with the epistles of the apostles. But it does not yet appear in which part the book of the Acts of the Apostles was now placed. We will therefore see whether we can find any light into that question. In his treatise 'Of the Resurrection of the Flesh,' having brought arguments for a resurrection out of the gospels, he adds: 'The [r] apostolical instruments [or records] 'do also teach a resurrection:' and shewing how the apostles preached a resurrection, the first text in which he instances is out of the Acts: 'You find Paul, brought before the high priests 'by the chief captain, professing his faith among sadducees and pharisees: "Men and bre-'thren," says he, "of the hope and resurrection am I called in question before you." He pro-

[a] Ipse in primis Matthæus, fidelissimus evangelii commentator. De Carne Christi, c. 22. p. 376. C. Aut a commentatore evangelii illuminatam. De Resurrect. Carn. p. 403. A. Nam ex iis commentatoribus quos habemus, Lucam videtur Marcion elegisse, quem cæderet. Adv. Marcion. l. iv. c. 2 p. 503. B. [b] Porro, cum in eodem commentario Lucæ [libro nempe Actuum apostolorum]. De Jejun. c. x. p. 708. B. [c] Siquidem Dominus in evangelio ad Petrum: Ecce, inquit, postulavit vos Satanas, uti cerneret vos sicut frumentum. De Fuga in Persecu. c. 2. p. 690. C. [d] Et in evangelio indumentum nuptiale sanctitas carnis agnosci potest. De Resurrect. Carnis, cap. 27. p. 398. D. [e] Meminerat evangelicæ definitionis: Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam. De Resurr. c. 41. p. 409. C. [f] Satis hæc de prophetico instrumento: ad evangelia nunc provoco. De Resurr. c. 33. p. 402. C. [g] Sed quomodo referat scriptura, considera: Dicebat autem et parabolam ad eos. Ib. p. 402. D. [h] Videmus Joannis evangelium decucurrisse .... Cæterum ut alia evangelia non interponam. Adv. Prax. c 26. p. 657. D. 658. A. [i] — et inde sunt nostra digesta. Adv. Marc. l. iv. c. 3. p. 504. A. [k] Et merito evangelista: Lex et prophetæ usque ad Joannem. Adv. Jud. cap. 8. p. 215. B. [l] Compendiis paucorum verborum, quot attinguntur edicta prophetarum, evangeliorum, apostolorum? De Oratione, cap. 9 p. 152. C. [m] Quis denique patriarches, quis prophetes,—aut sacerdos,—quis vel postea apostolus, aut evangelizator, aut episcopus, invenitur coronatus? De Corona, c. 9. p 125. D. [n] Quin potius memores simus tam dominicarum prænuntiationum, quam apostolicarum literarum. De Præscr. cap. 4. p. 231. C. [o] Unus omnino baptismus est nobis, tam ex Domini evangelio, quam ex literis apostoli. De Baptismo, cap. 15. p. 262. C. [p] Alterum alterius Instrumenti, vel (quod magis usui est dicere) Testamenti. Adv. Marc. l. iv. c. 1. p. 501. B. [q] Si hunc articulum quæstionibus veteris scripturæ non expediam, de Novo Testamento sumam confirmationem nostræ interpretationis. .... Ecce enim et in evangeliis et in apostolis visibilem et invisibilem Deum deprehendo. Adv. Praxeam, c. 10. p. 646. D. [r] Resurrectionem apostolica quoque instrumenta testantur. Habes Paulum apud summos sacerdotes sub tribuno inter Sadducæos et Pharisæos fidei suæ professorem. Viri, inquit, patres, ... De spe nunc et de resurrectione judicor apud vos. .... De Resurr. Carn. cap. 39. p. 407. C. D.

ceeds to observe Paul's discourse to king Agrippa and the Athenians, recorded in the Acts. This seems at once to shew that the Acts were then placed in the Apostolicon, and the reason of it. The gospels contained the history of Christ, and his preaching and ministry; all the other books contain the doctrine taught by the apostles, whether it be delivered in their own epistles, or recorded in the Acts by an historian.

There is another place in Tertullian, which very much confirms the supposition that this book was placed in the latter division of the scriptures of the New Testament. He expresses himself thus: 'As [a] to the gospel, the question about the parables has been discussed.' And then afterwards: 'Let [b] them now shew, at least out of the apostolical Instrument [or Testament,] that sins of the flesh, committed after baptism, may be washed away by repentance.' And what he thereupon immediately considers, is the decree of the council at Jerusalem in Acts, xv. and then proceeds to the epistles.

Dodwell [c] supposes, that the Acts were originally the second part or discourse of one and the same work, of which St. Luke's gospel was the first discourse. This he infers from Acts i. 1. If they were ever joined together as one book, it is plain they were now separated; St. Luke's gospel being placed undoubtedly in the Evangelicon, or with the other gospels; and the Acts probably in the Apostolicon, or with the epistles.

Which leads us likewise to observe the order of the several gospels. It seems that, in Tertullian's time, in the African churches at least, they were disposed according to the quality of the writers: in the first place those two which were written by apostles; then the other two, written by apostolical men. This I am willing to infer from the passage at Numb. II. where Tertullian says: 'Among the apostles, John and Matthew teach us the faith,' or instil the faith into our minds: 'among apostolical men, Luke and Mark refresh,' or revive 'it.' It is observable, that Tertullian here places John before Matthew; so likewise in the passage at the end of Numb. III. Possibly therefore we here see the exact order in which each gospel was placed in some churches of that time. Indeed, in the passage near the end of Numb. III. Mark is put before Luke; but the occasion of mentioning him there, next after John and Matthew, seems to be, that Luke's gospel had been largely discoursed of before in that place. The curious may consider of this, and consult Tertullian himself; for I do not affirm that in these passages we have plain proof of the order of each gospel: but it appears probable that the two gospels written by apostles were put before the two written by apostolical men. I shall only add, that, in some of [d] the most ancient manuscripts which we have, the order of the several evangelists is thus: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark.

XVIII. That the several books of the New Testament were now divided into any certain number of sections, or chapters, is not easily proved. However, I will observe a passage or two which may seem to afford some ground to think they were so divided. 'Do [e] they flatter 'themselves' says he, 'with that paragraph [literally 'short chapter'] of the first to the 'Corinthians, where it is written, If any brother hath a wife that believeth not.....?' Where he cites 1 Cor. vii. 12—14; from those words here transcribed to 'else were your children unclean.' Again, in another work: 'But [f] this the common way of perverse, and ignorant, 'and heretical men, and of all the Pischici [or, 'carnal people:' so he calls the catholics who 'reject Montanism,] to fortify themselves with some one ambiguous paragraph [or 'short 'chapter'] against an army of sentences of the whole instrument;' that is, of the whole New Testament, both gospels and apostles.

But I think that these, and other [g] the like passages of Tertullian, will scarce amount to a full proof, that there were then marked in the copies of the New Testament any sections or

[a] Exinde quod ad evangelium pertinet, parabolarum quidem discussa quæstio est. De pudicitia, c. 11. p. 727. C.

[b] Age nunc vel de Apostolico Instrumento doceant maculas carnis post baptisma respersæ pœnitentiâ dilui posse. Ibid. c. 12. p. 727. D.

[c] Sunt enim Acta δευτερος ejusdem operis λογος, cujus πρωτον λογον ipse [Lucas] suum agnoscit evangelium. Acts, i. 1. Diss. in Irenæ. i. sect. 39.

[d] In N. T. evangelia hunc ordinem, Matt. Joan. Luc. Marc. in aliquibus Codd. Gr. obtinent; ut in Bezæ Cantabrigiensi, in Benedictinorum S. Germani Paris. et in alio, quem testatur Druthmarus se vidisse, qui S. Hilarii dicebatur. Hodius de Bibl. Textib. Orig. p. 664.

[e] Numquid, inquam, de illo capitulo sibi blandiuntur, primæ ad Corinthios, ubi scriptum est: 'Si quis fratrum infidelem habet uxorem.' Ad. Uxor. l. ii. c. 2. p. 167. D.

[f] Sed est hoc solenne perversis et idiotis et hæreticis, jam et Psychicis universis, alicujus capituli ancipitis occasione adversus exercitum sententiarum instrumenti totius armari. De Pudicitia, cap. 16, sub. fin. p. 735. D.

[g] Sic ergo in eodem ipso capitulo, quo definit, Unumquemque, in quâ vocatione vocabitur, in eâ permanere debere. De Monogam. c. 11. p. 683. D.

chapters, either greater or smaller; for by 'paragraph,' or 'short chapter,' he may mean no more than a text or passage in these books.

XIX. Tertullian affords proof, that there was in his time a Latin version of some or all the books of the New Testament. It might be inferred from his quotations. In one place, arguing against the lawfulness of second marriages, and explaining in his way 1 Cor. vii. 39, he says: 'But [a] it is not so in the authentic Greek as we have it in the copies vulgarly used.'

XX. The scriptures of the New Testament were open to all, and well known in the world, in the time of Tertullian. In his Apology addressed to the Roman presidents, or to the magistrates at Carthage, as was before observed, he says: 'Whoever [b] of you therefore think that 'we have no concern for the safety of the emperors, look into the words of God, our scrip-'tures, which we ourselves do not conceal, and many accidents bring into the way of those 'who are not of our religion. Know then that by these we are commanded, in abundance of 'goodness, to pray to God even for enemies, and to wish well to our persecutors. [Matth. 'v. 44.] And who are more enemies and persecutors of Christians, than they against whom 'we are accused of treasonable practices? But, beside this, it is expressly and plainly said: "Pray for kings, and for princes, and powers, that ye may live a quiet life." 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. Here are in a short compass references to gospels and epistles. He lays them all before the Roman magistrates, and speaks of both parts of the New Testament with equal respect, as the 'words of God, their scriptures,' by which they were obliged to regulate their behaviour.

XXI. There is little or no suspicion of Tertullian's quoting any Christian apocryphal book with the same respect as he has quoted those now commonly received as canonical, unless it be that of Hermas. That he rejected, when a Montanist; as is evident from a passage already quoted out of a treatise written by him, after he had been for some time in those notions, where he speaks of this book with the utmost contempt, and even abhorrence; as he does likewise in another place of the same treatise: 'But I [c] would yield the point to you,' says he, 'if the scripture [or book] of the Shepherd, which alone is favourable to adulterers, deserved 'to be placed in the divine testament; if it were not reckoned apocryphal and spurious by 'every assembly [d] even of your own churches.'

We must however observe how he quoted it when a catholic. It is in this manner: 'That 'it [e] is a custom with some to sit down when prayer is over, I do not perceive the reason: 'unless, if that Hermas, whose scripture is usually called the Shepherd, had not sat down upon 'a bed after he had prayed, but had done somewhat else, we should have made a precedent of 'that two: certainly not. And now it is but just mentioned, "when I had prayed and sat 'down," in the course of the narration, not delivered as a rule; otherwise we may never wor-'ship but where there is a bed. Nay, he would act contrary to the scripture [or 'this scrip-'ture'] who would sit upon a chair or a form.'

If there is any in this passage of a doubtful meaning, it must be interpreted by the foregoing. It cannot be supposed that Tertullian ever esteemed any book a part of sacred scripture, which was reckoned apocryphal by all the catholic churches he was acquainted with. But I see nothing in the passage itself to incline us to think that he now esteemed this a sacred book, and of authority. It is true, there is in it [f] what he refers to, of sitting upon a bed after

[a] Sciamus plane non sic esse in Græco authentico, quomodo in usum exiit per duarum syllabarum aut callidam aut simplicem eversionem. Si dormierit vir ejus, quasi de futuro sonet; ac per hoc videatur ad eam pertinere, quæ jam in fide virum amiserit. De Monog. c. 11. p. 684. A. Vid. Rigalt. in loc. [b] Qui ergo putaveris nihil nos de salute Cæsarum curare, inspice Dei voces, literas nostras, quas neque ipsi supprimimus, et plerique casus ad extraneos transferunt. Scitote ex illis præceptum esse nobis, ad redundantiam benignitatis, etiam pro inimicis Deum orare, et persecutoribus nostris bona precari. Qui magis inimici et persecutores Christianorum, quam de quorum majestate convenimur in crimen? Sed etiam nominatim atque manifeste, Orate, inquit, pro regibus, et pro principibus, et potestatibus, ut omnia tranquilla sint vobis. Apol. cap. 31. p. 30. D. [c] Sed cederem tibi, si scriptura Pastoris, quæ sola mœchos amat, divino instrumento meruisset incidi, si non ab omni concilio ecclesiarum vestrarum inter apocrypha et falsa judicaretur. De Pudicitia, cap. 10. p. 727. A. [d] Some have understood the word 'concilium' here in our ordinary sense of 'council' or 'synod.' But any church-assembly for divine worship was sometimes called a 'council' or synod by ancient writers, as has been shewn by Mr. Joseph Bingham. Antiquities of the Christian Church, book viii. ch. 1. sect. 7.

[e] Item quod adsignatâ oratione assidendi mos est quibusdam, non perspicio rationem, nisi si Hermas ille, cujus scriptura fere Pastor inscribitur, transactâ oratione non super lectum assedisset, verum aliud quid fecisset, id quoque ad observationem vindicaremus. Utique non. Simpliciter enim et nunc positum est, 'Cum adorâssem et assedissem super 'lectum,' ad ordinem narrationis, non ad instar disciplinæ. Alioquin nusquam erit adorandum, nisi ubi fuerit lectus. Immo contra scripturam fecerit, si quis in cathedrâ aut subsellio sederit. De Oratione, c. 12. p. 154. A. [f] Lib. ii. in Procem.

prayer: but if Tertullian had been well acquainted with the book, or had thought it worth the while, he might have argued[a] from divers places, where Hermas speaks of his prayers, and makes no mention of sitting after them, that he gave no authority to that custom. He speaks likewise contemptuously of the author, as an obscure person: 'That Hermas.' Then he hardly knows the title of the book, or ridicules it: 'fere Pastor inscribitur.' As for his calling it 'scripture,' it is of no moment: the word is continually used by ecclesiastical writers, as equivalent to writing, book, epistle, or treatise; by Tertullian particularly, who uses the same word of this book, when he plainly and openly shews his contempt of it. He uses likewise the same term speaking of[b] heathen authors.

XXII. The only thing that remains to be taken notice of in this writer, is an early forgery of a book in the name of St. Paul. Tertullian is arguing against some who permitted women to baptize, and gives the history of this book, as what he was well informed of. 'But[c] if they 'think fit to make use of writings falsely ascribed to Paul, to support the right of women 'to teach and baptize; let them know that the presbyter who composed that writing, as if he 'had been able to increase Paul's fame, being convicted of it, and having confessed that he did 'it out of love to Paul, was deposed.'

I shall immediately put down what Jerom says of this affair, in his chapter concerning St. Luke, in the book of Illustrious Men: where, having spoken of St. Luke's gospel and the Acts, he says: 'Therefore[d] the Travels of Paul and Thecla, and the whole fable of the baptized lion, 'we reckon among the apocryphal scriptures. For how should the constant companion of the, 'apostle, who knew his other affairs so well, be ignorant of this alone? Moreover Tertullian, 'who lived near those times, relates that a certain presbyter in Asia, an admirer of the apostle 'Paul, was convicted before John to be the author of it; and that he confessed he had done it 'out of love to Paul, and that for that reason he was deposed.'

Jerom here ascribes to Tertullian more than we have in his treatise of Baptism, where this relation is; for Tertullian there makes no mention of the person before whom this presbyter was convicted. Ernestus Solomon Cyprianus, in his notes[e] upon the fore-cited place of Jerom has an ingenious conjecture, that Jerom took his account of this matter from the Greek edition of Tertullian's treatise of Baptism. He thinks this supposition the more probable, because Jerom gives us a Greek title of that book forged by the presbyter, and uses a Greek word likewise when he calls him an admirer of Paul; neither of which Greek words is in our Latin text. And we know from[f] Tertullian himself, that before he wrote the Latin treatise of Baptism which we have, he had treated the same argument in the Greek tongue.

However this be, it is plain the forgery was detected, and the author degraded; and the whole affair was notified to the churches, that they might be upon their guard: Tertullian, in Africa, was not ignorant of it. It is an argument of the vigilance and scrupulosity of the Christians about the writings which they received in the name of apostles.

XXIII. We have now seen a very valuable testimony to the scriptures of the New Testament in the remaining works of Tertullian, written in the latter part of the second, and the beginning of the third century. It is considerable for the number of the books cited by him, almost all those which are now received by Christians as canonical, without so much as a suspicion of placing any other in the same rank with them, and for the large and numerous quotations of them. There are perhaps more and larger quotations of the small volume of the New Testament in this one Christian author, than of all the works of Cicero, though of so uncommon excellence for thought and style, in the writers of all characters for several ages. And there is a like number of quotations of the New Testament in St. Irenæus, and St. Clement of Alexandria, both writers of the second century. Tertullian's testimony is considerable too for the evident tokens of that high respect which was paid to these scriptures. Indeed they would

[a] Vid. l. i. Vis. i. sect. 1. Vis. ii. sect. 1. et alibi.

[b] Cum de secularibus quoque scripturis exemplum præsto sit. De Præscr. c. 39. p. 246. D.

[c] Quod si quæ Paulo perperam adscripta sunt, ad licentiam mulierum docendi tinguendique defendunt, sciant in Asiâ presbyterum, qui eam scripturam construxit, quasi titulum Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum, atque confessum id se amore Pauli fecisse, loco decessisse. De Baptismo, cap. 17. p. 263. C.

[d] Igitur Περιοδοὺς Pauli et Theclæ, et totam baptizati leonis fabulam, inter apocryphas scripturas computamus. Quale enim est, ut individuus comes apostoli, inter cæteras ejus res, hoc solum ignoraverit? Sed et Tertullianus, vicinus eorum temporum, refert presbyterum quendam in Asiâ, σπουδαστὴν apostoli Pauli, convictum apud Joannem, quod auctor esset libri, et confessum se hoc Pauli amore fecisse, et ob id de loco excidisse. De Vir. i. c. 7.

[e] Apud Fabricii Bibliothecam Ecclesiasticam, p. 50.

[f] De Baptismo, cap. 13.

not have been so much quoted, if they had not been greatly esteemed. Nor have the differing sentiments of those called heretics done us any lasting prejudice. The contest which they occasioned has increased our proofs of the genuineness, authority, and integrity of the evangelical and apostolical scriptures. It is easy for every one to observe the value of this testimony upon some other accounts, which I therefore need not mention. The whole which we have transcribed from Tertullian may afford satisfaction to a serious Christian, as confirming his faith in the holy scriptures; and enabling him, if there be occasion, to convince, or at least to confute and silence, adversaries with abundance of evidence.

CHAP. XXVIII.

SEVERAL WRITERS OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

I. *Quadratus.* II. *Aristides.* III. *Agrippa Castor.* IV. *Aristo of Pella.* V. *Soter.* VI. *Pinytus.* VII. *Philip.* VIII. *Palmas.* IX. *Modestus.* X. *Musanus.* XI. *Claudius Apollinaris.* XII. *Bardesanes.* XIII. *Apollonius.* XIV. *Rhodon.* XV. *Victor.* XVI. *Bacchylus.* XVII. *Theophilus and Narcissus.* XVIII. *Symmachus.*

Beside those writers which I have quoted, there were many others in the second century, whose works are now lost. I choose to give here a short history of the chief of them, that my readers may have the clearer idea of the learning and labours of the Christians of that time; and may the better judge what disadvantage we lie under for want of their writings. It is a necessary part of our design, and will not take up a great deal of room.

I. *Quadratus* is first mentioned by Eusebius,[a] in his Ecclesiastical History, in the reign of Trajan. He ascribes to him the gift of prophecy, and reckons him among the evangelists of that time, in a passage[b] which we have already transcribed. In his Chronicle[c] he gives Quadratus the title of a 'disciple of apostles.' Quadratus is also reckoned among the prophets of the New Testament, in a fragment of an anonymous author preserved[d] in Eusebius. We are farther informed, by the same[e] ecclesiastical historian, that Quadratus presented an Apology for the Christian religion to the emperor Adrian, which was then extant, 'containing evident 'marks of his ability, and of the true apostolical doctrine.' There is nothing now remaining of Quadratus, beside a short but very valuable fragment of his Apology, concerning the miracles of our Saviour; which we shall not fail to produce upon a proper occasion.

This writer is placed by[f] Cave at the year 123, about which time undoubtedly he flourished. We here choose to follow the Chronicle of Eusebius, according to which his Apology was presented[g] in the year 126. He seems to be the first Christian who presented a written Apology to any of the Roman emperors; in whose dominions the Christian religion had its rise, and in which it long struggled under difficulties, but continually prevailed, till it became the religion of the empire. According to[h] Jerom, this Apology had a good effect upon the emperor; which is also intimated by Eusebius in his Chronicle.

Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, who flourished about the year 170; in his letter to the Athenians, makes[i] mention of one Quadratus, who was bishop of that church after the martyrdom of Publius; and informs us, that 'by his care the Christians' of that city, 'which had 'been scattered by the persecution, were brought together again, and the ardour of their faith 'was revived.' But it is disputed whether this be the same person with Quadratus the apolo-

[a] H. E. l. iii. c. 37. in. [b] Ch. 8. p. 335-336.

[c] Κοδρατος ὁ ἱερος των αποστολων ακροατης. p. 81. Vid. et. p. 211. [d] H. E. l. v. c. 17. p. 183. C. D.

[e] Τουτῳ [Ἀδριανῳ] Κοδρατος λογον προσφωνησας αναδιδωσιν, απολογιαν συνταξας ὑπερ της καθ' ἡμας Θεοσεβειας . . . . . ἐξ οὐ [συγγραμματος] καλιδειν ἐστι λαμπρα τεκμηρια, της τε τοτε ανδρος διανοιας, και της αποστολικης ὀρθοδομιας. L. iv. c. 3.

[f] Hist. Lit. [g] Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. ii. La Persecution d'Adrien, note 6. Basnage, Ann. P. E. 126. sect. 3.

[h] Quadratus apostolorum discipulus, et Atheniensis pontifex ecclesiæ, nonne Adriano principi, Eleusinæ sacra invisenti, librum pro nostrâ religione tradidit? et tantæ admirationi omnibus fuit, ut persecutionem gravissimam illius sedaret ingenium. Ad Magnum, ep. 83. al. 84. [i] Eus. H. E. l iv. c. 23. p. 143. D.

gist. It is plain that[a] Jerom supposed the apologist to have been bishop of Athens. But Valesius[b] supposing that the words of Dionysius imply, that Quadratus, bishop of Athens, was his contemporary; and observing that Eusebius has never called Quadratus, author of the Apology, 'bishop;' nor Quadratus, bishop of Athens, 'disciple of the apostles,' concludes that they are different persons: in which he is followed by divers learned men, as[c] Du Pin,[d] Tillemont,[e] Basnage. Nevertheless Cave[f] is of opinion that Quadratus, bishop of Athens after Publius, is the same with the apologist. Grabe[g] approves of his arguments for that opinion, and has supported it with some additional considerations.

It may be best not to be positive on either side. If the words of Dionysius imply that Quadratus was then living, and lately made bishop of Athens, we must needs suppose them two different persons. But if he can be supposed to mean no more than that Quadratus had been some time bishop of Athens; and it could be allowed that Publius suffered martyrdom so early as the time of Trajan or Adrian (which is not improbable); Quadratus the apologist might then be his successor, but not otherwise; for the age of Quadratus the apologist is sufficiently settled by Eusebius. He was an eminent man in the time of Trajan, and probably did not outlive the reign of Adrian, or however not long.

II. *Aristides* is more than once mentioned, together with Quadratus, by Eusebius and Jerom. In his Ecclesiastical History Eusebius adds to his account of the forementioned apologist: 'And[h] Aristides, a faithful man of our religion, left an 'Apology for our faith, as 'Quadratus did, addressed to Adrian:' which he says too was then extant. In his Chronicle he places this Apology in the same year with that of Quadratus; and informs[i] us of one particular more concerning Aristides, that he was an Athenian philosopher. Jerom,[k] in his book of Illustrious Men, confirms this account; with the addition of another circumstance; that after his conversion he continued to wear his former habit of a philosopher: 'Aristides,' says he, 'a 'most eloquent Athenian philosopher, and in his former habit a disciple of Christ, presented to 'the emperor Adrian, at the same time with Quadratus, a book containing an account of our 'sect, that this, an Apology for the Christians, which is still extant, a monument with the 'learned of his ingenuity.' In another place, after he had spoken of Quadratus, he commends the learning of this Apology; and says, that afterwards, 'Justin[l] imitated Aristides in the 'book which he presented to Antoninus Pius, and his sons, and the Roman senate.' This is all we have to say of Aristides; for, to our great regret, there is nothing of him remaining.

III. *Agrippa Castor* flourished, according to Cave, about the year 132. Eusebius speaks of him in his account of things near the end of the reign of Adrian. He wrote against Basilides, who, as[m] Eusebius informs us, was an 'Alexandrian, and erected schools of his impious doctrines 'in Egypt.' That ecclesiastical historian says, there were at that time a great many ecclesiastical men, defenders of the apostolical doctrine against the heresies of Saturninus, and Basilides, and others. He adds: 'Of these there[n] is come down to us an ample confutation of Basilides 'by Agrippa Castor, a most eminent writer of that time, where he discovers the subtilty of 'his imposture. Laying open his secret mysteries, he says that he composed four-and-twenty 'books upon the gospel; and that he taught it to be an indifferent thing to eat meat offered 'to idols: and that, in time of persecution, men might without scruple abjure the faith.'

I need not transcribe at length Jerom's[o] account of Agrippa. He calls him a "very learned

[a] Quadratus, apostolorum discipulus, Publio Athenarum episcopo ob Christi fidem martyrio coronato, in locum ejus substituitur. . . . . Cumque Hadrianus Athenis exegisset hyemen . . . porrexit ei librum pro religione nostrâ compositum, valde utilem, plenumque rationis et fidei, et apostolicâ doctrinâ dignum. De V. I. c. 19. Vid. supra [h].

[b] Annot. in Euseb. p. 81. [c] Bibliotheque, Quadratus. [d] As before, note vii. [e] Annal. 126. sect. 3. [f] Hist. Lit. P. 1. p. 32. [g] Spicileg. T. ii. p. 120, 121. [h] Και Αριστειδης δ', πιστος ανηρ, της καθ' ημας ὁρμωμενος ευσεβειας, τῳ Κοδρατῳ παραπλησιως ὑπερ της πιστεως απολογιαν επιφωνησας Αδριανῳ, καταλελοιπε. H. E. l. iv. c. 3. fin. [i] Τουτῳ και Αριστειδης Αθηναιος φιλοσοφος ὑπερ Χριστιανων ακολουθα τῳ αυτοκρατορι προσεφωνησεν Αδριανῳ. Chr. p. 81. [k] Aristides, Atheniensis philosophus eloquentissimus, et sub pristino habitu discipulus Christi, volumen nostri dogmatis rationem continens, eodem tempore quo et Quadratus, Hadriano principi dedit, id est, Apologeticum pro Christianis, &c. De V. I. c. 20.

[l] Aristides philosophus, vir eloquentissimus, eidem principi apologeticum pro Christianis obtulit, contextum philosophorum sententiis; quem imitatus postea Justinus, et ipse philosophus, Antonino Pio, et filiis ejus senatuique, librum contra gentiles tradidit. Ad Magnum Or. ep. 84. [m] H. E. l. iv. c. 7. p. 119. C. D. [n] Ὡν εις ἡμας καταληλθεν εν τοις το τε γνωριμωτατοις συγγραφεως Αγριππα Κασ-τορος ικανωτατος και Βασιλειδη ελεγχος, την δεινοτητα της τ' ανδρος αποκαλυπτων γοητειας. Εκφαινων δ' εν αυτη τα αποῤῥητα, φησιν αυτον εις μεν το ευαγγελιον τεσσαρα προς τοις εικοσι συνταξαι βιβλια. Ib. p. 120. A. B. [o] Agrippa, cognomento Castor, vir valde doctus, &c. De V. I. c. 21.

man;' and places the rise of the heresy of Basilides at Alexandria in the time of Adrian; which is agreeable to what Eusebius writes in his Chronicle at the seventeenth year of Adrian, and 133d of our Lord, that [a] Basilides then dwelt at Alexandria. Agrippa must have written whilst Basilides was living. Theodoret [b] says that Agrippa wrote likewise against Isidorus, son of Basilides: whether he means the forementioned work, is uncertain. When Agrippa says that 'Basilides composed four-and-twenty books upon the gospel;' it is doubtful whether he intends any of our gospels, or a gospel written by Basilides himself. We may have another opportunity to examine that point more particularly. There is nothing remaining of this learned man, except what is in the account given by Eusebius in the above-cited passage, of which I have transcribed a part.

IV. *Aristo*, of Pella in Palestine, is cited by [c] Eusebius, as saying, that, after the conquest of 'Judea by Adrian, the Jews were prohibited by the edicts of that emperor to behold even 'as afar off their native soil.' Aristo is generally supposed [d] to be the author of a dialogue, intitled, 'A Dispute of Papiscus and Jason,' expressly mentioned by [e] Celsus the Epicurean, in his books against the Christian religion, written about the middle of the second century, or some time after. Celsus says it was a book 'not so much worthy of laughter, as of pity and 'aversion.' Origen says, in answer to this, that 'whoever will read that little book, without 'prejudice, will find it not worthy of either hatred or laughter; in which a Christian is intro-'duced arguing with a Jew from the Jewish scriptures; and shewing that the prophecies con-'cerning the Messiah agree to Jesus, although the adversary strenuously maintained his point 'against him.'

This dialogue is twice quoted by [f] Jerom, but without mentioning the name of the author. It was translated by one Celsus into Latin: but this translation, as well as the original, is lost. The Latin preface only of Celsus to his translation is remaining, and is published at the end of St. Cyprian's works. There was a Celsus, bishop of Iconium, in the third century, who is mentioned in [g] Eusebius; but there is no proof that he is the author of this translation. All that we can be certain of, says [h] Cave, concerning him is, that he wrote in times of persecution, and before the Roman emperors embraced the Christian religion; as appears from several passages of the preface. Tillemont too thinks it very probable that he lived while the church was under persecution, at least before the council of Nice. Some place it about the time of St. Cyprian. But whenever the translator lived, we have sufficient assurance, from Celsus the Epicurean, that the dialogue itself was written before, or about, the year 140; or, as Cave says, 136. I shall only add, that the translator informs us, in his preface, that [i] Jason was a Hebrew Christian, Papiscus a Jew of Alexandria; that Papiscus was convinced by the arguments set before him, and desired of Jason to be baptized. They who desire to know more of this dispute may consult, beside [k]Cave,[l] Tillemont, [m]Grabe, [n]Fabricius, and the authors referred to by him.

V. *Soter*, successor of [o] Anicetus in the see of Rome, flourished, according to Cave, about the year 164. Eusebius [p] has taken no notice of any writing of his, beside a letter to the Corinthians; written by him, as it seems, in the name of the church of Rome, as St. Clement's had been long before. He speaks of it in his account of the several letters of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth; one of which was to the church of Rome, addressed to Soter their bishop at that time: in which he informs them, that their late epistle had been read in the public assembly of the church of Corinth on the Lord's day, and that it should be so read often. The passage has been transcribed [q] already. Dionysius not only commends the letter of the church of Rome, but the church itself, and Soter their bishop, for an excellent custom, which had long since obtained among them, of sending relief to foreign churches in necessity, and to their brethren in the mines. This passage too we shall have occasion to produce hereafter.

[a] Basilides hæresiarches in Alexandriâ commoratur, a quo Gnostici. [b] Hæret. Fab. l. i. c. 4. sub fin.

[c] Αριστων ὁ Πελλαιος ἱστορει, κ. λ. l. iv. c. 6. p. 118. D.

[d] This is taken chiefly upon the credit of Maximus, a writer of the seventh century. Vid. Cave. Hist. Lit. P. 1. p. 34.

[e] Οἱαν δη και Παπισκου τινος και Ιασονος ανηλογιαν εγγων, κ. λ. Ap. Orig. c. Cels. l. iv. p. 199. [f] Quæstion. Hebr. in Genesim. pr. et Comm. in Gal. iii. 13. [g] H. E. l. vi. c. 19. p. 222. B. [h] Ubi supra. [i] Illud præclarum atque memorabile gloriosumque Iasonis Hebræi Christiani, et Papisci Alexandri Judæi disputationis occurrit, ... p. 31. B. [k] Hist Lit. [l] Mem. Ec. T. ii. P. 1. Saint Luc. Evangeliste, p. 248—251. [m] Spicil. Patr. T. ii. p. 127. [n] Bibl. Gr. T. v. p. 187.

[o] Eus. H. E. l. iv. c. 22. p. 142. C. [p] Ib. c. 23. p. 145. B. [q] Ch. 2. p. 291.

VI. I have already [a] mentioned the letter of Dionysius of Corinth to the church of Gnossus in Crete, and his admonition to *Pinytus* their bishop. Eusebius [b] likewise informs us, that 'Pinytus wrote an answer to that letter, wherein he greatly commends Dionysius: but 'at the same time desires him to impart to them more solid food, and in some future letter to 'write more perfect instruction for the nourishment of the people under his care; lest, being 'ever accustomed to milky discourses, they grow old in a childish discipline.'

Jerom has likewise an article for Pinytus in his catalogue of Illustrious Men; and gives much the same account of this answer to Dionysius, calling [c] it 'an elegant epistle.' He says, Pinytus flourished in the time of M. Antoninus and Commodus. As we have no account of any writing of his, beside this epistle, I make no scruple of placing him at the same year with Dionysius, his contemporary. It may be considered whether here be any allusion to 1 Cor. iii. 2. or to Heb. v. 12, 13. Pinytus is mentioned by Eusebius, in another place, [d] with Dionysius of Corinth, Philip, Apollinaris, Melito, Musanus, Modestus, and other eminent persons of that time.

VII. We formerly [e] mentioned also a letter of the same Dionysius to the church of Gortyna in Crete, of which *Philip* was bishop. Of him Eusebius [f] soon after says, that 'he composed 'a most elaborate work against Marcion.' St. Jerom has an article for [g] this writer, and commends his piece; and says he flourished in the times of Marcus Antoninus and Commodus.

VIII. One of the letters of Dionysius of Corinth was written to the church of Amastris, together with the other churches in Pontus. Eusebius [h] informs us, that in that letter Dionysius mentions by name *Palmas*, their bishop. In another place, writing of the controversy about the time of keeping Easter, at the year 196, he says: 'There [i] is also a letter of the bishops in Pontus, over whom Palmas presided, as being the most ancient.' It may be supposed that this letter was composed by him.

IX. Eusebius having, in the forecited passage concerning Philip, said that 'he composed 'a most elaborate work against Marcion,' adds: 'As [k] did also Irenæus and *Modestus*; which 'last did most excellently, and beyond the others, detect his frauds, setting them in the fullest 'light before all the world.' St. Jerom [l] says, 'Modestus, who lived in the time of M. Anto-'ninus and Commodus, wrote a book against Marcion, which is still extant. There are like-'wise other works under his name, but they are rejected by the learned as supposititious." We know nothing more of them: there are no such now.

X. Soon after,[m] Eusebius says, that there was extant in his time a 'very eloquent piece of '*Musanus*, written to some brethren who were gone over to the heresy of the Encratites.' Jerom [n] speaks to the same purpose of this work, and says it was written in the time of M. Antoninus. Theodoret [o] calls Musanus a 'defender of the truth,' and says he wrote against the Severians, which were a branch of the Encratites. Both these writers are placed by Cave at the year 176.

XI. *Claudius Apollinaris* was bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, of whom Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History writes to this purpose: 'At [p] the same time flourished also Melito bishop 'of Sardis, and Apollinaris bishop of Hierapolis, men of great reputation: each of which sever-'ally presented apologetical discourses for the Christian religion to the fore-mentioned em-'peror [M. Antoninus], who reigned at that time.' In the next chapter Eusebius speaks thus of his works: 'Although there are many books of Apollinaris still extant, and in the hands of 'many, I am acquainted with these following only: An Oration to the forementioned emperor '[this is his Apology]; Five books against the Gentiles; Two books of Truth; Two against 'the Jews; and the books which he afterwards wrote against the Phrygian heresy, which not 'long after gave great disturbance, but was then making as it were its first appearance, Mon-'tanus being as yet employed in laying the foundation of that error with his false prophetesses.'

[a] Ch. 12. p. 351—352.

[b] Προς ην ὰ Πινυλος ανλιγραφων, θαυμαζει μεν και αποδεχεται τον Διονυσιον· ανλιπαρακαλει δε στερρολερας ηδη τροφης, τελειολεροις γραμμασιν εισαυθις τον παρ' αυλω λαον υποθρεψανλα, ὡς μη δια τελους τοις γαλακλωδεσιν ενδιαλριβοντες λογοις τη νηπιωδει αγωγη λαθοιεν καλαγηρασανλες. H. E. l. iv, c. 23. p. 144. B.

[c] Valde elegantum epistolam. De V. I. c. 28.

[d] L. iv. c 21.

[e] Ch. 12. p. 351.

[f] Φιλιππος γε μην, ὁν εκ των Διονυσιω φωνων της εν Γορλυνη παροικιας επισκοπον εγνωμεν, παυυ γε σπουδαιολαλον πεποιηλαι και αυλος καλα Μαρκιωνος λογον. L. iv. c. 25.

[g] De Vir. Ill. c. 30.

[h] H. E. l. iv. c 23. p. 144. B.

[i] Των τε καλα Πονλον επισκοπων, ὡν Παλμας ὡς αρχαιολαλος προυλειακλο. L. v. c. 23. p. 191. A.

[k] L. iv. c. 25.

[l] De V. I. c. 32.

[m] Ib. c. 28.

[n] De V. I. c. 31.

[o] Hær. Fab. l. i. c. 21.

[p] L. iv. c. 26. in.

Serapion, not long after bishop of Antioch, [a] styles him the 'blessed Claudius Apollinaris, who 'was bishop of Hierapolis in Asia.' And it may be argued, from his expressions, that what Apollinaris had written against the Montanists was in the epistolary way. Eusebius [b] informs us, that Apollinaris had mentioned the extraordinary deliverance and victory which M. Antoninus obtained in the year 174. He does not say in which of his books this affair was mentioned, though his Apology may be reckoned as likely a place for it as any.

Jerom in his [c] Catalogue says, Apollinaris flourished in the time of M. Antoninus 'to 'whom [d] he presented an excellent book for the Christian faith.' He reckons his works as Eusebius does, except that he omits the two works 'against the Jews,' which are wanting likewise in some manuscripts [e] of Eusebius. Apollinaris is mentioned again by Jerom, in another [f] place, together with Irenæus, and other the most eminent Christian writers; 'who,' he says, 'had shewn in their works the origin of the several heresies, and from what sects of the philosophers they had sprung.'

Theodoret has mentioned the writings of Apollinaris against the Montanists, and says, 'he '[g] was a man worthy of praise, and that he had added to the knowledge of religion the study 'of polite literature.' In another place [h] he speaks of Apollinaris having written against those Encratites which were called Severians, from Severus, who after Tatian made some additions to the peculiar notions of that sect.

Photius speaks of three [i] books of Apollinaris, which he had read; Against the Gentiles, Of Piety, and Of Truth; and commends his style. The second, Of Piety, is mentioned no where else that I know of. Photius says likewise that there were other writings of his which deserved to be taken notice of, but he had not seen them.

We have seen enough to satisfy us, that this author flourished in the reign of Marcus Antoninus, about the same time with Melito. And Eusebius in his Chronicle, at the eleventh year of Marcus, of Christ 171, says: 'Then flourished Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis:' which is the year next after that in which he had placed the flourishing of Melito. Cave places him at the year 170. As Apollinaris has spoken of the victory of Marcus, which happened in the year 174, and of the legion which he says was from thence called the Thundering Legion, and written against the Montanists, and, according to Theodoret, against those Encratites which were called Severians; I choose to place him with Melito at the year 176 or 177, though possibly he was then in the decline of life.

Nothing remains of these writings of Apollinaris. It is easy to guess we suffer a great deal in the loss of the numerous works of so eminent a person.

There are however two fragments ascribed to Apollinaris in the preface to the Paschal, or, as it is often called, The Alexandrian Chronicle: which the author alleges to shew, 'that [k] at 'the time when our Lord suffered, he did not eat the typical passover.'

'And Apollinaris,' says he, 'the most holy bishop of Hierapolis in Asia, who was near the 'times of the apostles, in [l] his discourse of Easter, teaches the same things, saying: "There are 'some, who through ignorance raise contentions about these things, which is a pardonable 'thing; for ignorance is not to be blamed, but rather needs instruction: they say, that upon 'the fourteenth day the Lord eat the lamb with the disciples; and that on the great day of 'the feast of unleavened bread he himself suffered; and that Matthew says as much, as they 'understand him. Whence it is evident, that their interpretation is contrary to the law: and, 'according to them, the gospels disagree."

'Again [m] the same person writes in the same book: "The fourteenth is the day of the true 'passover, the Lord, [who is] the great sacrifice, instead of the lamb the Son of God, who was 'bound, who [n] bound the strong man, who though judged is [o] judge of the quick and the dead; 'and who was [p] delivered into the hands of sinners, that he might be crucified: who was ex-

[a] Πεπομφα ὑμιν και Κλαυδιω Απολλιναριω τω μακαριωτατω γενομενω εν Ἱεραπολει της Ασιας επισκοπω γραμματα. Ap. Eus. H. E. l. v. c. 19. p. 187. A.

[b] L. v. c. 5. p. 169. C. D. [c] De V. I. c. 26.

[d] Cui et insigne volumen pro fide Christianorum dedit.

[e] Vid. Valos. Annot. in loc Euseb. [f] Ad Magnum, ep. 83. al. 84. [g] Ανηρ αξιεπαινος, και προς τη γνωσει των θειων και την εξωθεν παιδειαν προσειληφως. Hær. Fab. l. iii. c. 2. [h] Ib. l. i. c. 2.

[i] Προς Ἑλληνας, και περι Ευσεβειας, και περι Αληθειας. Phot. C. 14. [k] P. 6, 7. Paris. 1668.

[l] Εν τω περι τω Πασχα λογω, κ. λ. Ib. [m] Και παλιν ὁ αυτος εν τω αυτω λογω γεγραφεν ουτως· Η ιδ' τω αληθινω τω Κυριω πασχα, ἡ θυσια ἡ μεγαλη, κ λ. Ibid.

[n] See Matth. xii. 29. Mark iii. 27. Luke xi. 21, 22.

[o] Acts x. 42, and other places. [p] Matth. xxvi. 45. Mark xiv. 41, and other places.

'alted upon the horns of the unicorn, and whose sacred [a] side was pierced; who also poured 'out of his side two cleansers, water and blood, the word and the spirit; and who was buried 'on the day of the passover, a stone [b] being laid upon the sepulchre."

I think it may be questioned, whether these passages be taken out of a book of Apollinaris, or of some other person.

It is indeed possible that he might write a book about Easter, though it is not expressly mentioned by Eusebius: for he says, there were extant many writings of Apollinaris, beside those he was acquainted with. But the single testimony of a writer of the seventh century can hardly afford full satisfaction in this point. Tillemont [c] dare not rely upon their being taken out of any work of this father; he rather thinks they belong to Pierius, presbyter of Alexandria in the [d] third century: which may be reckoned a probable conjecture, since Photius has mentioned a book of Pierius intitled, A [e] Discourse on Easter.

Whoever is the author of this book, it appears, from these short passages, that he owned and respected St. Matthew's and the other gospels.

XII. I insist here chiefly on catholic authors. Nevertheless I am unwilling to omit *Bardesanes the Syrian*, who flourished, according [f] to Cave, about the year of Christ 172, the twelfth of Marcus Antoninus. There can be no inconvenience in placing him a little lower, about 180, in which year Marcus died. I suppose we may hereafter see reason for so doing.

Eusebius speaks favourably of Bardesanes, though most later writers call him an heresiarch. 'Moreover,' says [g] that historian, 'in the reign of the same emperor [Marcus Antoninus], 'when there were many heresies in Mesopotamia, Bardesanes, a most eloquent writer in the 'Syriac language, and an excellent disputant, wrote several dialogues in his own language 'against Marcion, and other authors of different opinions; beside a great number of other 'pieces, which his disciples (for [h] he had many followers, because [i] he strenuously defended the 'faith) translated out of Syriac into Greek; among which is his excellent dialogue Of Fate, 'inscribed to Antoninus. It is said that he wrote several other books upon occasion of the 'persecution of that time. He was at first a follower of Valentinus; but afterwards disliking his 'doctrine, and having discovered several parts of it to be fabulous and without foundation, he 'seemed to himself to have attained to the right faith: but he did not get entirely clear of 'his former errors.' In another work Eusebius says, that [k] Bardesanes was a Syrian, but a complete master of the Chaldaic learning.

Jerom in his [l] Catalogue says: 'Bardesanes was famous in Mesopotamia, who, being first 'a follower of Valentinus, then a confuter of him, founded a new heresy. . . . He wrote a 'vast number of volumes against almost all the heresies that sprung up in his time; among all 'which his book about Fate, which he inscribed to Marcus Antoninus, is the most celebrated, 'and most excellent. He wrote many other books upon occasion of the persecution; which 'his disciples translated out of Syriac into Greek. But if there be such force and beauty in a 'translation, how much may we suppose there must be in the original?'

Jerom says, the dialogue about Fate was inscribed to Marcus Antoninus, meaning the emperor, in which he is followed by many learned moderns. But [m] Valesius, and [n] divers others, think this to be said without good ground: because Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, does not call Antoninus, to whom the book Of Fate was inscribed, 'emperor.' And when he quotes that book, in another place, he calls it [o] 'a Dialogue with his friends;' or, as Valesius understands it, inscribed to his friends. Nor is it very likely, they say, that this book, written in the Syriac language, should be dedicated to the Roman emperor. But these arguments are not conclusive.

[a] John xix. 34. [b] Matth. xxvii. 66, and all the other gospels. [c] Un auteur inconnu et assez nouveau cite deux passages tirés, dit il, d'un discours qu'il avoit fait sur la Paque. Mem. E. T. ii. P. 3. p. 91. ed Bruxelles. St. Apollinaire. [d] He is placed by Cave at the year 283. H. L. P. i. p. 101. [e] Εχει δε και εν τω εις το πασχα και τον Ωσηε λογω, κ. λ. Cod. cxix. p. 299. [f] Histor. Lit. P. i. p. 47. [g] H. E. l. iv. cap. 30. [h] Πλειστοι δε ησαν αυτω συναλως τω λογω παρισαμενοι. Ibid. [i] Some may choose to understand the original words, as expressive of the eloquence of Bardesanes. [k] Εξ ανδρος Συρου μεν το γενος, επ' ακρον δε της Χαλδαϊκης επιστημης ελληνικοτος. Præp. Evang. l. vi. p. 273. B. [l] Cap. 33. [m] Annot. in Euseb. H. E. l. iv. c. 30. [n] Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. ii. Bardesane. Ernest. Sal. Cyprian. ad Hieron. De V. I. cap. 33. [o] Ος εν τοις προς τους εταιρους διαλογοις. Præp. Evan. l. vi. cap. 9. p. 273. A

The abilities of Bardesanes, and his writings against heretics, are commended by Jerom in some [a] of his other works: and he says [b] that he was admired by heathen philosophers.

Epiphanius [c] says, that Bardesanes was a native of Edessa in Mesopotamia; and that he was very intimate with Abgarus, prince of Edessa, whom he commends as a zealous Christian. Bardesanes is supposed to have been the adviser of a law published by that prince, and mentioned by himself in the fragments of the book Of Fate in [d] Eusebius.

Epiphanius, as well as Jerom, counts him the author of a new heresy, which he calls that of the Bardesianists. As Epiphanius cannot be relied on, I shall not take all he says of this writer. It may be justly argued that he is mistaken, when be affirms that Bardesanes was skilful in Greek, as well as Syriac; this not having been mentioned by Eusebius, or any other authors; and they having considered his works in the Greek language as translations. He says too, that Bardesanes was [e] originally a catholic; whereas Eusebius and Jerom suppose him to have been first a Valentinian. He mentions his book Of Fate; and allows that there are other [f] works of his agreeable to the right faith. He tells likewise a story very honourable to Bardesanes: 'When [g] Apollonius, a friend of the emperor Antoninus, persuaded him to deny 'that he was a Christian, he almost deserved to be reckoned a confessor for the pious and 'resolute answer which he made, saying: That he was not afraid of death, which he could not 'escape, though he should not disobey the emperor.' But yet, he says, this great genius afterwards went into several great errors. However, 'he [h] continued to use the Law and the 'Prophets, both the Old and the New Testament, joining with them likewise some apocryphal 'books.' For this last Bardesanes is not to be commended: but I wish that Epiphanius had informed us what were these apocryphal books; whether ancient or modern, Jewish or Christian.

Theodoret says, that Bardesanes was a Syrian, born at Edessa, and that he 'flourished under 'Marcus Verus;' that is, 'Marcus Antoninus the philosopher.' He adds, '[i] Bardesanes wrote 'many books in the Syriac language, which were translated into Greek.' He says likewise, 'that 'he himself had seen his book Of Fate, against the heresy of Marcion, and not a 'few other.'

According to the anonymous author of the Edessen Chronicle, who is supposed [k] to have been written about the middle of the sixth century, Bardesanes [l] was born in the year of Christ 154.

There is extant a noble fragment of the Dialogue about Fate in [m] the Evangelical Preparation of Eusebius; in which is a passage, which may be of good use to us upon another occasion where he expressly calls himself a Christian.

Ephrem the Syrian made [n] good use of that Dialogue of Bardesanes. The same Ephrem assures us, that [o] our author composed a hundred and fifty psalms in elegant verse, in imitation of David's Psalter.

Bardesanes [p] had a son named Harmonius, who was an ingenious and learned man: but differed little from his father, according to Sozomen, as to his peculiar sentiments.

There is a Bardesanes twice mentioned in the remaining works of Porphyry. It has been generally [q] thought that there were two of his name; Bardesanes the Syrian, of whom we have spoken, who lived in the second century; and Bardesanes the Babylonian, author of a book concerning the Indian philosophers, called by the Greeks Gymnosophists, who lived at the

[a] Quid de Apollinario Hierapolitanæ ecclesiæ sacerdote, Dionysioque Corinthiorum episcopo, et Tatiano, et Bardesane, et Irenæo Photini martyris successore: qui origines hæreseon singularum, et ex quibus philosophorum fontibus emanârint, multis voluminibus explicârunt? Ad Magnum, ep. 83.

[b] Talis Bardesanes, cujus etiam philosophi admirantur ingenium. Comment. in Osee, cap. 10. [c] Hær. 56.

[d] Præp. Ev. l. vi. cap. 10. p. 279. D. [e] Εκ γαρ της αγιας του Θεου εκκλησιας ωρμαιο. Hær. 56. p. 476. D.

[f] Και αλλα δε καλα την ευσεβη πιστιν εμφερειαι αυτου συγγραμματα. Epiph. ibid. p. 477. A. [g] Of this Apollonius, see Tillemont, Mem. Ec. as above; and Basnage, Annal. P. E. 173. sect. 8. & Is. Casaub. ad Jul. Capitolin. Antoninum Pium, cap. 10. [h] Χρηται δε νομω και προφηταις, παλαια τε και καινη διαθηκη, και αποκρυφοις τισιν ωσαυτως. Ibid. sect. 2. p. 477. C. [i] Πολλα δε και τη Συρων συνεγραψε γλωττη, και ταυτα τινες μετεφρασαν εις την Ελλαδα φωνην. Ενετυγχανον καγω λογοις αυτε, και καλα εμαρμενης γραφεισι, και προς την Μαρκιωνος αιρεσιν, και αλλοις εκ ολιγοις. Hæret. Fab. l. i. cap. 22.

[k] Vid. Asseman. Biblioth. Oriental. T. i. p. 387.

[l] Apud Asseman. ibid. p. 389. [m] P. 279. D.

[n] Vid. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 124, 125.

[o] Varia Bardesanis scripta hoc loco commemorat S. Doctor, quæ ex Sozomeno et Theodereto supra indicavimus: et addit, ab eodem centum et quinquaginta psalmos eleganti carmine fuisse elaboratos, ad imitationem Psalterii Davidici. Assem. ibid. p. 132. n. 53. [p] Vid. Sozomen, H. E. l. iii. c. 16. p. 526. Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. l. i. cap. 22. et H. E. l. iv. cap. 29. [q] Vid. Voss. de Historicis Græcis; Morery's Dictionary, and the Supplement.

beginning of the third century, and is cited by Porphyry. But Tillemont [a] makes no scruple of allowing Bardesanes the Babylonian to be the same with him who is usually called the Syrian. Upon this supposition Dodwell [b] has formed an argument against the common opinion of the age of Bardesanes, which is, that he flourished in the time M. Antoninus the philosopher. Perhaps that learned man would not have insisted on this argument if he had seen the Edessen Chronicle, since published by Dr. Asseman. However we will consider the difficulty, without pretending to set it aside upon the Chronicle alone, though its authority may be justly reckoned to be of weight in this question.

In one place Porphyry quotes Bardesanes the Babylonian, who, says he,[c] 'lived in the 'time of our fathers.' In the other [d] he speaks of some, 'who waited on Bardesanes of Mesopotamia, at the time that the emperor Antoninus, who was of Emesa, came into Syria.' He means the emperor Antoninus Heliogabalus, whose [e] reign is computed from the year 218 to 222.

Dodwell [f] therefore suspects that Eusebius has mistaken the emperor under whom Bardesanes flourished. Finding the book Of Fate inscribed to Antoninus, he concluded Marcus Antoninus the philosopher to be thereby intended; whereas it was probably the emperor Heliogabalus, who was of Emesa, and had also the name of Antoninus. And Eusebius, being himself deceived, has deceived and misled all following historians: so that learned man Grabe [g] too was of opinion, that Bardesanes flourished in the time of Heliogabalus.

And it is obvious, that Porphyry's Bardesanes is of the same country with him mentioned by Christian writers; that is, of Mesopotamia: and as Porphyry calls him a Babylonian, so does [h] Jerom likewise, in a place not yet referred to, cite 'Bardesanes the Babylonian:' the quotation too is a part of one of the passages alleged by [i] Porphyry. We before observed, that Jerom assures us, Bardesanes was admired by philosophers: accordingly we find one of that name cited by Porphyry with respect. These particulars seem to render it probable, that one and the same person is every where intended. And, if so, Porphyry has determined his age, about which all our authors are mistaken.

Let us however consider their testimony, and whether it is likely that they should be in the wrong. Dodwell allows, that Eusebius, both in his History and Chronicle, places Bardesanes near Tatian. This uniformity of computation seems to shew, that Eusebius had no doubt of the truth of it. All our Christian writers agree together about the age of Bardesanes, and they had every one of them some knowledge of his writings. Eusebius knew very well the book Of Fate. He was not wholly unacquainted with his other performances, as appears from his observation, that Bardesanes did not get entirely clear of his former errors. Jerom too commends his style and learning. Epiphanius passes his judgment upon the writings of this author, approving some, and condemning others. And Theodoret says expressly, that he had seen a great many of them: which acquaintance with his works may be reasonably supposed to have enabled them to judge of his age, without depending upon the authority of Eusebius. Then Epiphanius relates some conversation between Bardesanes and Apollonius, a friend of the emperor Antoninus. And there was, beside others, a Stoic philosopher of that name, of Chalcis too, a city in Syria, who was [k] first a master, and afterwards an intimate friend, of Marcus Antoninus. Finally, Eusebius informs us, that it was generally said (he was not certain of this) that Bardesanes wrote some books concerning the persecution of that time, meaning the reign of Marcus. And Epiphanius informs us of the persuasions or threatenings of Apollonius, to induce Bardesanes to renounce the Christian religion. These particulars concur

[a] Bardesane étoit Syrien d'extraction, originaire d'Edesse en la Mésopotamie. Et comme ce pays n' étoit pas loin de celui de Babylone, c'est lui sans doute, que l'on appelle quelque fois Bardesane le Babylonien. Mem. Eccl. Bardesane, T. ii. P. iii. p. 93. [b] Dissert. Iren. iv. cap. 35.

[c] Ὡς Βαρδησανης, ανηρ Βαβυλωνιος, επι των παλαιοτερων ημων γεγονως· και ενίυχων τοις περι Δαμαδαμιν [al. Δανδαμιν] πεπεμμενοις Ινδοις προς τον Καισαρα, ανεγραψεν· Porphyr. de Abstin. l. iv. sect. 17. p. 167. Cantabrigiæ, 1655.

[d] Ἰδου οἱ επι της βασιλειας του Αντωνινε του εξ Εμισων εις την Συριαν αφικομενου Βαρδησανη τῳ εκ Μεσοποταμιας εις λογες αφικουμενοι εξηγησανΐο, ὡς ὁ Βαρδησανης ανεγραψεν, κ. λ. De Styge, p. 282. περι ᾧ ὁ Βαρδησανης ταδε γραφει. Ib. p. 283.

[e] Vid. Pagi Critic. in Baron. 222. sect. 2. [f] Sed vereor ne recentioribus Eusebio historicis omnibus imposuerit Eusebius, qui Marco librum illum 'de Fato' putat a Bardesane dictatum. Eusebium autem ipsum, ni fallor, fefellit homonymia in voce Antonini. Sub Antonino enim, non Marco, sed Emesâ oriundo, Elagabalo, floruit Bardesanes, scriptor celeberrimus, e Syriâ, etiam eâdem quâ et hæreticus, Mesopotamiâ, teste certissimo Porphyrio de Styge..... Diss. Iren. iv. sect. 35.

[g] Spicileg. T. i. p. 317. [h] Bardesanes, vir Babylonius, in duo dogmata apud Indos Gymnosophistas dividit, &c. Adv. Jovin. l. ii. T. iv. col. 206. Ed Marrian. [i] Vid. Porphyr. de Abstin. p. 169. [k] Vid. Jul. Capitolin. in Antonino Pio, cap. 10. et M. Antonino Philos. c. 2, 3.

in describing the reign of Marcus, not that of Heliogabalus, or his immediate predecessors, which Dodwell allows not to have been times of remarkable rigour against the Christians.

I think then that we may allow, that Porphyry, and the Christian writers, speak of one and the same person: and that we need not dispute either his or their authority, concerning the age of Bardesanes, but may reconcile them together. The visit to Bardesanes of which Porphyry makes mention, when Antoninus Heliogabalus came into Syria, was made, we may suppose, in the year 218, before Heliogabalus set out from Antioch to go to Rome. And it is likely that Bardesanes did not live long after this, he having died before the time of Porphyry, who was born about the year 232. For so Porphyry says: 'He lived in the time of our fathers.'

Probably at the year 218 Bardesanes was of a great age. His extensive knowledge, [illegible] reputation, the great number of his books, and of his followers, and his change of sentiments, are indications of no short, but rather of a long life. Possibly too he was an author in the early part of his life. Great men are usually, first of all, illustrious youths. There are many men who have flourished, as authors, thirty or forty years, and more. Tertullian, about the same time, flourished, as long; Libanius, of the same country, longer. I perceive not any absurdity in supposing Bardesanes to have been a writer of repute in the reign of Marcus Antoninus, and his being alive, and greatly respected, in the year 218 or 220.

If, according to the Edessen Chronicle, Bardesanes was born in 154, he was not yet seventy years of age in 220; and he would be twenty-six years of age complete in 180, the year in which Marcus died, before which time he might have written several books.

Thus Porphyry and our Christian writers are reconciled, even allowing them all to speak of one and the same person. It happens, that Prophyry has spoken of some things near the conclusion of Bardesanes's life; whilst our authors have chiefly mentioned him about the time when he began to be famous in the world, without[a] denying him to have continued much longer.

All this is proposed to be considered, upon the supposition that Porphyry and the Christian writers speak of one and the same Bardesanes. But I do not allow that to be certain, and out of doubt: for methinks it may be very well questioned, whether Jerom, when he quotes Bardesanes the Babylonian, means the same whom he has several times mentioned as a Christian, or a heretic. However I maintain that our Christian writers are not mistaken about the time of Bardesanes, whom they speak of as living, and being an author, in the reign of Marcus Antoninus. And I take it for granted that I have said enough to clear them from all suspicion of mistake in this matter.

XIII. Eusebius has given a short account of *Apollonius*, who suffered martyrdom at Rome in the time of Commodus; probably in the year 186 or 187. He says, that[b] 'Apollonius was 'celebrated for learning and philosophy.' Being accused before Perennis [præfect of the Prætorium,] 'Perennis desired him to give an account of himself before the senate, which he 'did, in a most eloquent apology for the faith, pronounced in that assembly: and was then 'sentenced to lose his head, as by a decree of the senate.' Eusebius adds: 'They who are 'desirous to read what Apollonius said before the judge, his answers to the interrogatories of 'Perennis, and[c] his whole apology in the senate, may find them in the collection which I have 'made of the ancient martyrdoms.' Which collection is lost.

Jerom has given Apollonius a place in his Catalogue[d] of Ecclesiastical Writers. He calls him a 'senator of Rome.' 'Being commanded to give an account of his faith, he composed 'an excellent piece, which he read in the senate. But nevertheless he was beheaded for Christ, 'by order of the senate.'

[a] 'Without denying him to have continued much longer.'] We must however except Epiphanius, according to the common reading and interpretation of his words, Hær. 56. sect. 1. Διηρκεσε μεν μετα την εκεινε τελευτην αχρι των χρονων Αντωνινε Καισαρος, ου τον Ευσεβους καλεμενε, αλλα τον Ουηρε· 'That 'he continued after the death of Agbarus until the times of 'the emperor Antoninus, not him who is called Pius, but 'Verus;' that is, Marcus Antoninus the philosopher: which words must be allowed to imply, that Bardesanes did not outlive the reign of Marcus. But on the other hand, if we could suppose Epiphanius to mean Heliogabalus, who was often called Varius [vid. Lampridii Antonin. Heliogab cap. i.] he would afford an argument, not that Bardesanes flourished in the time of Heliogabalus, as Grabe says [Spicileg. T. i. p. 317.] but that he continued till the reign of that emperor, after having been eminent for a considerable time before, which may be the truth. But I think it in vain to criticise upon the words of Epiphanius, whose chronology is not always exact.

[b] Απολλωνιον ανδρα τ..ν τοτε πιστων επι παιδειᾳ και φιλοσοφια βεβοημενον. H. E. l. v. c. 21. p. 189. C.

[c] Πασαν τε την προς την συγκλητον απολογιαν. Ib. D.

[d] De V. I. c. 42.

There are difficulties attending some parts of the history of Apollonius, which I pass over, considering him at present chiefly as an author. Jerom says, he read his Apology in the senate, which is not said by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History. However he deserves to be reckoned an author. If he only pronounced the apology, it might be taken down from him in writing. Eusebius is express, that this 'whole apology' might be read in his collection of the Acts of Martyrs.

Jerom,[a] in another work, mentions Apollonius among some of the most eminent Christian writers. He is there placed with Greek authors: but in his Catalogue, in the article of Tertullian, he says, that father was then reckoned the 'first of the Latin writers, after Victor and 'Appollonius;' where he seems to mean the same person. Possibly the reason of this different way of reckoning may be, that Apollonius delivered his apology to the senate in Latin; but in Jerom's time it was extant only in Greek, in the Acts of the ancient Martyrs, collected by Eusebius.

XIV. *Rhodon* is spoken of by Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, under the reign of Commodus. Jerom[b] says, he flourished in the times of Commodus and Severus: they both say, he was a native of Asia. I shall confine myself to the account which Eusebius gives of his works. He says, that Rhodon wrote several books; among others one against the heresy of Marcion, which he assures us was then divided into several parties. He relates a conference which he had with Appelles, one of them, then an old man, whom he confuted and exposed. 'In the same book,' says[c] Eusebius, 'which he inscribes to Callistion, he informs us, that he 'had been instructed by Tatian at Rome, and says that Tatian had composed a book of 'difficult questions, for the explication of several obscure places of scripture: Rhodon at the 'same time promises to put out a distinct work, containing a solution of those questions. 'There is extant a commentary of his upon the six days work of the creation.'

XV. *Victor*, as we are informed by[d] Eusebius, succeeded Eleutherus, bishop of Rome, in the reign of the emperor Commodus. He says, that upon occasion of a difference about keeping the time of Easter, 'Victor endeavoured to cut off from the common unity all the churches 'of Asia, together with the churches in their neighbourhood, as holding things contrary to the 'right faith: and[e] by letters proscribed, and declared excommunicated, all the brethren in 'those parts:' for which he was reproved[f] by Irenæus, and other bishops, as acting contrary to the laws of peace and charity.

There was before this a synodical letter, upon the same question, written[g] by the bishops assembled at Rome, which had Victor's name prefixed.

Jerom in his[h] Catalogue says: 'Victor, the thirteenth bishop of the city of Rome, wrote 'about the question of Easter, and other small pieces. He governed the church ten years 'under the emperor Severus.' In his Chronicle Jerom says, that in his time there were extant[i] some books of 'Victor concerning religion, which were tolerably well written:' though perhaps he speaks rather of the bulk than of the merit of his books: they are not in being now. There are extant, however, some letters ascribed to him, but[k] without ground, as is generally allowed.

XVI. *Bacchylus*, bishop of Corinth, successor of the forementioned Dionysius, is mentioned by Eusebius, with Polycrates bishop of Ephesus, Serapion bishop of Antioch, and others, 'who '[l]had left testimonies of the orthodoxy of their faith in writing.' He afterwards speaks of a letter written[m] by Bacchylus, about the time of celebrating Easter. Jerom in his Catalogue says: 'Bacchylus, bishop of Corinth, who flourished in the time of the emperor Severus, wrote[n] an elegant book about Easter in the name of all the bishops in Achaia.' I suppose he means the epistle mentioned by Eusebius.

XVII. *Theophilus*, bishop of Cæsarea, and *Narcissus*, bishop of Jerusalem, are likewise mentioned by[o] Eusebius in the forecited place, together with those who had testified the orthodoxy of their faith by their writings. Afterwards he[p] says, 'that there is extant an 'epistle [about the question of Easter] in the name of the bishops of Palestine assembled in 'council, over whom presided Theophilus, bishop of Cæsarea, and Narcissus, bishop of Jerusa-

[a] Scripsit et Miltiades contra gentes volumen egregium. Hippolytus quoque et Apollonius, Romanæ urbis senator, propria opuscula condiderunt. Ad. Magn. ep. 83. al. 84.

[b] De V. I. c. 37. [c] L. v. c. 13. [d] H. E. l. v. c. 22. init. [e] Και ςηλιτευει γε δια γραμματων, ακοινωνητως αρδην παντας τους εκεισε ανακηρυττων αδελφες. L. v. c. 24. p. 192. B. C. [f] Ibid. p. 192, 193.

[g] Και των επι Ῥωμης δε ὁμοιως αλλη περι τε αυτου ζητηματος, επισκοπον Βικτορα δηλουσα. L. v. c. 23. p. 190. D.

[h] Cap. 34. [i] Cujus mediocria de religione extant volumina. p. 171. [k] Vid. Basnage, Annal. 192. sect. 8. Pagi Critic. in Baron. 196. sect. 3. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. iii. St. Victor, Article viii. [l] H. E. l. v. c. 22. p. 190. A. B. [m] Ib. c. 23. p. 291. A.

[n] Elegantem librum scripsit. De V. I. c. 44.

[o] H. E. l. v. c. 22. [p] Ibid. c. 23.

'lem.' Eusebius[a] has mentioned some particulars of this letter, and transcribed a passage out of it.

Jerom[b] says, 'that Theophilus, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, in the time of Severus, composed, together with the other bishops of that country, a very useful synodical epistle against 'those who kept Easter, with the Jews, on the fourteenth day of the moon.'

Jerom has no particular article in his Catalogue for Narcissus. He speaks of him, however, in the chapter of[c] Alexander, who was afterwards colleague or coadjutor of Narcissus in the church of Jerusalem.* Narcissus lived to[d] a great age. There are several remarkable stories concerning him in[e] Eusebius, which we may have occasion to take notice of some other time.

There have been published 'Acts of the Council of Cæsarea, concerning the Question of keeping Easter.' But they are with good reason suspected, and rejected, by[f] several learned men, as not genuine.

XVIII. Having given, beside catholic writers, a short history of Bardesanes, whom Eusebius does not allow to have been completely orthodox, and others call an heresiarch, I shall conclude this chapter with *Symmachus*.

Before the nativity of our Saviour there was no other Greek version of the books of the Old Testament, but that called the Version of the Seventy. In the time of Origen there were, beside that, the versions of Aquila (who lived in the reign of Adrian), Theodotion, Symmachus, and two or three others which are anonymous: though these last seem not to have contained a translation of all the Old Testament, but of some particular books only.

The exact age of Symmachus is not certain, some reckoning him a writer of the second, others of the third century. It is likewise disputed, which version of the Old Testament was first made; that of Theodotion, or Symmachus. Petavius thinks[g] Theodotion's was first in the order of time: Hody,[h] and[i] most other learned men, are of a different opinion. I shall put down here only an observation of[k] Hody: It is not easy to determine the year, or the reign, in which either Theodotion or Symmachus made their versions; but it is certain that Theodotion's was published before Irenæus wrote his work 'Against Heresies,' because he is there cited. And it is probable that Symmachus had not then published his version; because, when[l] Irenæus quotes Aquila and Theodotion, he makes no mention of Symmachus, though there was the same reason for mentioning him as the other two. This argument seems to me sufficient to shew, at least, that Irenæus was not acquainted with the version of Symmachus, if it was then published.

I speak of Symmachus at the end of the second century, which is very little different from[m] Cave's computation, who has fixed the time of his flourishing at the first year of the third century.

Epiphanius[n] says, that Symmachus was a Samaritan, and one of those whom they call 'wise men:' but meeting with some disappointment in his ambitious views among his own people, he turned Jew. He must have been converted afterwards to Christianity, for Eusebius[o] and others[p] call him an Ebionite: and it is not improbable, that this is what Epiphanius[q] means, when he says Symmachus turned Jew; he considering Ebionitism as a sort of Judaism. According to some[r] ancient authors, the Ebionites, or some branch of them, were called Symmachians from him.

I enlarge no farther on the history of Symmachus, which may be seen in[s] Hody, who has likewise collected a great number of ancient testimonies relating to him. Our chief concern at present is with a passage of Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History.

Having given an account of Origen's labours in the Old Testament, and particularly of

[a] H. E. l. v. c. 25. [b] De V. I. c. 43. [c] Ibid. c. 62. [d] Vid. Hieron. ibid. et. Eus. H. E. l. vi. c. 11. [e] Ibid. c 9. 11. [f] Vid. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. T. V. p. 194. Tillemont, Mem. Ecc. T. iii. P. i. p. 177 and 479. Bruxelles. [g] Annotat. ad Epiphan. de Mensuris et Ponderibus, cap. 16. [h] De Biblior. Text. Orig. l. iv. p. 579. [i] This point may be seen argued in Du Pin, Dissertation Prelim. l. i. c. vi. sect. 5. Huet. Origeniana, p. 256. Montfaucon, Præliminaria in Hexapla Origenis. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. ii. p. 336, &c. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. iii. Origene, Art. vii. et note x. beside Hody as above, l. iv. See likewise Dodwell, Diss. Iren. iv. c. 40. [k] Ibid. p. 580. m. [l] L. iii. c. 21. al. 24. [m] H. Lit. p. 64. [n] Συμμαχος τις Σαμαρειτης των παρ' αυτοις σοφων. κ. λ. De Mens. et Pond. c. 16. p. 172. B. Vid. et. Synopsin Scriptur. apud Athanas. T. ii. p. 203. [o] Euseb. H. E. l. vi. c. 17. Dem. Ev. l. vii. cap. 1. p. 316. C. [p] Hieronym. De Vir. Ill. cap. 54. Suidas, V. Ωριγενης. Theodoret. Hær. Fab. l. ii. cap. i. [q] Vid. Montfaucon, Præliminaria in Origenis Hexapla, p. 51.

[r] Ambrosius seu quis alius in prologo commentariorum in epistolam ad Galatas: et Augustinus in lib. i. contra Crescen. cap. 31. Vid. Vales. ad Euseb. vi. 17. [s] Ubi supra, l. iv. c. 1. sect. 7.

the editions of his Tetrapla and Hexapla; in the former of which were the versions only of Aqula, Symmachus, and Theodotion, together with that of the Seventy; Eusebius proceeds in the following chapter: 'Moreover it ought to be observed, that Symmachus, one of those 'interpreters, was an Ebionite. These Ebionites are such as say, Christ was born of Joseph 'and Mary, and suppose him to have been a mere man: and contend that the law ought to be 'kept after the manner of the Jews, as we have before shewn. And [a] to this day there are 'extant commentaries of Symmachus in which [b] he endeavours to support the forementioned 'heresy, from the gospel according to Matthew. These, together with Symmachus's other 'translations of the scripture, Origen had, as he informs us, from one Juliana: who, he says 'likewise, received those books from Symmachus himself.'

Valesius [c] contends, that the words above cited ought to be thus translated: 'There are 'still extant commentaries of Symmachus, in which, disputing strongly against Matthew's 'gospel, he seems to confirm the foresaid heresy.' He does not deny that the Ebionites received St. Matthew's gospel: but he says, their gospel of Matthew was corrupted and mutilated; and he supposes, therefore, that in this work Symmachus disputed against our authentic genuine gospel of St. Matthew.

But Valesius has made few converts to this opinion; most other learned men understanding this passage agreeably to the version which I have given of it. And in favour of this sense [d] it has been alleged, that this passage was so translated by [e] Rufinus, and was understood in the same manner [f] by Jerom: not to insist here on Nicephorus Callisti, Suidas, or others, who have taken it in this sense. It is possible, indeed, that the gospel according to Matthew, used by Symmachus, varied in some things from our gospel; but how far, or in what particulars, we cannot so much as pretend to make a conjecture: though if Symmachus was of that branch of the Ebionites, which said that Jesus was born of Joseph and Mary (as Eusebius seems to hint, and Theodoret [g] expressly says,) it might be suspected that he did not receive the first chapter of St. Matthew's gospel. If this work of Symmachus were now extant, it would be a curiosity. It would, in all probability, give us a great deal of light into the notions of the Ebionites, and satisfy us how far the gospel of Matthew, which they used, was genuine or corrupted; and what respect they had for the other gospels; and how far they owned the authority of Paul, or the other twelve apostles of Christ.

Eusebius adds: 'These [commentaries,] together with Symmachus's other translations [or 'interpretations] of the scriptures, Origen had, as he informs us, from Juliana.' By these 'other translations' Hody [h] understands some comments, or expositions of the scripture, different from the Greek version of the Old Testament made by Symmachus: but he owns, at the same time, that Rufinus understood these words of the version. They are so understood likewise by [i] Cave, and [k] Dodwell, and others. I think this sense cannot be well disputed: especially, if we consider that there were two [l] editions of the version of Symmachus: though if there were but one edition of that version, the words of Eusebius, taken in connection with what precedes, could not be understood, in my opinion, of any thing but the version which Symmachus had made of the Old Testament.

Hody thinks that Symmachus was not only an interpreter of the Old Testament, but like-

[a] Και ὑπομνηματα δε τε Συμμαχε εισετι νυν φερεται· εν οις δοκει προς το καθα Ματθαιον αποτεινομενος ευαγγελιον, την δεδηλωμενην αιρεσιν κραζυνειν. Ταυτα δε ὁ Ωριγενης μετα και αλλων εις τας γραφας ερμηνειων του Συμμαχε, σημαινει παρα Ιωλιανης τινος ειληφεναι· ην και φησι παρ' αυτου Συμμαχον τας βιβλους διαδεξασθαι. Eus. H. E. l. vi. c. 17. [b] The original words are, εν οις δοκει . . . κραζυνειν: which have been generally understood by modern interpreters, as if Eusebius only said, that Symmachus 'seems to confirm the foresaid heresy,' 'supradictam hæresin adstruere videtur.' Montfaucon has a learned observation upon the force of the Greek word; and corrects this interpretation: Cum sexcentis exemplis probetur το δοκει, maxime apud scriptores ecclesiasticos, non minuere affirmationem; quâ de re vide onomasticum nostrum ad Athanasii opera, in voce δοκει. Prælimin. in Origenis Hexapla; p. 83. [c] Ad locum Eusebii. [d] Vid. Hody, ibid. 585, 586. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. T. ii. p. 338, 339. Ittigius in Dissert. de Hæresiarchis, p. 72. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. ii. P. i. Les Ebionites, p. 198; and note 2. Montfaucon, Præliminaria in Origenis Hexapla, p. 13.

[e] Eusebii verba sic vertit Rufinus: Sed et commentarios quosdam Symmachus conscripsit, in quibus conatur de evangelio secundum Matthæum auctoritatem suæ hæreseos confirmare. Apud Hodium, ibid. [f] Aquilæ scilicet Ponticî Proselyti, et Theodotionis Ebionæi, et Symmachi ejusdem dogmatis, qui in evangelium quoque κατα Ματθαιον scripsit commentarios, de quo et suum dogma confirmare conatur. De V. I. Origen, cap. 54. [g] De Hær. Fab. l. ii. c. 1.

[h] Cum dicit μετα των αλλων ἑρμηνειων, 'cum aliis interpretationibus,' perspicuum est intelligi non 'translationem;' quod putavit Rufinus, sed expositiones quasdam scripturarum. Rufinus postrema ea sic vertit: 'Hæc ipse Origenes cum interpretatione ipsius Symmachi scribit se apud Julianam quandam reperisse.' Hod. ibid. p. 587. [i] Hist. Lit. P. i. p. 64. [k] Dissert. Iren. iv. c. 40. Vid. et Fabric. Bibl. Gr. Tom. ii. p. 339. [l] Sic Hieronymus in Jer. 32. et in Nahum, cap. 3. ab Hodio laudatus, ibid. p. 586.

wise an expositor of the New: and that not barely on account of his commentaries upon the gospel of St. Matthew, mentioned by Eusebius, but for some exposition of St. Paul's epistles. This supposition is founded upon a passage of Agobardus, bishop of Lyons in the beginning of the ninth century. I shall put the passage in [a] the margin; but I apprehend no certain conclusion can be founded upon it. Fabricius [b] thinks that Agobardus refers to nothing else but the version of the Old Testament.

Hody [c] supposes likewise, that [d] Jerom speaks of some work of Symmachus written in the Latin tongue. Fabricius [e] apprehends, that Jerom's are not to be understood of Symmachus. This is a matter of no great consequence; but Hody's seems to be the most natural interpretation of Jerom. If this were a clear point, it would be an additional argument of the abilities and diligence of this Ebionite; who then would be reckoned a master of more languages, than the most learned generally were at that time.

CHAP. XXIX.

SUPPOSITITIOUS WRITINGS OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

I. *The Acts of Paul and Thecla.* II. *The Sibylline Oracles.* III. *The Testaments of the XII Patriarchs.* IV. *The Recognitions.* V. *The Clementine Homilies.* VI. *The Clementine Epitome.* VII. *Remarks upon the three last pieces.* VIII. *The Conclusion of the second Century.*

THERE were, before the end of the second century, several writings composed and published under the names of eminent persons, to whom they do not really belong; as is generally allowed. I need not enquire what were the views of the authors of these works. Some might design thereby the advancement of the Christian religion in general; others might intend to recommend, together with that, some particular notions and sentiments which they had entertained. Whatever were the views of the authors, I have thought the writings themselves might be of some use to us at this time. If in these pieces, published under borrowed names, the main facts and principles of the New Testament are asserted; this may be esteemed an additional confirmation of the truth of the Christian doctrine, beside what is afforded in the genuine writings of this early age. For this reason I have made some extracts out of divers supposititious pieces, and here propose them to the reader's consideration.

I. The Acts, or Travels, of Paul and Thecla have been [f] already shewn not to be a work of the apostle Paul, but of some weak presbyter of Asia, and never to have had any authority in the church of Christ. It is not certainly known when they were composed: it may be however reckoned probable, that they were written in the latter part of the first, or the beginning of the second century.

There is still extant a book with that title, both in Greek and Latin, published by the late Dr. Grabe from manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. That learned man supposes it to be the work itself of the forementioned presbyter, with only some [g] few interpolations. That there

[a] Symmachum non modo ut interpretem V. Testamenti, verum etiam ut expositorem Novi, commemorare videtur Agobardus. Epist. ad Fredegisum, cap. xi. [conferatur cap. ix.] 'Hæc omnia idcirco dicimus, ut appareat, quia quam in-'juste a vobis criminamur, cum dicitis nos reprehensores 'apostolorum et divinarum scripturarum esse tam injuste; 'vel potius, multo injustius, quoscunque interpretes atque ex-'positores coæquatis apostolis et evangelistis; cum Symma-'chum, et Paulum, et Didymum, et Joannem unâ defensione 'indifferentique laude dignos ducitis.' Respicere videtur ad expositionem epistolarum Paulinarum ab eo conscriptam. Hodius, ibid. p. 587. [b] Neque Agobardum vel catenarum compositores aliud opus Symmachi quam Versionem Bibliorum respicere existimo, quemadmodum Hodius ipse probe animadvertit Symmachum inter Latinos patres quandoque referri, quod Latini ecclesiæ doctores ejus translatione usi fuerunt. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. l. iii. cap. 12. T. ii. p. 349.

[c] Ibid. p. 587. [d] Symmachus igitur pro eo quod [Ps. cxxxv.] est in Græco περιούσιον in Hebræo 'Segula,' expressit ἐξαιρέτον, id est; 'egregium' vel 'præcipuum:' pro quo verbo, in alio volumine, Latino sermone utens, 'peculiarem' interpretatus est. Hieron. Comm. in Ep. ad Tit. cap. 2. [e] Sed videtur Hieronymus loqui de Latino veteri interprete, qui 'in alio volumine,' h. e. non in Psalmis, sed in alio libro Biblico περιούσιον reddiderit 'peculiarem.' Fabric. ibid. p. 339. [f] Chap. 27. n. xxii.

[g] Tandem etiamsi concedatur antiqua Acta Theclæ quibusdam in locis interpolata esse, nihilominus ipsa in lucem edere operæ pretium existimavi, quia paucissima sunt quæ in suspicionem corruptionis trahi queant, eaque haud magni momenti. Grabe, Spicileg. T. i. p. 94.

are interpolations, cannot be well disputed; even allowing it to be, for the main part, the ancient piece published under this title. The old Latin version appears to me more sincere and uncorrupt than the Greek copy; but I think them both to have been oftener interpolated than Grabe supposed, and in things of great consequence.

I shall take a few passages of this book, containing, as I suppose, allusions, or imitations of some parts of the New Testament.

1. And in the first place I observe, that in this book Onesiphorus and Titus are introduced, as admirers and friends of the apostle Paul; and Demas, Hermogenes, Alexander the coppersmith,[a] are represented as his pretended friends, but real enemies: and, whereas St. Paul, 2 Tim. ii. 17, speaks of some, particularly Hymeneus and Philetus, "who concerning the truth have erred, saying, That the resurrection is past already, and overthrow the faith of some;" so here these enemies of the apostle, Demas and Hermogenes, are brought in saying, 'That[b] they 'will shew that the resurrection, which Paul says is to be, is already past [or 'made'] in the 'children which they have, and that they have risen by knowing the truth.' I put down now two or three other passages.

2. Paul is said to have preached at Iconium, in the house of Onesiphorus, in this manner: "Blessed[c] are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." Matth. v. 8. "Blessed are they who shall keep the flesh undefiled, for they shall be the temples of God. . . . . Blessed are they who have wives, as though they had none, for they shall become angels of God." 1 Cor. vii. 29. . . . "Blessed are they that receive the wisdom of Jesus Christ, for they shall be called the sons of the Highest." Luke vi. 35. . . . "Blessed are they who for the love of Christ forsake the fashion of this world, for they shall judge angels, and shall be placed at the right hand of Christ, and shall not see a severe day of judgment." 1 Cor. vii. 31; vi. 3.

In the old Latin version this last sentence is divided, as it were, into two; for after the 'sitting at the right hand of Christ,' or God, it is added, 'Blessed[d] are the merciful, for they 'shall not see a severe day of judgment:' which is equivalent to those words, Matth. v. 7, "they shall obtain mercy." And divers other expressions are here put into the mouth of Paul, which, though different from our Lord's Beatitudes in St. Matthew and St. Luke, are a plain imitation of them; as some of these, which I have here put down, are exactly the same.

3. Paul is brought before the Roman Governor at Iconium, who asks him: 'Who are[e] 'you? what do you teach? for they grievously accuse you. And Paul lift up his voice, say-'ing: If I this day be called in question what I teach, hear, proconsul: God is jealous, a God of 'vengeance: God, that needeth nothing but the salvation of men, has sent me to deliver men 'from vice and impurity, . . . that they may not sin. Therefore God has sent his son Jesus 'Christ, whom I preach, and teach men to have their hope in him, who alone has had compas-'sion on an ignorant erring world, that they may be no longer exposed to condemnation, O 'proconsul, but might have faith, and the fear of God, and a knowledge of virtue, and a love of 'truth. If therefore I speak those things which have been revealed to me by God, proconsul, 'what crime am I guilty of? But the proconsul, having heard these things, commanded Paul 'to be bound, and to be cast into prison, till he should be at leisure to hear him more carefully.'

I suppose that here are references, or allusions, to several things in the Acts of the Apostles [Acts xxiv. 21; xxiii. 6; xvii. 3, 25, 30, 31;] and that in some other places of this work the author refers to other things in the New Testament. But I shall not detain the reader any longer in this book, which really is of no great importance; though Dr. Grabe does undoubtedly deserve commendation, for publishing it in the greatest perfection he was able.

II. That the Sibylline Verses, or Oracles, which we now have in eight books, are not the same which were kept at Rome with so much care and veneration, nor any other heathen collection of Sibylline Oracles, but a Christian forgery; has been so often and so clearly shewn,

[a] At the beginning of these Acts, in the Greek copy, Demas and Hermogenes only are mentioned, which last is called a 'coppersmith.' Ἀναβαινόντος τοῦ Παύλου εἰς Ἰκόνιον . . . ἐγενήθησαν αὐτῷ συνοδοιπόροι Δήμας καὶ Ἑρμογένης ὁ χαλκεύς, ὑπουκρισεως γέμοντες. Spicil. p. 93. In the Latin version 'Alexander the coppersmith' is joined with the other two: 'Facti sunt ei comites Demas, Ermogenes, Alexander ærarius, repleti simulatione. Ibid. p. 120. [b] Καὶ ἡμεῖς διδάξομεν, ὅτι ἣν λέγει σῶμα ἀναστασιν γενησεσθαι, ἤδη γέγονεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐχομεν τέκνοις, καὶ ἀνεστημεν, Θεὸν ἐπιγνόντες. p. 101. init. Confer. Ver. Lat. p. 122. [c] Μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὄψονται. Μακάριοι οἱ ἁγνὴν τὴν σάρκα τηρήσαντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ναοὶ Θεοῦ γενήσονται . . . Μακάριοι οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκας ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ γενήσονται . . . Μακάριοι οἱ σοφίαν λαβόντες Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ ὑψίστου κληθήσονται. . . . Μακάριοι οἱ δι' ἀγάπην Χριστοῦ ἐξελθόντες τοῦ σχήματος τοῦ κόσμου, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἄγγελοι κριτοῦ ἔσονται, καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σωθήσονται, καὶ ἐν ὑψώσει ἡμέραν κρίσεως πικρὰν. Ibid. p. 97. [d] Beati misericordes, quoniam ipsi non videbunt diem judicii amarum. p. 121. [e] Ibid. p. 101, 102.

and is so generally allowed by learned men, that I shall here take it for granted. However, I may have another opportunity, in the course of this work, of shewing this particularly, if it should be needful.

We may take a general account of this collection of pretended Oracles in the words of Mr. Turner. 'We there find,' says [a] he, 'an account of the creation of the world, the fall of our 'first parents, the ark of Noah, the deluge of waters, the tower of Babel and other matters, all 'undoubtedly taken from the book of Genesis. The historical books of the New Testament 'have also furnished the forger of these Oracles with several pretended prophecies concerning 'our Saviour. The manner of our Lord's nativity, his life and actions, his trial and sufferings, 'his resurrection and ascension, are described with much plainness and particularity: which 'makes it more than probable, that several of those Oracles, relating to our blessed Saviour, 'are not predictions of future events, but historical narrations of facts that were already past 'and gone. The author, in order to disguise the imposture, is somewhat enigmatical in his 'account of the Roman emperors. He describes them all, from Julius to Adrian, chiefly by 'the initial letters of their names.' So far Mr. Turner. But the author has made use of more than one artifice to disguise the imposture. It may be justly supposed, that with this view he inserted in his work several things taken [b] from the ancient heathen oracles, and from Orpheus, Homer, and other poets.

I shall add little more preliminary to my extracts, but to shew when these Oracles were composed.

Cave, who is well satisfied [c] of their being a forgery, supposes that a large part of them were composed in the time of Adrian, about the year 130, they being quoted by Justin Martyr; that others were added in the time of the Antonines; and the whole work completed in the reign of Commodus.

Prideaux [d] says, 'This collection must have been made between the year of our Lord 138 'and the year 167. It could not be earlier, for therein is mention made of the next successor 'of Adrian, that is, Antoninus Pius, who did not succeed him till the year 138: and it could 'not be later, because Justin Martyr in his writings several times quotes it, and appeals to it, 'who did not outlive the year 167.'

Fabricius [e] is of opinion, that this collection does not contain all the Sibylline Oracles which were used by the ancient fathers; but that, nevertheless, it contains a great part of them. He supposes, likewise, that several parts of the collection have been transposed, and placed in a wrong order by transcribers. He farther thinks, that the most ancient Christian writers, who have quoted the Sibylline Oracles, had not the whole collection which we have, but only a part; which, together with additions made afterwards, compose the collection which we have.

These, and other observations of Fabricius, in his judgment upon this collection, have a great appearance of probability. We have good reason, I think, to conclude, that our collection contains a great part of the Sibylline books used by the fathers; because it has in it almost all the verses particularly quoted by them, and answers the character which they give of theirs. Justin Martyr, toward the end of his 'Exhortation to the Greeks,' (if that piece be his,) says: 'The [f] Sibyl expressly and clearly foretels the coming of our Saviour Christ.' And again, a little after: 'That she [g] not only expressly and clearly foretels the future coming of our Saviour 'Jesus Christ, but also all things that should be done by him.' So do ours, as will appear presently. Whether that work be Justin's, as is generally supposed, or not, is not very material in this case; it appearing from what he says in his [h] first Apology, an indisputed work, that he had in his hands some Sibylline books, which were very favourable to the Christian cause. St. Augustine [i] too says, 'that the Sibyl has nothing in her whole poem favourable to the wor-

[a] 'The Calumnies upon the Primitive Christians accounted 'for.' Chap. 11. p. 201. London, 1727. [b] Sunt nonnulla in hac collectione, quæ auctor de industriâ inspersit ex antiquis oraculis Ethnicis, ex Orpheo, Homero, et aliis poëtis. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. i. lib. i. c. 33. p. 217. Vid. et quæ sequuntur. [c] Conficta esse, idque in gratiam Christianæ fidei, nemo non videt. Hist. Lit. P. i. p. 34.

[d] Connection, &c. Part ii. book ix. p. 626. first ed.

[e] Bibl. Gr. ut supra, p. 219—221. [f] Την του Σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου αφιξιν σαφως και φανερως προαγορευσα. Ad. Gr. Cohort. p. 36. [g] Περι δε της του Σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου μελλουσης εσεσθαι παρουσιας, και περι παντων των ὑπ' αυτου γενεσθαι μελλοντων, σαφως και φανερως προαναφωνουση. Ib. p. 37. A. [h] P. 82. [i] Hæc autem Sibylla, sive Erythræa, sive, ut quidam magis credunt, Cumana, ita nihil habet in toto carmine suo, cujus exigua ista particula est, quod ad deorum falsorum sive fictorum cultum pertineat, quinimo ita etiam contra eos et contra cultores eorum loquitur, ut in eorum numero deputanda videatur, qui pertinent ad civitatem Dei. De Civ. Dei. l. xviii. cap. 23.

'ship of false gods; but on the contrary she so speaks against them, and their worshippers, 'that she may be reckoned to belong to the city of God.'

However, some things contained in our present collection may have been added to those Sibylline writings which were in the hands of the first fathers. There may be some reason to suspect that the Acrostic, in particular, has been since added; it being first quoted [a] by Constantine, and no where clearly referred to by Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, or Theophilus; whereas, had they known of it, it is likely we should have found in them some hint of it. Nor is there [b] any good ground to think that Tertullian has alluded to it, as some have supposed.

I shall make no use therefore of that Acrostic in my extracts here, which ought to be confined to writings of the second century: and that the main part of this collection was made within that time, I shall shew briefly in two or three observations.

1. Justin Martyr is the first [c] Christian writer who appears to have quoted this collection of Sibylline Oracles, or any Sibylline verses whatever, containing the peculiar doctrines of Christianity. The more ancient writers preceding him, who have mentioned the Sibyls, have quoted nothing but what might be found in Sibylline writings among the heathen. This is an observation of [d] Fabricius, to whom I refer for the particular proof of it.

2. Celsus, who wrote before the end of the second century, gives the Christians the name [e] of Sibyllists; and says, 'that [f] some of them had a great value for the Sibyl, and had inter-'polated her writings with many blasphemous things.' I shall not need to put down here Origen's answer to this charge, his answer being allowed by [g] many learned men not to be sufficient. Celsus then may be reckoned to be a good evidence, that there were in his time Sibylline verses, which were more Christian than heathen.

3. The author betrays his age by several things in this collection. He says, at the conclusion of the eighth book, that he [h] is a Christian. In the fifth book he says, he had [i] 'seen the 'second ruin of the desired house;' most [k] probably meaning the destruction of Jerusalem in the time of Vespasian. In the beginning of the fifth book he describes the Roman emperors to Adrian, and says, that 'after' him three shall reign' [that is, Antoninus, Marcus, and Lucius:] and that the 'third of these shall obtain the power of all things,' and in his time shall come the end of the world. This must have been written before 169, in which year Lucius died. He being the youngest, the author guessed he would have the longest reign. But Marcus survived him, and obtained 'the power of all,' or became sole emperor.

So this is generally understood: but possibly by the 'third' the author means Marcus. Lucius indeed, while he lived, was the third and last, in point of rank and dignity, as well as age; but, after his death, Marcus might be spoken of as the third and last, I suspect that he is the person here intended: and the author prophesies of his sole empire, after it obtained. If Marcus is the person whom the author calls 'the third,' then the passages, in which the 'universal power' of one of the three is mentioned, were written after the death of Lucius in 169.

He speaks to the like purpose again in the eighth book: That after him who shall take his name from the Adriatic Sea, that is, Adrian, 'three [m] shall reign in the last day,' and then comes the end of the world. But first of all Rome shall [n] be destroyed 'in the 948th year 'from her foundation,' which is the year of Christ 195. The event not answering this prediction, it is reasonable to conclude, that this is only a vain conjecture, delivered before the time

[a] Ora. ad Sanctor. Cœt. cap. 18. ap. Eus. H. E. p. 592.

[b] See Mr. Rob. Turner, as before, p. 207, 208; and Fabricius, p. 214.

[c] They are quoted likewise, or referred to, by the anonymous author of the Preaching of Peter, who probably lived about the same time with Justin Martyr. See before, ch. 22. note [a], p. 410.

[d] Fab. Bib Gr. l. i. cap. 33. sect. xi.

[e] Ειπε δε τινας ειναι και Σιβυλλιστας. Orig. c. Cels. l. v. p. 272.

[f] Ὑμεις δε κἂν Σιβυλλαν, ἢ χρωνται τινες ὑμων, εικοτως αν μαλλον προεσησασθε ὡς τα Θεου παιδα· νυν δε παρεγγραφειν μεν εις τα εκεινης πολλα και βλασφημα εικη δυνασθε. Ib. l. vii. p. 368.

[g] Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. i. c. 31. sect. 13. Blondel des Sibylles, l. i. ch. 20. p. 86—88. See also Du Pin, Dissert. Prælim. l. ii. c. 7. p. 115, 116. Amst. 1701. Johan. Richardsoni Prælectiones Ecclesiasticæ, v. i. p. 161, 162. Jer. Jones, New and Full Method, &c. v. i. p. 457.

[h] Τ' ουνεκ' αῤ ἡμεις και οσιης Χριστοιο γενεθλης
Ουρανιης πεφυωλες, επικλειομεσθα συναιμοι
Μνησην ευφροσυνης επι θρησκειην καλεχονλες.

[i] Εσθεσαι παρα σειο παλαι πεποθημενος οικος.
Ἡνικα δευτερον ειδον εγω ῥιπτουμενον οικον.
L. v. p. 332. Paris.

[k] Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. i. c. 32. sect. 7. and Blondel des Sibylles, l. i. c. 4. p. 12.

[l] Τρεις αρξουσιν, ὁ δε τριτος οψε κρατησει παντων. L. v. p. 304. Paris.

[m] Τον μετα τρεις αρξουσι πανυστατον ημαρ εχοντες.
L. viii. p. 367. Paris.

[n] Τρις δε τριακοσιοις και τεσσαρακοντα και οκτω
Πληρωσεις λυκαβαντας, ὁταν σοι δυσμαρος ἡξη
Μοιρα, βιαζομενη τεον ουνομα πληρωσασα.
L. viii. p. 375. Paris.

here mentioned. It is not easy to suppose that any one should publish such a false prediction after the time fixed for its accomplishment.

I forbear to insist now on the sentiments of the author concerning the Millennium, and other matters, which might shew the collection to be ancient, but do not prove it to be written in the second century.

4. These are things which have been already often urged by learned men in the dispute about the Sibyls. I shall add one observation more, though perhaps not very material. The first Christians lay under the calumny of practising promiscuous lewdness, and other crimes, in their assemblies. It has been often supposed, that these calumnies arose from the licentious manners of those called heretics. Eusebius [a] expressly says, that the impurities practised by the Valentinians, and other heretics, gave occasion to the infidel Gentiles to reproach the Christian religion, and all Christians in general. But this was not so commonly said, by the most early Christian writers, to be the ground of these calumnies. Justin martyr [b] freely owns in his first Apology, that he 'did not know whether those scandalous things, which the 'Christians were so commonly charged with, were done by the heretics or not:' and says it [c] was the wickedness of the heathen which disposed them to believe such things of other people which they practised themselves. Tatian [d] and Theophilus [e] speak of those calumnies, without making the heretics the occasion of them. Athenagoras, [f] as well as Justin, says, the general wickedness of the heathen was the reason of their charging the Christians as they did, though they were exemplarily virtuous. Just so the pretended Sibyl. The author describing, as I apprehend, the sect of the Christians, writes to this purpose: Happy [g] are those men, who praise 'the great God before they eat or drink, who shun temples and altars defiled with the 'blood of four-footed beasts and other animals, and worship the one God; who commit no 'murder, nor theft, nor adultery, nor unnatural uncleanness: but the rest of the world will 'not imitate their virtuous behaviour, but will scorn and jeer them, and falsely impute to them 'the crimes which they commit themselves.' This is all he says of that matter, in perfect agreement with the forementioned early ecclesiastical writers.

Having shewn this collection to be, for the main part, a work of the second century, we are now to observe what use the author appears to have made of the books of the New Testament.

1.) In the first book, the Sibyl, or the author under her name, foretels the coming of Christ in this manner: 'Then [h] shall come the Son of the great God, clothed in flesh, made 'like to men on earth. He hath in his name four vowels and two consonants;' that is, he shall be called *Iesous*, according to the Greek writing of that name. Here is a reference to Matth. i. 21. The author says, Christ shall be 'clothed in flesh, and made like to men on 'earth.' There are so many texts of the New Testament to this purpose, that it is not easy to determine a particular reference to any of them; as John, i. 14. Rom. viii. 3. Gal. iv. 4. Heb. ii. 17. and many others.

2.) Afterwards: 'But [i] do you remember [that this is] Christ, the Son of the most high 'eternal God. He will fulfil the law of God, and not destroy it, bearing a complete resem-'blance, and will teach all things. To him shall come priests offering gold, and myrrh, and 'frankincense; for he will perform all these things. But when a certain voice shall come in 'the desert, teaching men, and shall call to all to make straight paths, and to cleanse their 'hearts from all wickedness, and to be baptised in water, that, being born again, they may no 'more practise unrighteousness; a man of a barbarous disposition shall cut it off, for the reward 'of a dance by which he has been ensnared. Then shall suddenly appear to men a great sign,

[a] H. E. l. iv. c. 7. p. 120. D. [b] Ει δε και τα δυσφημα εκεινα μυθολογουμενα εργα πρατουσι—ου γινωσκομεν. p. 70 B. C. [c] Και τα φανερως υμιν πρατομενα, . . . ημιν προσγραφειε. p. 71. A. [d] P. 162. D. [e] Ad. Autol. lib. iii. p. 119. B. C. 126. D. 127. A.

[f] Αλλ' ει τοιουτοι (ω τι αν ειπωμι τα απορρητα;) ακουομεν τα της παροιμιας, ή πορνη την σωφρονα. κ. λ. Legat. p. 37 C. D.

[g] . . . . . Και ηθεα ανερες αλλοι
Ου πολε μιμησονται, αναιδειην πολεσουσες.
Αλλ' αυλους χλευη τε γελωτι τε μυχθιζησες,
Νηπιοι αφροσυνησιν επιψευσονται εκεινοις,
'Οσσ' αυλοι ρεξουσιν αλασταλα και κακα εργα.
Lib. iv. p. 287. Paris. 1599. 1494. Orthodoxogr. Basil. 1555.

[h] Δη τοτε και μεγαλοιο Θεου παις ανθρωποισιν
Ηξει σαρκοφορος, βροτοις ομοιουμενος εν γη.
Τεσσαρα φωνηεντα φερει· τα δε εφωνα δυ' αυτω.
L. i. p. 184. Paris. p. 1473.

[i] L. i. Paris. p. 187. Orthod. p. 1474.

'when a fair stone shall come safely preserved from the land of Egypt. The Hebrew people 'shall stumble at him; but the Gentiles shall come to his doctrine, and through him know 'the most high God.'

Here is a reference to Matth. v. 17, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil:" and to Matth. ii. 11, in what is said of the offering which should be brought to Christ. It is plain the author was acquainted with the first two chapters of St. Matthew. He afterwards seems to refer to our Saviour's flight into Egypt, and his preservation there from the designs of Herod, recorded likewise in the second chapter of the same gospel. He also confirms the history of John the Baptist's preaching and death which we have in our gospels.

3.) He presently proceeds to foretel or relate many of our Saviour's miracles in this manner:

'And [a] then he will heal the diseased and infirm, all whosoever believe in him: then the 'blind shall see, and the lame walk, and the deaf hear, and the dumb speak. He will expel 'dæmons, and raise the dead; he will walk upon the waves; and in a desert place, with five 'loaves and sea-fish abundantly satisfy five thousand, and the fragments will fill five baskets 'for the chaste virgin.' But the people of Israel, he says, will not understand; 'but will 'strike him with the hand, and spit upon him most offensively, and give him impiously gall 'for his meat, and vinegar to drink . . . . . But when he shall have stretched out his hands 'and bore a crown of thorns, and his side has been pierced with a spear, for his sake there will 'be the dismal darkness of the night for three hours in the middle of the day. And then the 'temple of Solomon shall give to men a great sign, when he shall go down to the grave, 'declaring a resurrection for the dead. Then shall he, in three days, return to the light, and 'shew to men that death is but a sleep: and, having taught all things, he will ascend to heaven 'upon the clouds.'

We ought to observe here, that where we read, in our collection, 'sea-fish;' Lactantius seems [b] to have had in his copy, 'two fish;' for so it is in his quotation from the Sibyl. And whereas afterwards, in our copies, we have 'for the chaste virgin;' in Lactantius [c] it is 'for 'the hope' or encouragement 'of many.' And much to the same purpose, in the eighth book of our collection, where the same miracle is spoken of, it is 'for the hope of the people.' I do not stay to enquire the distinct meaning of this writer's obscure expressions; but possibly in those words 'for the hope of the people,' or 'of many,' he refers to the great satisfaction the people had in this miracle, which suited their desire and expectation of a temporal kindom: which is more particularly related by St. John than any other of the evangelists; insomuch that they were coming to "take him by force, to make him a king." John vi. 14, 15.

It is not necessary for me to refer here particularly to the several places of the gospels, in which all these matters are related. Certainly what I have transcribed is sufficient to satisfy every one, that it is from our gospels these pretended prophecies are taken. Beside the many miracles of our Saviour, here is an attestation of the wonders and signs attending our Saviour's crucifixion, recorded in our gospels; as the rending of the vail of the temple, and the three hours darkness. The account of our Saviour's ascension he could not take from St. Matthew or St. John, because it is not mentioned by them; but probably from Mark xvi. 19. or Luke xxiv. 51.; and likewise from Acts i. 9. where alone is mentioned the 'cloud, which received 'him out of their sight.'

4.) This author has divers other expressions plainly taken from our gospels. 'O blessed [d] 'servants,' says he, 'whom the Lord, when he comes, shall find watching; who always watch, 'expecting him with waking eyes; for he will come in the morning, or in the evening, or at 'noon.' He has here joined the texts of two evangelists, but it was not necessary for him to take the words exactly: "Blessed are those servants, whom the Lord, when he cometh, shall find watching." Luke xii. 37. "Watch ye therefore, for ye know not when the master of the house cometh; at even, or at midnight, or at the cock crowing, or in the morning." Mark xiii. 35.

[a] L. i. p. 187, 188. 191. Paris.

[b] Και ιχθυεσσι δοιοισιν. Lact. Div. Inst. l. iv. c. 15. p. 398.

[c] Δωδεκα πληρωσει κοφινες εις ελπιδα πολλων. Lact. ibid.

[d] Ω μακαρες θεραποντες, οσους ελθων αγρυπνιας
Εὑροι ὁ δεσποζων τοι δ' αγρηγορσθεν ὁπαζοις
Πανσοφιη προσδοκωντες ακοιμητοισι βλεφαρισιν.
Ἡξει γαρ τ' ηωος, η δειλης, η μεσον ημαρ.
L. ii. Paris. p. 199, 203. Orth. p. 1475.

5.) And soon after: 'Woe [a] to them who are with child in that day, and who give suck to 'infants, and dwell near the sea.' The two former of these expressions are in Matth. xxiv. 19. Mark xiii. 17. Luke xxi. 23. The last woe may be taken from Rev. xii. 12. "Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea."

I shall put down an abstract of some other passages, where he writes of our Saviour, as he has already done, with some additional particulars.

6.) In the sixth book, which is very short, he says: 'I sing the great Son of the Eternal, 'washed in the river Jordan, on whom the gentle Spirit descended with the wings of a white 'dove. . . . . He will teach men righteousness; he will walk on the waves, deliver men from 'their diseases, and raise the dead.' The writer then denounces ruin to the Jews, for having put on him a 'crown of thorns,' and 'giving him gall to drink,' and crucifying him.

Fabricius [b] ought to be consulted upon the beginning of this book, who has offered an emendation of the ordinary copies of our collection; and supposeth that to this place of the Sibyl Lactantius had an eye, when he says, 'The Spirit of God dscended upon him, in the shape of 'a white dove:' which ought, I think, to be reckoned an argument of the genuineness or antiquity of this part of our collection, and that it is, in the main, the same which was used by the fathers. The author took the baptism of our Saviour in Jordan, and the descent of the Spirit, from our gospels; but the colour of the dove is an invention of his own. A man of his fancy could easily add a circumstance for which there was no foundation, and he would make no scruple of so doing. It makes his work a little more poetical.

7.) In the eighth book, near the end, the author expressly names Mary the mother of our Lord, and the angel Gabriel; relates or foretels his visit to her, her surprize and joy, and the nativity of our Lord at Bethlehem of a virgin mother: all manifestly taken from the first and second chapters of St. Matthew, and the first of St. Luke.

8.) He goes on: 'When [c] this child was born, heaven, and earth, and the whole world 'rejoiced. The wondrous new star that appeared was revered by the wise men; and the child 'wrapped in swaddling clothes, was shewn to them in a manger, for their obedience to God. 'Bethlehem, the place of the nativity of the Word, is told to neatherds, goatherds, and shep-'herds.' See Matth. ii. Luke i. ii. St. Luke speaks only of shepherds abiding in the field, 'keeping watch over their flocks by night.' It was easy to add to them the keepers of other sorts of cattle.

9.) In the same eighth book is the largest and most particular account of our Saviour's miracles, and the extraordinary signs at his death, of which I shall also give some account.

'He [d] will do all things by his word, and heal every disease. He will calm the winds by a 'word, and compose the tempestuous sea, and by faith walk upon it. He will give his cheek 'to envenomed spittle, and his sacred back to stripes. . . . . He will be silent, when smitten on 'the cheek. . . . and will bear a crown of thorns . . . . He will feed, with five loaves and two 'fishes, five thousand in a desert place; and the fragments taken up will fill twelve baskets, 'for the hope of the people. And he will pronounce the souls blessed, that, when derided, 'return good for evil, who are beaten, whipped, and endure poverty. Knowing all things, 'seeing and hearing all things, he will lay open the breasts of men. . . . . He who raised the 'dead, and healed all manner of diseases, will at last come into the hands of wicked and infidel 'men: and with impure hands they will strike God, and give him gall for his meat, and 'vinegar to drink. The vail of the temple will be rent, and at mid-day be the horrid darkness 'of the night for three hours.' He then says, he will be three days in the grave, and return to the light: 'and will be the first who shall shew to the called the beginning of the resurrec-'tion. . . . Then the Lord will first of all appear to his own in the body, as he was before, and 'shew the four marks imprinted in his hands and his feet.'

[a] Αι ὁποσαι κεινῳ ενι ημαλι φορτοφορουσαι
Γαστερι φωραθωσιν, ὁσαι δε τε νηπια τεκνα
Γαλαδοτουσιν, ὁσοι δ' επι ῥυμασι ναιεταουσιν.
L. ii. Paris. p. 200. Orth. p. 1476.

[b] Liber sextus perbrevis, sed in quo clarissime agitur de Filii Dei baptismo ad Jordanem, et Spiritu ei superveniente. Locus corruptus forte ita restituendus:
Εκ πατρος εκ πρωτου πρωτος Θεος, ὡ τε και ἡδυ
Πνευμ' επιγινομενον λευκης πτερυγεσσι πελειης.
Ex hoc Sibyllæ loco Lactantius, l. iv. cap. 15. 'Spiritus Dei descendit super eum, formatus in specium columbæ candidæ.' Fabr. ibid. p. 209.

[c] Καινοφανης δε μαγοισι σεβασθη θεσφατος αστηρ.
Σπαργανοθεις δε βρεφος δειχθε θεοπειθεσι φατνῃ.
Και λογου ἡ Βηθλεεμ πατρις θεοκλητος ελεχθη
Βουτελαταις τε και αιγονομοις και ποιμεσιν αρνων.
L. viii. p. 400. Paris.

[d] L. viii. p. 384. 387, 388.

10.) These things must be reckoned a confirmation of our gospels, and satisfy us that they were books used by Christian people, as containing an authentic history of Jesus Christ, his birth, preaching, miracles, sufferings, and resurrection.

The author has borrowed very little from the epistles; but he may be supposed indebted to the book of the Revelation for several things. However I shall not transcribe any thing of that kind; I content myself with having shewn a constant respect to our gospels, in these pretended predictions concerning Christ.

11.) But many of these things being so plainly taken from the books of the New Testament, perhaps some may suspect our present collection of Sibylline Oracles not to be genuine; that is, the same which was used by the ancient fathers: for how could any men take these for ancient predictions of the Sibyl, written before our Saviour's coming?

To which I answer, that the general character of the Sibylline Oracles, before taken from the fathers, gave us ground to expect as much. And a good part of these oracles, some of the plainest and most particular, those taken above from the eighth book of our collection, are still extant in [a] Lactantius, who flourished at the end of the third, and the beginning of the fourth century, quoted by him from the Sibyl in the original Greek. As it may be a satisfaction to some, I shall place in the margin a valuable passage of [b] St. Augustine, in which he gives at once a summary account (though it is not complete) of the testimonies alleged by Lactantius from the Sibyl. And that the Sibylline books, quoted by the ancient Christian writers, contained plain and full testimonies to the Christian sentiments, may be concluded from the exceptions made to them all along by the heathen, as not being a genuine production of the ancient Sibyl. We have already taken notice of the passages of Celsus preserved in Origen. We have likewise observed in [c] another place, from St. Clement of Alexandria, that these oracles were not then received by the heathen people.

Lactantius also, Constantine,[d] St.[e] Augustine, and others, are witnesses of this exception being made by the heathens of their times. I shall translate only a short passage of Lanctantius. Having quoted the same oracles, before translated by me from the eighth book of our collection, representing Christ doing all things by his word, healing diseases, calming the winds and the seas, feeding five thousand in the desert, and other miracles, he presently adds: 'Confuted [f] by these testimonies, some are wont to take refuge by saying, that those are not Sibylline 'Oracles, but forged and composed by our people.' He expected that this objection would be made to his quotations; and he knew it to have been made before. 'They are wont,' he says, to betake themselves to this refuge."

These things are well known to the learned: I mention them only for the sake of those of my readers who need information, and may be glad of it.

Mr. Whiston, who [g] asserts that 'the present copy of the Sibylline Oracles, as they are now 'extant, in eight entire books, is not, in general, the same with that which was extant before, 'and at the first times of Christianity, but very different from it,' says [h] likewise: 'The present

[a] Vid. in primis, l. iv. c. 15. p. 397, 398, 399, et c. 18. p. 417. 419.

[b] Inserit etiam Lactantius operi suo quædam de Christo vaticinia Sibyllæ, quamvis non exprimat cujus. Sed quæ singillatim ipse posuit, ego arbitratus sum conjunctim esse ponenda, tanquam unum sit prolixum [carmen], quæ ille plura commemoravit et brevia.

'In manus iniquas,' inquit, 'infidelium postea veniet, et 'dabunt Deo alapas manibus incestis, et impurato ore exspuent 'venenatos sputus. Dabit vero ad verbera simpliciter sanctum 'dorsum.'

'Et colaphos accipiens tacebit, ne quis agnoscat quod ver- 'bum, vel unde venit ut inferis loquatur; et coronâ spineâ 'coronabitur.'

'Ad cibum autem fel, et ad sitim acetum dederunt; inhospitalitatis hanc monstrabunt mensam.'

'Ipsa enim insipiens gens tuum Deum non intellexisti lu- 'dentem mortalium mentibus, sed et spinis coronâsti, et horri- 'dum fel miscuisti.'

'Templi vero velum scindetur, et medio die nox erit tene- 'brosa nimis in tribus horis.'

'Et morte morietur tribus diebus somno suscepto, et tunc 'ab inferis regressus ad lucem lætam veniet primus, resurrec- 'tionis principio vocatis ostenso.'—Ita Lactantius carptim per intervalla disputationis suæ, sicut ea poscere videbantur quæ probare intenderat, adhibuit testimonia Sibyllina; quæ nos, nihil interponentes, sed in unam seriem connexa ponentes, solis capitibus distinguenda curavimus. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. xviii. c. 23. Vid. Fabricius, ubi supra, p. 227.

[c] P. 411. 412 [d] Ad Sanctorum Cœtum, cap. 19.

[e] Nisi forte quis dixerit illas prophetias Christianos finxisse de Christo, quæ Sibyllæ nomine, vel aliorum, proferuntur. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. xviii. c. 46. Sed quæcumque aliorum prophetiæ de Dei per Christum Jesum gratiâ proferuntur, possunt putari a Christianis esse confictæ. Ideo nihil est firmius ad convincendos quoslibet alienos, si de hac re contenderint, nostrosque fulciendos, si recte sapuerint, quam ut divina prædicta ea proferantur, quæ in Judæorum scripta sunt codicibus. Ib. c. 47. [f] His testimoniis quidam revicti, solent eo confugere, ut aiant, non esse illa carmina Sibyllina, sed a nostris conficta atque composita. Lact. l. iv. c. 15. [g] A Vindication of the Sibylline Oracles, p. 36. [h] Ib. p. 49.

'spurious additions to the genuine Sibylline Oracles may be in some measure traced up to the 'middle of the second century itself.' This is granting all we want at present.

We have then probable evidence that the whole, or a large part, of our present collection was in being in the second century: and certain evidence from Lactantius of its being composed before the end of the third century.

12.) Whatever was the particular view of the author in composing this work, and however improperly some ancient writers have produced testimonies from it in their defences of the Christian religion, it is now of use to us, as it affords an argument that our gospels were extant, and in much repute, in the author's time. He is to be blamed for assuming the character of a Sibyl. However, intending to compose a work in a prophetical style, and therein to represent, among other things, many particulars relating to our Saviour and his doctrine; he takes for his guides the historical books of the New Testament, and follows them throughout, with very little variation; excepting only what was needful, or agreeable, when they were to be turned into verse. And if he had been pleased to write a pretended prophecy, describing enigmatically the several books of the New Testament received in his time, as he has described the Roman emperors from Julius Cæsar to Adrian, it might be very acceptable.

III. There is also a book called *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, 'the sons of Jacob, 'delivered to their sons;' in which those partiarchs are introduced speaking their last dying words, containing predictions of things future, and rules of virtue and piety; which they deliver to their sons as a choice treasure, to be carefully preserved, and to be delivered by them to their children.

There have been long since several editions of these Testaments in Latin: but Grabe[a] first published them in Greek from[b] some manuscripts in our Universities; and from his edition they have been re-published by[c] Fabricius. Since which[d] Mr. Whiston has given the public[e] an English translation of them.

Cave, in the first part[f] of his Historia Literaria, places the anonymous author of this book at the year 192; but in the second part of[g] that work he appears inclined to think, he wrote nearer the beginning of the second century. It is generally concluded, that these Testaments were composed before the time of Origen; because he quotes a book with that title in one of his Homilies upon the book of Joshua, which we now have only in a Latin version. 'We[h] find also,' says he, 'the like sentiment in a little book called the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, though it is not in the canon.' It has been thought that this book was cited by Origen more than once; but Grabe[i] has shewn this to be the only quotation of it in that father. And there are scarce two or three[k] other quotations of this work, in all the Christian writers, for the space of seven or eight hundred years. Jerom seems to intend it among others, when he says, 'there[l] had been forged revelations of all the patriarchs and prophets.'

Cave[m] thinks it not unlikely that the author was a Judaizing Christian. Dodwell was of the same opinion, as we are assured by[n] Grabe; but he supposed them composed before the end of the first century. Grabe thinks[o] rather, that they were written by some Jew before our Saviour's coming, and were afterwards interpolated in some places by a Christian. But Mr.[p] Whiston asserts, that 'the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs are really genuine, and one of the sacred apocryphal or concealed books of the Old Testament.'

Grabe supposes that this book was written in Hebrew. But of this there is no credible testimony: for that learned man does not[q] rely upon the story, that it was translated into Greek by St. Chrysostom. I think it might be written in Greek, though the author was a Jew.

[a] Spicileg. Patr. T. i. p. 129.

[b] Vid. ibid. p. 144. 336. [c] Cod. Pseudepigr. V. T. 1713. p. 496. [d] Authentic Records, P. i. p. 294, &c.

[e] I have made considerable use of that translation in my extracts, though I do not always follow it exactly.

[f] P. 52. [g] P. 29. [h] Sed et in alio quodam libello, qui appellatur Testamentum Duodecim Patriarcharum, quamvis non habeatur in canone, talem tamen quemdam sensum invenimus, quod per singulos peccantes singuli Satanæ intelligi debeant. Homil. xv. in Jesuam, sub fin. Confer. Testamentum Ruben, sect. 3. [i] Spicileg. ib. P. 131, 132. [k] Vid. Grabe, ib. p. 134, &c. 335, 336. Mr. Whiston's Authentic Records, vol. i. p. 439—441.

[l] Et si tibi placuerit, legito fictas revelationes omnium patriarcharum et prophetarum. Adv. Vigilantium. Hieron. Op. T. iv. P. 2. p. 284. [m] Judæus an Christianus fuerit auctor, haud liquido constat; Judaïzans forte Christianus, quales isto ævo non pauci exstiterunt. Hist. Lit. P. i. p. 52. Quin opus sit cujusdam Judaïzantis Christiani dubitari nequit, cum omni fere pagina inepte satis aliquid de Christo ingerit. Hist. L. P. 2. p. 29. [n] Spicil. ib. p. 132, 133. [o] Atque hæc fere sunt, quæ cuipiam persuadere possent, Testamenta XII. Patriarcharum a Judæo ante Christum natum literis consignata, postheec autem a Christiano hinc inde interpolata esse. Ib. p. 140. [p] Authentic Records, p. 410.

[q] Vid. Spicileg. p. 143.

I do not very well know what Cave means, when he says this book was written by a Judaizing Christian. If thereby he means only a Jew converted to Christianity, I am not unwilling to assent to him, though I do not look upon that as a clear point. But if he means an imperfect Christian, or one who joins the law with the gospel, as necessary to men's acceptance with God, I see no signs of it in this work. For here is very frequent mention of the share which the Gentiles should have in the salvation by the Messiah, without any hints of their complying with the law of Moses. The dispersion and captivity of the Jews, as punishments of their unrighteous treatment of Christ, are much insisted upon. And St. Paul's is a favourite character in this book, who is supposed to have been quite rejected by those Christians that judaized. I shall have occasion to take passages enough to set this matter in a full light.

Henry Wharton, who thought [a] this work an imposture, and that the author was a Christian, is not positive that he was a Jew.

Beausobre, in his late learned [b] work, 'The Critical History of Mani and Manichæism,' delivers his judgment on this book, and the author, after this manner: That it was forged at the end of the first, or the beginning of the second century, by some Christian converted from Judaism: and he suspects that the author of the Twelve Testaments was an Ebionite, and that he believed Jesus to be the son of Joseph and Mary—one of the tribe of Judah, and the other of the tribe of Levi; which he thought necessary to entitle him to the priesthood and the kingdom. It is true, says he, that the titles of 'God' and the 'Great God,' which are given to Christ in this book, are not agreeable to the style nor the faith of the Ebionites. But it can hardly be doubted, that they have been added by the Greek translator; for there is good reason to believe that the original was Hebrew.

I have spoken already to several of these points. But I do not see how it is consistent with Ebionitism to speak of St. Paul as this writer does, not to mention other things. Whether the author thought Jesus to be the son of Joseph and Mary, may be questioned. The following extracts may be of use to clear up this difficulty. I see no good reason to think that the titles of 'God' and 'Great God,' given to Christ, have been interpolated. The work is all of a piece, and the same style runs through the several Testaments. But yet it may be questioned, whether the author did not so far agree with the Ebionites, as to be an Unitarian. I shall put down likewise passages enough of this book concerning our Lord's deity and humanity, or the presence of the Divine Being with the Messiah, to enable every one to judge of this matter. And if in these places the author appears an Unitarian, there will be the less reason to suppose them interpolations.

It appears to me very evident, that these Testaments are not the real last words of the Twelve Patriarchs. The clear knowledge of Christian affairs and principles, shews this book to have been written, or else very much interpolated, after the publication of the Christian religion. But, setting aside for the present the consideration of that matter, if these Testaments are not really genuine, they are an imposture. Some apocryphal books of the Jews might be written after those in their canon, without being liable to such a charge. But these are genuine, or they are forged with a view of imposing on mankind: for the author frequently alludes to the books of the Jewish canon, or takes thence expressions and passages without ever acknowledging it. And the better to support the character of that early age, the time of these patriarchs, though he knows every thing in the Old Testament as well as they who have that whole volume before them, he quotes only 'the Scripture of Enoch, the Tables of 'Heaven' [if [c] thereby he means any book at all], and the [d] 'Scripture of our Fathers;' intending probably the forementioned scripture or prophecy of Enoch.

I shall give some instances of this proceeding. Testament of Zabulon, sect. 3. 'For which 'cause it was written in the scripture of the law of Enoch, that he who will not raise up seed 'to his brother, his shoe shall be loosed, and they shall spit in his face.' Which expressions seem to be taken from Deut. xxv. 7, 8, 9. Levi, sect. 18. 'The Lord will raise up a new priest, 'to whom all the words of the Lord shall be revealed, and he shall make the judgment of truth 'in the fulness of days. . . .and the earth shall be glad, and the clouds shall rejoice, and the know-

[a] Christianum fuisse compertum est. . . . Sectam quidem Judaïcam præ se fert impostor, ut exinde Judæis fucum piâ fraude faciat. . . . Auctarium Usserii de Scripturis et sacris Vernaculis, cap. ii. p. 321, 322.

[b] L. ii. ch. 2. sect. 5. T. i. p. 354, 355.

[c] Vid. Grabe Spicileg. T. i. p. 338, &c. Fabric. Cod. Pseudepigr. V. T. p. 559. and Mr. Whiston's Collection of Authentic Records, vol. i. p. 293.

[d] Εγνων εν γραφη παλαιων μου. Zabulon, Test. sect. 9.

'ledge of the Lord shall be poured out upon the earth, as the water of the seas.' These things appear to me plainly borrowed from Isa. xi. 2—9. See also Habak. ii. 14. Reuben says, sect. 1. 'I drank no wine, nor strong drink, and no flesh came within my mouth. I tasted not any 'pleasant bread, but mourned for my sin.' Which are the words of Daniel, a little transposed, according to the custom of allusions or loose quotations. See Daniel, ch. x. 2, 3. Judah, sect. 24. 'And a man shall be raised up of thy seed, as a son of righteousness.' Zabulon, sect. 9. 'And after these things, the Lord himself, the light of righteousness, will arise to you, and 'there will be healing and commiseration under his wings.' Which expressions, and characters of the Messiah, are plainly taken from Malachi, iv. 2. In the testament of Judah, sect. 24, the Messiah is spoken of as the 'Branch of the Most high God;' as in Zacharias, iii. 8. vi. 12.

And when the author delivers somewhat very unlikely to be known but from the books of the Old Testament; that he may the better prevent the suspicion of his borrowing from them, he usually takes care to mention particularly the prophecy of Enoch, or some such writing. Thus Test. Napthali, sect. 4. 'I say this, my sons, because I know, by the holy scripture of Enoch, 'that you will yourselves also depart from the Lord.' And Levi, sect. 10. 'For the house 'which the Lord will choose shall be called Jerusalem, as is contained in the book of Enoch the righteous.' This is more than Moses appears to have known: and it is very unlikely that Levi should be acquainted, so long beforehand, with the name of the place which God would choose. The author undoubtedly knew this the same way that we do: but, the better to blind the eyes of men, Levi is made to say, that this is 'contained in the book of Enoch.'

Indeed Mr. Whiston[a] says: 'Though it be usually taken 'for granted, that the author of 'these Testaments wrote after the known books of the Old and New Testament, and so took 'these notions and language thence; yet, since all the real evidence is on the other side, that 'these Testaments are the eldest, it is most reasonable to suppose that the writers of the Old 'and New Testament did, vice versa, allude to these Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.' How can any man say this, that 'all the real evidence is on the other side?' Not to insist now on the New Testament, how can any man say this with regard to the Old? Are there as many ancient testimonies to these Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs, that they were written before the coming of Christ, as there are to the books of the Jewish canon? There is no evidence of that early age, worth considering, beside the pretensions of the book itself; which are of little moment, unless they were better supported by external evidence, than they are.

Again, Mr. Whiston[b] says: 'Nor are the particulars thus declared, especially those in the 'Testament of Levi, at all unworthy either of Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob; nor indeed at all 'inferior, in their importance, to any parallel parts of the canonical scriptures of the Old Testa-'ment.' I perceive nothing of importance in this observation. All this is very likely, upon the common supposition of learned men, that this book was composed after the coming of Christ. A man acquainted with all the revelations of God in the Old Testament, may well write some things not unworthy of those three ancient patriarchs; and may rehearse, if he thinks fit, in a prophetical style, every thing contained in the canonical scriptures of the Old Testament, and put it in the mouth of whom he pleases. A man instructed in the gospel revelation may easily write in the like manner: and if he should take advantage from later events and discoveries, and should clothe all his knowledge of facts and principles in prophetical language, he may declare things which those holy men never knew; such things as many prophets and righteous men desired indeed to see, but did not see them; and to hear, but did not hear them.

But though here are many things not unworthy of those patriarchs, and a knowledge of future events vastly beyond what they really had, and several[c] fine passages which it would be a pleasure to me to transcribe, if I had room; yet here are also some things[d] unsuitable to the solemnity of a dying hour, and dying admonitions; particularly, in the Testament of Joseph, whom we know to have been a wise and excellent man, there are some things not[e] altogether becoming the gravity of that patriarch. However, this is not mentioned as a matter of any great consequence: for I do not suppose that the virtue of any of those ancient Hebrews was complete, according to the Christian rule.

[a] Authentic Records, P. i. p. 432. [b] Ibid. p. 412. [c] See the Testament of Gad, sect. 4. Asser, sect. 2.
[d] Reuben, sect. 3. Judah, sect. 12. [e] Joseph, sect. 9.

Upon the whole, I see nothing in this work but what might be written by a learned Jew of the second century, or later; though whether the author was a Jew, or a Gentile, I cannot say: I think he was a Christian, and well versed in the Jewish learning. Nor do I pretend to determine the age of the anonymous author of the Twelve Testaments. I am of opinion, however, that he is placed early enough by Cave, in the first part of his Historia Literaria, at the year 192.

As I do not intend to take any farther notice of this book in any other part of this work, if I can avoid it, I shall now transcribe, beside allusions to the books of the New Testament, several passages relating to some material facts of the gospel history; and likewise concerning our blessed Lord, the promised Messiah; containing this author's character of his person, and description of his circumstances in this world. If any are pleased to consider them as real prophecies of the Messiah, delivered before his coming, they will be a confirmation of the Christian religion, so far as our Lord answered those prophetical characters. Take them to be representations of things already done, composed afterwards in a prophetical style, and they shew the belief and sentiments of Christians, of some at least.

1. The Testament of Simeon, sect 7. 'For [a] the Lord shall raise up out of Levi an high 'priest, and out of Judah a king, God and man. So he will save all the Gentiles, and the stock 'of Israel.'

By the 'high priest' may be intended John the baptist, who was of the tribe of Levi, and of the race of the Jewish priests. Luke i. The 'king out of Judah' is plainly our blessed Saviour. So this place is understood by Mr. Whiston. Some [b] other learned men think, the 'high priest out of Levi,' and the 'king out of Judah,' to be one and the same person, Jesus the Messiah, in whom the priesthood and the kingdom were united: and that it was this author's opinion, that Jesus was of the tribe of Levi by Mary, and of the tribe of Judah by Joseph. I cannot determine what is the intention of this passage; though I rather incline to the sense last mentioned, so far as to think one person only is spoken of. And there are several other passages, that may induce us to suppose the author reckoned the Messiah to be of both these tribes. But yet I think it does not follow, that he believed Jesus to be the son of Joseph and Mary: for he might suppose him to be of the tribe of Levi by his mother Mary, and of the tribe of Judah by his legal and reputed father Joseph.

2. Gad, sect 8. 'But do you yourselves tell this to your sons, that they are to honour 'Judah and Levi: for out of them the Lord will arise to you a Saviour to Israel.' See, to the like purpose, Test. of Dan, sect. 5.

3. Joseph, sect. 19. 'Do you therefore, my sons, keep the commandments of the Lord, and 'honour Judah and Levi: for out of them shall arise to you the Lamb of God, by grace saving all the Gentiles and Israel.'

I shall put in the margin [c] a passage, supposed to be Origen's. The learned reader will be pleased to consider whether it serves to give light to these, or any other passages of our Testaments.

4. Levi, sect. 2. Levi says, he had been told by an angel: 'For thou shalt stand near to 'the Lord, and shalt be his minister, and thou shalt declare his mysteries to men, and shalt 'preach concerning the future redemption of Israel [this may be John the Baptist]; and by 'thee and Judah the Lord shall be seen among men, saving by them [that his, by John the 'Baptist and Christ] all mankind.'

If here is no reference to John the Baptist, but only to our Saviour, the author may be supposed to say, that God would save mankind by those two tribes, inasmuch as the Messiah would be of both of them, or some way in a more especial manner allied to them. However, it does by no means appear plain to me, that the writer believed Jesus Christ to be born of Joseph and Mary. The expressions are ambiguous, and capable of other senses, and therefore the meaning of them must be doubtful. Perhaps one reason of insisting so much on these two tribes was, because, at the time of the coming of the Messiah, the land of Judea was chiefly

[a] Αναστησει γαρ Κυριος εκ τȣ Λευϊ αρχιερεα, και εκ τȣ Ιȣδα βασιλεα, Θεον και ανθρωπον. [b] Vid. Henric Wharton, Auctar. Usserii, p. 322. Beausobre, Histoire de Manichée, l. ii. ch. 2. sect. 5. [c] Πλην εκ τȣ δημȣ παῖρος αυτων εσονται γυναικες.] Προστατει ȣν ὁ Θεος, πλην της Ιȣδα και της Λευϊ, μη εξειναι απο φυλης εις φυλην συναπτεσθαι, ἱνα μη ξενον τȣ Σωτηρος δειχθη ανωθεν ερχομενον, το, βασιλευς και ἱερευς κατα την τάξιν Μελχισεδεκ. Orig. Select. in Num. xxxvi. 6. T. ii. p. 274. F. Ed. Bened.

inhabited by them, together with the tribe of Benjamin. It is observable, that in the Old Testament the interests of the family of David (out of which the Messiah was to arise), and the tribe of Levi, are closely connected. Jer. xxxiii. 20, 21, 22. Nay, it may be questioned whether this author does not mean Mary by the [a] 'Virgin born of Judah,' in a place to be produced hereafter. In the mean time I put down in the margin some [b] other passages, which may be of use in this enquiry.

5. Levi, sect. 4. The angel proceeds in his discoveries to Levi: 'Know ye, therefore, that 'the Lord will execute judgment upon the sons of men, when the rocks shall be rent, and the 'sun be extinguished, and the waters be dried up, and the fire shall make a trembling, and the 'invisible spirits shall melt away, and Hades [c] be despoiled at the passion of the Most High; 'and men shall still be unbelieving, and continue in their unrighteousness. For this reason 'shall they be adjudged to punishment.'

Surely here is a reference to Matth. xxvii. 51—53, and to the following conduct of the unbelieving Jews, as described in the New Testament. The author mentions some things not particularly related in the gospels, 'the drying up of waters,' and 'the trembling of the fire:' but such things may be well supposed concomitants of an earthquake, and an extinction, or extraordinary eclipse, of the sun.

6. Levi, sect. 4. The angel presently adds: 'Thou shalt be a luminary to illuminate the 'posterity of Jacob. . . . until the Lord visit all the Gentiles in the bowels of his Son for ever. 'However, thy sons [d] will lay hands upon him to crucify him.'

This is not a real prophecy, that the Jewish priests would be the chief instruments of the crucifixion of the Messiah, before the manifestation of God's gracious purposes to the Gentile world; but it is a just and true representation of matters of fact.

7. Levi, sect. 10. Beside other things relating to the gospel dispensation, Levi says to his sons: 'I am innocent of all your impiety and transgression, which you will be guilty of in 'the consummation of the ages, in dealing impiously with the Saviour of the world. . . . And 'you will transgress together with Israel, insomuch that Jerusalem will not be able to support 'itself before the face of your wickedness. Nay, the veil of the temple will be rent, and will 'not cover your shame. And you shall be scattered among the Gentiles, and you shall be for 'a reproach, and a curse, and a conculcation.'

This is no real prophecy, at least not delivered before the building of Jerusalem, as is pretended, but probably written after the destruction of it by Titus. Nor is the composer of this book, whenever he lived, a Judaizer.

8. Levi, sect. 14. Still Levi says: 'And now, my sons, I know, from the scripture of Enoch, 'that in the end you will act impiously, laying hands upon the Lord in all wickedness. And 'your brethren will be ashamed of you, and you will be a derision to all the Gentiles. But 'our father Israel [e] is pure from the impiety of the high priests, who will lay their hands upon 'the Saviour of the world.' At sect. 15, he declares, 'For these causes that very temple which 'the Lord shall chuse shall become desolate.'

9. I shall take one passage more, representing strongly the state of the Jews and the Gen-

[a] See numb. 38. [b] Testament of Reuben, sect. 6. 'For the Lord has given the principality to Levi and 'to Judah.' Levi is preferred to Judah, Test. Issachar, sect. 5. Dan. sect 5. And in Judah, sect. 21, are these words: 'And now, my sons, love Levi . . . . . for the Lord has given 'the kingdom to me, and to him the priesthood, and has subjected the kingdom to the priesthood. To me he has given 'the things on the earth, to him the things in heaven. As 'heaven is superior to the earth, so is the priesthood of God 'superior to the earthly kingdom [or kingdom upon earth]. In Judah, sect. 25, Levi is preferred to Judah. Once more Naphtali, sect. 5. 'For in the fortieth year of my life I saw 'in a dream, in the Mountains of Olives, on the east of Jerusalem [By the way, this is not likely to have been spoken 'by Naphtali] that the sun and the moon stood still. And 'behold, Isaac my father's father said to us, Run, every one 'of you, and catch them according to your abilities, and the 'sun and the moon shall be to him that catcheth them. And 'we all ran together; and Levi caught the sun, and Judah 'made haste and caught the moon. And Levi appeared 'as the Sun, ... Judah was splendid as the moon.' If this preference be given by the writer to the tribe of Levi above that of Judah, upon account of Christ's birth of Mary, whom he supposed to be of the tribe of Levi, to which tribe therefore heavenly things appertained; it is an argument that he did not suppose Joseph, who was certainly of the tribe of Judah, to be the real father of Christ: for, if so, Judah would have been at least equal to Levi. I would just observe that whatever is the design of this preference of Levi, the author supposes the eternal kingdom to belong to Judah. Testament of Judah, sect. 22. and in Levi, sect. 8, it is said: 'A king shall be raised out of Judah, and shall ordain a 'new priesthood.'

[c] Και του αδη σκυλευομενε επι τω παθει τε ὑψιστε. [d] Πλην οι υιοι σε επιβαλουσι χερας επ' αυτον του αποσκολοπισαι αυτον. [e] Καθαρος εστιν απο της ασεβειας των αρχιερεων, οιτινες επιβαλουσι τας χειρας αυτων επι τον Σωτηρα του κοσμε.

tiles under the Messiah. Levi, sect. 18. 'And under his priesthood the Gentiles shall be 'multiplied in knowledge upon the earth, and shall be illuminated by the grace of the Lord. 'But Israel shall be made little by their ignorance, and shall be darkened by their sorrow.'

The character of the Messiah, together with some other matters, is represented in the following passages.

10. Levi, sect. 18. 'And then will the Lord raise up a new priest, to whom all the words 'of the Lord will be revealed. And he shall make the judgment of truth upon the earth in 'the fulness of days. And his star shall arise in heaven as a king, affording light, the light of 'knowledge, above the sun in the day time: and he shall be magnified in the whole world, 'until his assumption.'

Here seems to be a reference to Matth. ii. 2, as well as a general description of our Lord's ministry.

11. Levi, sect. 18. 'The heavens shall be opened, and out of the temple of glory shall 'the sanctification come upon him, with the voice of the Father, as [it came] unto Abraham, 'the father of Isaac.' See Matth. iii. 16, 17.

12. Judah, sect. 24. 'And after this,' says Judah to his sons, 'a star shall arise to you out 'of Jacob, in peace: and a man shall be raised up out of thy seed, as a sun of righteousness, 'conversing with the sons of men in meekness and righteousness, and no sin shall be found in 'him. And the heaven shall be opened upon him, to pour out the Spirit, the blessing of his 'Holy Father. And he himself shall pour the spirit of grace upon you, and ye shall be to 'him sons in truth.' Numb. xxiv. 17. See again, Matth. iii. 16, 17. and Acts ii.

13. Zabulon, sect. 9. 'And [a] after these things [b] the Lord himself, the light of righteous-'ness, will arise to you, and there will be healing and commiseration under his wings. He 'himself will redeem all the captivity of the sons of men from Beliar. And every spirit of 'error shall be trodden down. And he shall convert all the Gentiles to have a zeal for him, 'and ye [c] shall see God in the form of man, in Jerusalem, which the Lord will so name. And 'again you will provoke him to anger with the wickedness of your words, and ye shall be cast 'away till the time of the consummation.' Mal. iv. 2.

14. Naphtali, sect. 8. 'Do you therefore also charge your sons that they be united to 'Levi, and to Judah, for through Judah shall salvation arise to Israel, and in him shall Jacob 'be blessed. For by his [d] tribe [or 'sceptre'] shall God appear inhabiting among men upon 'the earth, to save the stock of Israel. And he will gather together the righteous of the 'Gentiles.'

15. Benjamin, sect. 10. 'Then shall we also rise again, every one upon our sceptre, 'adoring [e] the King of the heavens, who appeared upon earth in the form of man's humiliation '[or, 'in the form of a man of humiliation']. And as many as have believed on him upon 'earth, shall rejoice together with him. At which time all men shall rise again, some to glory, 'and others to disgrace. And the Lord will judge Israel in the first place, on [f] account of 'their injustice to him; because they did not believe in God, when he came as their deliverer 'in the flesh.'

16. Simeon, sect. 6. 'Then shall Sem be glorified, when [g] the Lord, the great God of 'Israel, shall appear upon earth as a man, and shall save Adam by himself. . . . Then shall I 'rise again with gladness, and shall bless the Most High for his wonderful works, because [h] 'God, taking a body, and eating with them, hath saved them.'

17. Aser, sect. 7. '. . . until [i] the Most High shall visit the earth, and he himself shall 'come as a man, eating and drinking with men, and in silence bruising the head of the dragon 'by water. He shall save Israel and all the Gentiles.'

18. Levi, sect. 16. 'And now I know, by the book of Enoch, ... that you will despise 'the words of the prophets, and in your perverseness you will persecute righteous men, and

[a] Και μετα ταυτα αναλελει υμιν αυτος Κυριος φως δικαιοσυνης. [b] Or, 'The Lord himself will raise up the light of right-'eousness.' So Mr. Whiston. [c] Και οψεσθε Θεον εν σχηματι ανθρωπε. [d] Δια γαρ τε σκηπτρα αυτα ωφθησεται Θεος, καλοικων εν ανθρωποις επι της γης: [e] Προσκυνουντες τον βασιλεα των ουρανων, τον επι γης φανεντα εν μορφη ανθρωπε ταπειωσεως. [f] Περι της εις αυτον αδικιας, ὁτι παραγενομενον Θεον εν σαρκι ελευθερωτην ουκ επιστευσαν. [g] Ὁτε Κυριος, ὁ Θεος μεγας του Ισραηλ, φαινομενος επι γης ὡς ανθρωπος, κ. λ. [h] Ὁτι ὁ Θεος σωμα λαβων, και συνεσθιων ανθρωποις, εσωσεν αυτους. [i] Ἑως ου ὁ ὑψιστος επισκεψηται την γην, και αυτος ελθων ὡς ανθρωπος, εσθιων και πινων μετα των ανθρωπων.

'hate the holy: you will abominate the words of those that speak truth; and [a] you will declare 'that man, who renews the law in the power of the Most High, a deceiver: and in the end, as you 'suppose, you will kill him, not knowing his resurrection, and by malice will bring innocent 'blood upon your heads. And for his sake your holy places will become desolate, being pro-'faned to the foundation.' And more to the same purpose. One can hardly help thinking, that this pretended ancient prophecy is founded upon the event, and Matth. xxiii. 34, to the end.

The following passages I put down, as containing allusions or references to the books of the New Testament.

19. Dan, sect. 6. 'His name in every place of Israel, and among the Gentiles, shall be 'the Saviour.' See Matth. i. 21.

20. Joseph, sect. 3. 'I therefore called to mind the words of the fathers of my father Jacob: and [b] entering into my closet, I prayed to the Lord.' Matth. vi. 6.

One would think that the author, when he wrote this, was afraid he should be suspected of borrowing from St. Matthew's gospel, or some late direction conformable to it. Joseph therefore is made to say, he recollected 'the words of his fathers.'

21. Joseph, sect. 1, says to his sons: 'I was sold for a servant, and God made me free; I 'was taken as a captive, and his strong hand helped me . . . . . I was in weakness, and the Most 'High visited me: I was in prison, and my Saviour dealt graciously with me; under false ac-'cusations, and he pleaded for me.' See Matth. xxv. 35, 36.

In several of the passages before alledged are references to some parts of this gospel. See Numb. 5. 11, 12. 18.

22. Judah, sect. 25, prophesying of Christ, says: 'And they that died in sorrow shall rise 'again in joy; and they that were in poverty for the Lord's sake shall be made rich; and they 'that were in want shall be filled; and they that were in weakness shall be made strong; and 'they that have died for the Lord shall be awakened in life. . . . .But the impious shall mourn, 'and the sinner shall weep.'

I suppose that these things are borrowed chiefly from Matth. v. at the beginning; and Luke vi. 20—25.

23. Levi, sect. 18, prophesying of Christ, says: 'And Beliar shall be bound by him, 'and he [c] shall give power to his children to tread upon the wicked spirits.' See Luke x. 18, 19.

24. Gad, sect. 6. 'And if any one sin against thee, speak to him peaceably; . . . . and [d] if 'he confess his fault, forgive him.' See Luke xvii. 3, 4.

25. Joseph, sect. 17, says to his sons: 'Nor did I arrogantly exalt myself among them '[my brethren] on account of my worldly glory, but I was among them as one of the least of 'them.' See Luke xxii. 27.

26. Levi, sect. 5. 'And the angel opened to me the gates of heaven, and I saw the 'holy temple, and the Most High upon the throne of glory. And he said unto me, Levi, to 'thee have I given the blessings of priesthood, until I come and inhabit in the midst of Israel.' See John, i. 11. 14.

27. Benjamin, sect. 3, says, that Joseph entreated Jacob to pray for his brethren, that the Lord would not impute to them what they had wickedly contrived against him. 'Whereupon 'Jacob cried out, O my good son Joseph,.....the prophecy of heaven, concerning the Lamb of 'God and Saviour of the World, shall be fulfilled in thee: for the spotless one shall be 'delivered up for transgressors, and the sinless one shall die for the impious, in the blood of 'the covenant, for the salvation of Israel and of all the Gentiles. And he shall destroy Beliar, 'and those that minister unto him.' See John i. 29, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." See likewise Rom. v. 6. 8. Heb. ix. 14. 1 Pet. i. 19.

28. Benjamin, sect. 9. 'And the twelve tribes shall be gathered there [at Jerusalem], and 'all nations, until the Most High send his salvation, in the visitation of the only begotten. 'And he shall come to the first temple, and there the Lord shall be ill treated, and shall be 'lifted up upon a tree, and the veil of the temple shall be rent: and [e] the spirit of God shall

[a] Και ανδρα ανακαινοποιουντα τον νομον εν δυναμει ὑψιστου, πλανον προσαγορευσετε. [b] Και εισερχομενος εις το ταμιειον, προσευχομην Κυριῳ. [c] Και δωσει εξουσιαν τοις τεκνοις αυτου πατειν επι τα πονηρα πνευματα.

[d] Και εαν ὁμολογησας μετανοησῃ, αφες αυτῳ.

[e] Καταβησεται [al. μεταβησεται] το πνευμα του Θεου επι τα εθνη, ὡς πυρ εκχυνομενον.

'descend upon [or 'remove to'] the Gentiles, as fire poured out upon them. And, coming up 'out of hell, he shall ascend from earth to heaven. Now I know how low he shall be upon 'earth and how glorious in heaven.'

This passage confirms, beside other things, the history of the book of the Acts, and of the epistles. See particularly Acts i. 1—11. ii. 30—33. x. 44. It likewise affords good evidence, that the author is not a Judaizer. See hereafter, Numb. 35.

29. Naphtali, sect. 4. 'Until the compassion of the Lord come, a man doing righteous-'ness, and 'exercising mercy to all that are afar off, and that are nigh.' See Eph. ii. 17.

30. Dan, sect. 5. 'But [b] depart from anger, and hate lying, that the Lord may dwell in 'you. Speak every one truth to his neighbour." See Eph. iv. 25, 26. There is a like exhortation in the Testament of Reuben, sect. 6.

31. Levi, sect. 6. 'And [c] the wrath of the Lord came upon them to the uttermost.' See 1 Thess. ii. 16.

Mr. Whiston [d] thinks that St. Paul alludes to this place of our Twelve Testaments; and Grabe [e] is of much the same opinion. I do not affirm that this expression of the apostle was never used by any one before him; for that is more than we can be sure of. On the other hand, I know of no proof that St. Paul was acquainted with this book: whereas, I think it will appear plain to every one presently, that this author was acquainted with St. Paul's epistles, and therefore might borrow this expression, as well as other things, from them.

32. Dan, sect. 6. 'But draw near to God, and the angel that pleads for you, for 'he is the 'mediator between God and men for the peace of Israel.' See 1 Tim. ii. 5. Here also God is styled the [f] 'Father of the Gentiles;' as he is called their God by Paul, Rom. iii. 29.

33. Reuben, sect. 6. 'I charge you to hearken to Levi, for he shall know the law of the 'Lord,.....till [g] the completion of the times of the high priest Christ, of whom the Lord 'has spoken.'

This is a character of the Messiah much insisted on in these Testaments, as well as in the epistle to the Hebrews: whether this author learned it thence, I cannot say. In the Testament of Naphtali, sect. 2, is somewhat resembling Hebr. iv. 12, 13.

34. Levi, sect. 18. 'And after vengeance shall be taken of these by the Lord, and the 'priesthood shall fail, the Lord will raise up a new priest,.....and there 'shall be none to suc-'ceed him, from one generation to another, for ever.' This passage should be compared with Hebr. vii. 22, 23, 24.

35. Benjamin, sect. 11. 'Moreover,' says Benjamin, 'I shall be no longer called a raven-'ing wolf, on account of your ravages; but the Lord's labourer, distributing food to those 'who work that which is good. And in the last days shall be raised up out of my seed one 'beloved of the Lord, who shall hear his voice, and enlighten all the Gentiles with new know-'ledge, affording [them] the light of knowledge in the salvation of Israel: snatching it like a 'wolf from them, and giving it to the congregation of the Gentiles: and until the con-'summation of the world he shall be in the congregation of the Gentiles, and among their 'princes, as a musical song in the mouth of all. And [k] in the holy books he shall be written, 'both his work and his word; and he shall be the elect of God for ever. And on his account 'it was that Jacob, my father, instructed me, saying, he shall fill up the defects of thy tribe.'

Every one perceives that the person here spoken of is the apostle Paul: and I should think that every one might perceive also, that this is not a real genuine prophecy, but an allusion, or representation of matters of fact already done, artfully put into the form of a prediction; with a design, probably, to gain some people, whom the author had in his eye, to acknowledge the Christian religion, and the authority of Paul in particular. But a few remarks may be of use.

1.) The writer alludes to Gen. xlix. 27. which, according to the Septuagint Version, is thus: 'Benjamin [l] is a ravening wolf, which devours in the morning still, and till the evening

[a] Και πωων ελεος εις πανιας τους μακραν, και τους εγγυς.
[b] Αποστητε απο θυμου, και μισησατε το ψευδος, ινα Κυριος κατοικηση εν υμιν. Αληθειαν λαλειτε εκαστος προς τον πλησιον αυτου.
[c] Εφθασε δε η οργη Κυριε επ' αυτους εις τελος.
[d] Authentic Records, p. 313.
[e] Spicileg. T. i. p. 138.
[f] Οτι αυτος εστι μεσιτης θεου και ανθρωπων.
[g] Ινα δειξηται υμας ο Παιηρ των εθνων.
[h] Μεχρι τελειωσεως χρονων αρχιερεως Χριστου, ον ειπε Κυριος.
[i] Και ουκ εσται διαδοχη αυτου εις γενεας και γενεας, εως αιωνος.
[k] Και εν βιβλοις ταις αγιαις εσται αναγεγραμμενος, και το εργον, και ο λογος αυτου. και εσται εκλεκτος θεου εις του αιωνος.
[l] Βενιαμιν λυκος αρπαξ το πρωινον εδεται ει, και εις το εσπερας διδωσι τροφην.

[i] he gives food.' This prophecy is applied to St. Paul [a] by Tertullian, in two places of his remaining works, as has been observed by Grabe. I do not mention this as an argument that the book we are considering, 'the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' was not written till after the time of Tertullian; but only as a proof that this was a Christian interpretation of the prophecy in Genesis. It may have been thought of by many before Tertullian. It was natural enough for Christians to understand this text of Paul, who was of the tribe of Benjamin; who in the former part of his life, and in the early days of Christianity, while it yet began to dawn upon mankind, fiercely persecuted the church of God, and afterwards became a diligent and successful labourer in confirming and increasing it.

It will not be disagreeable to the reader to see, without the trouble of looking for them, a few passages of ancient Christian writers, who apply that text of Genesis to St. Paul. I therefore put in the margin one passage of [b] Origen, and another of [c] Theodoret, and refer to a third in [d] Augustine; all which are very much to our purpose.

2.) It is somewhat doubtful, what the author means by those expressions: 'He shall be in 'the congregation of the Gentiles, and among their princes, as a musical song in the mouth of 'all.' If hereby he intends Gentile princes that were become Christian, it would afford a strong argument that this book was not composed before the third or fourth century. But herein may be only a reference to St. Paul's appearance before Felix and Festus, and other Gentile rulers, and his discourses in their presence; which are not only recorded in the Acts, as matters of fact, but were also foretold by the Lord to Ananias, in this manner: "For he is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel." Acts ix. 15.

3.) When it is said, 'And in the holy books he shall be written, both his work, and his 'word;' that [e] is a plain reference to the Acts of the apostles, in which are recorded Paul's actions for and against the Christian religion, and his discourses and preaching in several places; as also to his epistles, all which are parts of the holy scriptures. But the author has not given sufficient hints to satisfy us, how many epistles of this apostle he received.

36. Issachar, sect. 7. 'I am a hundred and twenty-two years of age, and I never was con-'scious of any sin unto death in me.' See 1 John v. 16, 17.

I shall transcribe here part of a fine passage in the Testament of Gad, sect. 4, which bears a reference likewise to some things in the first epistle of St. John. 'For hatred co-operates to 'murder: and when any do well, and are in prosperity, and he either hears it or sees it, 'he is grieved. For, as love would revive those that are dead, and recal them back that are 'under the sentence of death; so would hatred slay those that are alive, and would not have 'them that have committed a small offence to live any longer.....But the spirit of love, by 'long suffering co-operates with the law of God to the salvation of men.'

37. Levi, sect. 18. 'For he shall open the gates of paradise, and shall stop the threatening 'sword that was placed against Adam: and [f] shall give to his holy ones to eat of the tree of 'life, and the Spirit of holiness shall be upon them.' See Rev. ii. 7.

38. Joseph, sect. 19, acquaints his sons with a dream which he had: 'And [g] I saw,' says he, 'that a virgin [h] was born of Judah, that had on a fine linen garment, and from her proceeded a 'spotless Lamb. And on its left hand there was a lion, and all the wild beasts ran against him, 'and the Lamb overcame them and destroyed them, till they were utterly trodden down. And

[a] Inter illas figuras, et propheticas super filios suos benedictiones, Jacob cum ad Benjamin direxisset, inquit, lupus rapax ad matutinum comedet adhuc, et ad vesperam dabit escam. Ex tribu enim Benjamin oriturum Paulum providebat, lupum rapacem ad matutinum comedentem, id est, primâ ætate vastaturum pecora Domini, ut persecutorem ecclesiarum; dehinc ad vesperam escam daturum, id est, devergente jam ætate oves Christi educaturum, ut doctorem nationum. Adv. Marcion, l. v. c. 1. Vid. et Scorpiace, c. 13. initio.

[b] Benjamin ille nunquam fuit lupus rapax. Benjamin ille nunquam ad vesperam dedit escam. Hebræus ex Hebræis, juxta legem pharisæus, circumcisus octavo die, Benjamin prædicabatur, lupus rapax ad matutinum comedens, quando juvenis fuit: et in vesperam dans escam, quando credens spiritalem præbuit cibum a se ecclesiis institutis. Orig. in Ezech. Hom. iv. T. iii. p. 731. A. B.

[c] Ειδεναι δε χρη, ως τινες εις τον θεσπεσιον Παυλον τηνδε την προρρησιν ειλκυσαν· λυκου γαρ οικην ελυμαινετο την εκκλησιαν κατα τους οικους εισπορευομενος· υστερονδε την πνευματικην τροφην τη οικουμενη διεδωκε. Theod. in Gen. Qu. cx. opp. T. i. p. 77. B.

[d] Vid. Aug. Serm. 279. Tom. v. ed. Bened. et passim.

[e] Pauli epistolæ vero et Lucæ Acta apostolorum a Benjamin hisce indigitantur verbis: Et in libris sacris erit inscriptus, et opus et sermo ejus: opus quidem in Actis apostolorum, sermo autem et in his, et in ipsius Pauli epistolis. Grabe, Spic. T. i. p. 140.

[f] Και δωσει τοις αγιοις φαγειν εκ του ξυλου της ζωης.

[g] Και ειδον, [illegible] εγενηθη παρθενος,.....και εξ αυτης προηλθεν [illegible] μος, κ. λ.

[h] Grabe has no doubt, but that here by is intended the nativity of the Messiah of a virgin mother. Hæc nativitatem Messiæ ex virgine spectare quilibet vidit. Spicileg. T. i. p. 361.

'in him did angels, and men, and all the earth rejoice. These things shall be fulfilled in their 'season, in the last days.' Rev. xvii. 14.

39. Dan, sect. 5. 'And to them that call upon him shall he give eternal peace. And the 'righteous shall rejoice in the New Jerusalem, which shall be for the glory of God for ever. 'And Jerusalem shall no more undergo desolation, nor shall Israel be carried away captive; for 'the Lord shall be in the midst of her, conversing with men; and the holy one of Israel shall 'reign over them in humility and poverty. And he that believeth in him shall reign in truth, 'in the heavens.' It is probable that here is a reference to Rev. xxi. 2, 3, 4, and other parts of that book,

40. This writer is justly alleged by [a] Henry Wharton, as delivering his opinion, and the sentiment of Christians in his time, that the holy scriptures should be read by all sorts of men. 'And now, my sons,' says Levi, sect. 13, 'I charge you to fear the Lord your God out of 'your whole heart, and walk in simplicity of heart according to all his law. Do [b] you also 'teach your children learning, that they may have understanding in all their life, reading con-'tinually the law of God.'

41. Thus this author, in an indirect manner, and a pretended prophetical style, bears a large testimony to the Christian religion; to the facts, principles, and books of the New Testament. He speaks of the nativity of Christ, the meekness and unblameableness of his life, his crucifixion at the instigation of the Jewish priests, the wonderful concomitants of his death, his resurrection, and ascension. He represents the character of the Messiah as God and man, the Most High God with men, eating and drinking with them, the Son of God, the Saviour of the world, of the Gentiles and Israel, as eternal high priest and king. He likewise speaks of the effusion of the Holy Spirit upon the Messiah, attended with a voice from heaven; his unrighteous treatment by the Jews; and their desolations, and the destruction of the temple, upon that account; the call of the Gentiles; the illuminating them generally with new light; the effusion of the Spirit upon believers, but especially, and in a more abundant measure, upon the Gentiles. Here is little notice taken of our Lord's miracles: however he speaks of the Messiah as [c] a 'man who renews 'the law in the power of the Most High;' in which expressions the working of miracles seems to be implied. Here are also passages which seem to contain allusions to the gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John, the Acts of the apostles, the epistle to the Ephesians, first to the Thessalonians, first to Timothy, the epistle to the Hebrews, the first epistle of St. John, and the book of the Revelation. And, as far as was consistent with his assumed character, the author declares the canonical authority of the Acts of the apostles, and the epistles of St. Paul. Lastly he recommends the reading of the holy scriptures.

42. I fear that some will think I have insisted too long upon this book: but it could by no means be quite omitted, as every one must be convinced by the contents of it, and the age in which it was written, according to the general opinion of learned men; either at the end of the first, or, at the utmost, some time in the second century: and I was willing to make an end with it at once. I think it cannot be disagreeable to see the testimonies of a variety of authors. And since some have been pleased to disguise themselves, and appeared under borrowed names and characters; it may be not only an entertainment, but a confirmation of our faith, to find them also asserting in their way the chief things concerning the Christian religion.

IV. They who are desirous to inform themselves concerning *The Recognitions of Clement*, may find satisfaction in the judgment of Cotelerius upon them, and in the testimonies prefixed to his edition of this work; and Grabe's learned and judicious Preface to the writings of St. Clement, in his Spicilegium.

The first ecclesiastical writer, who has mentioned this work, is Origen, by whom it is twice cited; once in the third Tome of his Commentaries upon Genesis, which passage is preserved in his [d] Philocalia, where he calls it by the title of 'The Travels;' and again in his Tracts upon [e] St. Matthew. He seems to quote it as Clement's, or at least as a book ascribed to him.

[a] Ubi supra. p. 454.

[b] Διδαξατε δε και ὑμεις τα τεκνα ὑμων γραμματα, ἱνα εχωσι συνεσιν εν πασῃ τῃ ζωῃ αυτων, αναγινωσκοντες αδιαλειπτως τον νομον του Θεου.

[c] See numb. 18.

[d] Και Κλημης δε ὁ Ῥωμαιος, Πετρου αποστολου μαθητης, συνῳδει τουτοις εν τῳ παροντι προβληματι προς τον πατερα εν Λαοδικειᾳ ειπων εν ταις Περιοδοις· Philoc. c. 23. p. p. 18. Cantabr.

[e] Tale aliquid dicit et Petrus apud Clementem, ad Matthæi cap. xxvi. 6. Op. Lat. p. 172. Paris. 1571.

It may be argued, from these few quotations of this book in all the remaining works of Origen, whether Greek or Latin, that it was in no great esteem with him, and of no authority.

The next author, whose testimony we are to consider, is Eusebius. Having spoken, in the third book of his Ecclesiastical History, of the first epistle of St. Clement of Rome, and then of the second ascribed to him, he adds: 'Moreover [a] some men have, not long since, produced 'large and voluminous writings, as his, containing Disputations of Peter and Appion, of which 'there is no mention made by the ancients; nor have they the pure apostolical doctrine. What 'therefore is the genuine and acknowledged writing of Clement, is manifest.'

Upon this passage we are to observe, in the first place, that [b] Valesius and [c] Cotelerius, and some others, reckon that hereby Eusebius intends the Recognitions; of which they suppose the Disputations, or Dialogues, of Peter and Appion to be a part. But I think that [d] Grabe has proved these Disputations to be a different work. He observes that Photius mentions the Recognitions, and the Disputations of Peter and Appion, distinctly, as two different works: and though in the tenth book of the Recognitions Appion is named several times, yet there is no mention of any dispute of Peter with him. Secondly, whether Eusebius here intends the Recognitions or not, he has condemned them. He owns nothing for St. Clement's but his epistle to the Corinthians, and rejects every thing else ascribed to him; this book, in particular, if it was then extant.

In another place [e] Eusebius rejects a book intitled 'The Acts of Peter,' together with several others 'as not having been delivered to them for catholic writings.' If by these Acts of Peter he intends the Recognitions, they are here expressly rejected by him. It is plain, from [f] Photius, that a part of this work was called 'The Acts of Peter.' Photius himself speaks [g] of the whole work by that title, and commends the style of it, as much superior to the Constitutions. Grabe [h] mentions a manuscript, in which it has this title: 'The Itinerary of St. Cle-'ment, concerning the Acts and Words of the blessed Apostle Peter.' And it is obvious to every one, from the contents, that the Recognitions may be very properly called 'Peter's Acts.' If by the Acts of Peter, rejected here in the beginning of the third book of his history, Eusebius means the Recognitions; we have a good reason of his not mentioning them particularly afterwards, in the 38th chapter of the same book, where he speaks of the genuine and supposititious works of St. Clement.

Epiphanius says: 'The [i] Ebionites use likewise several other books, as the Travels of Peter 'written by Clement; which too they have corrupted, leaving little that is genuine:' as appears, he says, from the epistles of Clement, which contain a different doctrine. Forasmuch as Epiphanius does not say that these Travels were forged, but only that they were 'corrupted,' he is supposed to allow that they were originally written by Clement.

Jerom's opinion of the works of Clement may be reckoned to be the same with that of Eusebius; since in his article of St. Clement, in his Catalogue, he does little more than transcribe the passage of Eusebius, in which he censures the Dialogues of Peter and Appion. And if the Recognitions are not the same with those Dialogues, yet he may be supposed to reject them by consequence, in as much as he insists upon no other piece of Clement, as genuine, beside the epistle to the Corinthians. In another work he refers to a book under the name of [k] 'The Travels,' or 'The Travels of Peter,' which appears to have been of no authority. Once [l] more

[a] Ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἕτερα πολυπη καὶ μακρὰ συγγράμματα, ὡς τὰ αὐτὰ, ψυχῆς καὶ πρώην τινὲς προηγαγον, Πέτρε δὲ καὶ Ἀπίωνος διαλογῶν περιεχοντα, ὧν οὐδ' ὅλως μνήμη τις παρα τοις παλαιοις φερεται· οὐδ' γαρ καθαρὸν τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀπόσωζει τὸν χαρακτῆρα. Ἡ μεν οὖν τοῦ Κλήμεντος ὁμολογουμενη γραφη, προδηλος ἐστιν. L. iii. c. 38.

[b] In loc. Euseb.

[c] Judic. de Libris Recognitionum: apud. Patres Apostol.

[d] Spicileg. T. i. p. 271. et seq.

[e] Τὸ γε μην των ἐκκεκλημενων αὐτου πραξεων.... οὐδ' ὅλως ἐν καθολικοις ἰσμεν παραδεδομενα. . . L. iii. c. 3. p. 72. A.

[f] Ἐν ὡ αἱ τε λεγομεναι του ἀποστολου Πέτρου πραξεις, καὶ αἱ πρὸς Σιμωνα τὸν μαγον διαλεξεις, καὶ εἰ ὁ ἀναγναρισμος Κλημεντος καὶ παῖρος, καὶ των ἄλλων ἀδελφων. Phot. Cod. 112, 113.

[g] Ἡ μενοι γε των του Πέτρου πραξεων βιβλος τῳ τε λαμπρῳ καὶ τῃ σεμνολῃ.... καὶ τῃ ἀλλῃ ἀρετῃ λογου τοσουτο ἐχει πρὸς ἡμας διαλογης το παραλλαττον, κ. λ. Ibid. p. 289. ver. 45.

[h] Itinerarium S. Clementis de Factis et Dictis B. Petri Apostoli. Spicileg. T. i. p. 276.

[i] Χρωνται δὲ καὶ ἄλλαις τισι βιβλοις, δηθεν ταις Περιοδοις καλουμεναις Πέτρου, ταις δια Κλήμεντος γραφεισαις· νοθευσαντες τὰ μεν ἐν αὐταις, ὀλιγα δὲ ἀληθη ἐασαντες. Hær. 30. sect. 15.

[k] Possumus autem de Petro dicere, quod habuerit socrum eo tempore quo crediderit, et uxorem jam non habuerit: quanquam legatur in Περιοδοις et uxor ejus et filia. Sed nunc nobis de canone omne certamen est. Adv. Jovinian. l. i c. 14. p. 186. T. iv. p. 2. ed. Bened.

[l] 'Deinde post annos tres veni 'Hierosolymam videre Petrum.' Non ut oculos, genas, v tumque ejus aspiceret; utrum macilentus an pinguis, adunco naso esset an recto; et utrum frontem vestiret coma, an (ut Clemens in Periodis ejus refert) calvitiem haberet in capite. Comment. in Ep. ad Galat. cap. i. ver. 18.

he quotes Clement 'in his Travels,' or 'in Peter's Travels' for something not found expressly in this work at present.

Rufinus, who translated the ten books of Recognitions out of Greek into Latin, in whose translation only we now have them, plainly supposes them to have been written by [a] Clement of Rome; but that the copies, in his time, had been corrupted in some places.

This book is, for a large part of it at least, a fiction, or romance, in which divers things concerning the Christian religion are represented in a philosophical manner, in order to render them more agreeable to the Greeks. It is called 'The Circuits,' or 'Travels and Acts of Peter,' from the subject matter of it; as it contains an account of the apostle Peter's disputes with Simon Magus, and his discourses to other people, and many miracles wrought by him in several places; at Cæsarea, Dora, Ptolemais, Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli, Laodicea, Antioch, and his journeys from one city to another. It is called 'The Recognitions' from Clement's [b] recognizing his father, and mother, and brethren, who had been long separated from each other.

Mr. Whiston has a singular opinion concerning the author of this work. He allows, 'that 'it [c] was not written by Clement himself. This,' he says, 'is evident by the entire style 'and genius of the whole, as compared with the vastly different style and genius of Clement's 'genuine epistles and constitutions:' but it was written 'by [d] some of the hearers of Cle-'ment, and other companions of the apostles.' According to this account, it is the work of some anonymous person, who was a hearer or disciple of apostolical men: but I think that it must be reckoned to be Clement's, or to be supposititious. This is evident from the testimonies of the ancients all along, who speak of this work as written by Clement, or at least ascribed to him. And that the author intended it should be esteemed the writing or composition of Clement, appears from the whole of the work, though from some passages more especially. It begins: 'I, Clement, who was born in the city of Rome,' and what follows. I shall transcribe a passage or two, taking Mr. Whiston's translation of them. In the 25th section of the first book, Peter says: 'Enough, O Clement; for thou hast repeated this discourse 'more clearly than I delivered it. Then I replied, A liberal education has enabled us to observe 'an agreeable method in discourse, to set proper truths in a clear light. Now if we use this 'talent in support of ancient errors, ... we lose the design of the decency and sweetness of lan-'guage; but if we make use of this art and beauty of language for the confirmation of the 'truth, I suppose there may great benefit accrue from it.' This is the design of the work, and it is Clement to whom this talent is ascribed here, and in other places. But more expressly still, near the conclusion of the third book, after the account of Peter's disputes with Simon Magus, and his discourses to other people, at Cæsarea; when they were almost ready to go from thence to Dora, it is said: 'He also [that is, Peter,] when he perceived that I [Clement] 'fixed what I heard deep in my memory, gave it me in charge to put together all the most 'memorable passages, and to write them in books, and to send them to you, my lord James, as 'I have accordingly done in obedience to his orders. The first book, then, of those which I 'formerly sent to you, treats of the true prophet.' Where follow short contents of the ten books 'written and sent formerly:' so that the same Clement, who wrote those former books, writes these also. This work therefore, as it is ascribed to Clement, but is not his, is supposititious, and the author can hardly escape the character of an impostor.

The judgment of Cotelerius upon these books of Recognitions, which he so well understood, is in short this, that 'they [e] are supposititious and apocryphal, composed by some learned and 'eloquent man in the second century.'

Which leads me to observe the time of these books. That they were in being in the latter part of the second, or the beginning of the third century, may be inferred from the citations of Origen; and that they were not extant much sooner, may be inferred from the silence of Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria about them. Moreover in the ninth book [f] of the Recogni-

[a] Clemens, apostolorum discipulus, qui Romanæ ecclesiæ, post apostolos, et apostolus et martyr præfuit, libros edidit, quos Græce appellantur Ἀναγνωρισμούς, id est Recognitio. . . . Sunt etiam alia nonnulla libris ejus inserta, quæ ecclesiastica regula non recipit. Rufin. de Adulteratione Librorum Origenis. Suscipe igitur, anime mi, redeuntem ad te Clementem patrum; suscipe jam Romanum. Idem, in S. Clement. Recognitionum Libros Præfat. ad Caudentium.

[b] L. ix. sect. 38. et seq. [c] Preface to Mr. Whiston's translation of the Recognitions of Clement, p. 18. London, 1712. [d] Ib. p. 17. et alibi. [e] Quantum ex re ipsâ, veterum testimoniis, ac recentiorum judiciis colligere licet, libri isti pseudepigraphi sunt et apocryphi, secundo sæculo compositi a viro docto quidem juxta ac diserto, sed philosopho magis et philologo quam theologo . . . . ap Patr. Ap. T. i. p. 484. [f] From sect. 19 to sect. 29.

tions is a long passage, which appears to be taken out of the book Of Fate, written by Bardesanes; though the author does not give any hint that he takes it from another. As Bardesanes flourished about the year 180, and his books were written originally in Syriac, it cannot be supposed that the Recognitions were published till near the end of the second century.

It happens that this passage, together with somewhat more, is quoted by Eusebius from Bardesanes himself. That Bardesanes did not take that passage from the Recognitions, but the author of the Recognitions from him, has been clearly shewn by [a] Grabe, upon as good evidence as can be desired in a thing of this nature: though, in my opinion, it needs no proof. I shall only just add, therefore, that, as Eusebius has ascribed that passage to Bardesanes, we ought to rely upon him for the author of it. It is a point that cannot be reasonably contested or disputed. Eusebius, when he introduces the quotation, says, he takes it [b] out of a 'Dialogue of Bardesanes the Syrian;' and at the end [c] he says again, 'Thus far the Syrian.'

Nevertheless Mr. Whiston disputes this point; but his objections do not appear to be material: nor do I suppose that any man, who looks into Grabe himself, can be much moved by them. But whereas [d] Mr Whiston observes, that 'Epiphanius tells us the book Of Fate,' written by Bardesanes, 'was made up of collections taken out of other authors,' Haer. 56. sect. 2, I must take the [e] liberty to say, that I do not perceive Epiphanius to tell us any such thing.

With regard to the age of this work, I would add farther, that the arguments here used against Heathenism seem to imply, that the Christian was not yet the prevailing established religion. And the author often [f] speaks of the power of Christians to heal diseases, and expel dæmons, as if it was common in his time. And that such gifts were enjoyed by many Christians in the second, and the beginning of the third century, we are assured by Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and others: after which time, or however after the end of the third century, they were not so common, if they did not quite cease.

Mr. Whiston's [g] opinion of this book is, 'That if it be not in some sense or other itself a 'sacred book, yet ought it certainly to be esteemed in the next degree to that of the really 'sacred books of the New Testament.' In the opinion of [h] many other learned men, it is a worthless piece, of little or no use. We will endeavour however to make some good use of a work, which cost the author a great deal of labour, and in which are some excellent sentiments, and fine passages; though at the same time there are several very great faults,[i] for which no good excuse can be made; so that one cannot well help wishing, upon the whole, that this author, who was a man of great abilities, had employed his time better.

1. We are not to expect here any express citations of the scriptures of the New Testament, unless the author should forget himself; the discourses and conferences here related, being supposed to be made at a time when few or none of the books of the New Testament were written. He will therefore recite the words of our Lord recorded in the gospels, as heard by those persons who mention them, or learned from apostles, or others our Lord's hearers. I

[a] Spicileg. Patr. T. i. p. 278. [b] Præp. Evang. l. vi. cap. 9, 10. p. 275. A. [c] Τοσαυτα και ὁ Συρος. Ibid. p. 280. C. [d] Preface, as before, p. 12.

[e] It is likely that Mr. Whiston's mistake is owing to his misinterpretation of Epiphanius, Hær. 56. sect. 1. Ὁς πολλα [προς] Αβειδαν τον αστρονομον κατα ειμαρμενης λεγων συνελογησατο which are thus rightly rendered by Petavius: Idem adversus Abidam astrologum contra fatum pluribus disputavit. But supposing Mr. Whiston to have understood the Greek word in the sense of 'collecting,' he had no right to say, that 'Epiphanius tells us, the book Of Fate was made up of 'collections taken out of other authors.' For those collections might be the fruit of Bardesanes's own observations, as they plainly were, according to his own account. See Grabe, Spicileg. p. 78. [f] L. iv. sect. 14, 20, 32, 33.

[g] As before, p. 38. [h] Enfin cet ouvrage n'est d'aucune utilité, soit pour la manière dont il est écrit, soit pour les choses qu'il contient. Du Pin, Bibliothèque. St. Clement Romain. En un mot, on le regarde comme un ouvrage qui n' est d' aucun prix, ni d' aucune utilité. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. ii. P. i. St. Clement Art. 6. p. 295.

[i] He says, in the first book, that, whilst Jesus Christ was teaching in Judea, in the reign of Tiberius, 'A certain man '[Barnabas] stood in one of the most public places of the 'city [of Rome,] and proclaimed to the people, and said, "O 'ye citizens of Rome, hearken to me. The Son of God is 'now present in the region of Judea, and promises, to all 'that are willing to hear him, eternal life."' B. i. sect. 7. This is said, I suppose, as more agreeable to Greeks and Romans, at the time of the author's writing, than the real truth. For this is contrary to the Gospels and the Acts, according to which Christ was not preached to the Gentiles till some time after his resurrection. And the author, as if he were himself sensible of the impropriety of this part of his fiction, makes Barnabas soon leave Rome upon a little ill treatment. He introduces Peter relating a silly miracle in Judea. . . . . 'Whilst,' says he, 'we were gone to the sepulchres of two of our bre-'thren, which were every year new whited of their own ac-'cord. By which miracles the fury of many against us was 'repressed, when they thereby perceived that our brethren 'were had in remembrance with God.' B. i. sect. 71. Peter too says here, that Gamaliel 'was secretly their brother in the 'faith,' but 'by their advice [that is, the apostles] continued 'still' among the Jewish priests and rulers, sect. 65. Whose passage is censured by Cotelerius as it deserves: 'Vulgo ... hoc consilium apostolis indignum est.' I omit other things.

shall put down one passage, as an example of his indirect way of quoting, in compliance with the decorum of the circumstances his persons are supposed to be in. Peter speaks: 'Whence' it was well said by a certain person to the preachers of truth, "Ye are the light of the world." And, "A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid: neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick, that it may give light to all that are in the house." Then said 'the old man [Clement's father, yet a stranger, and not converted], "Whosoever that person was, he spake plain truth." Matth. v. 14, 15.

2. Thus we have given a good quotation of St. Matthew's gospel: but we will observe a particular or two more. Simon Magus says to Peter, 'If [b] you do with reason require peace 'from your auditors, your master did without reason say, "I am not come to send peace on earth, but a sword." Matth. x. 34.——To this Peter answered, 'You' remember that our 'master came not to send peace; but you do not remember that he said, "Blessed are the 'peaceable, for they shall be called the children of God."' Matth. v. 9.

3. In these books are many passages out of this gospel. One may be apt to suspect, that in this author's copy the reading of Matth. v. 3. was, 'Blessed are the poor,' he having twice mentioned this beatitude in that form. However, he gives a good interpretation of it. 'In 'the beginning[d] of his preaching, as he was desirous to invite and draw men to salvation, and 'to persuade men to patience under their labours and temptations, he declared the poor blessed; 'and promised, as a reward of their patient enduring poverty, that they should obtain the king-'dom of heaven.' In a like manner[e] in another place.

4. He gives the true sense of Matth. v. 6, understanding it of bodily 'hunger and thirst,' agreeably to St. Luke, vi. 21. 'He[f] did also promise,' says he, 'that they who hunger and 'thirst should be filled with the eternal blessings of righteousness; that, bearing want without 'discontent, they might not on that account do any unjust action.' He refers, not to St. Luke's but to St. Matthew's gospel, in which more especially this is placed near the beginning of our Lord's preaching.

5. He has likewise a good observation upon the parable of the sower, in Matth. xiii. and Luke viii. 'But[g] because it cannot be, but that a husbandman, who would sow good ground, 'must lose some seeds which fall in stony places, or in places trodden by men, or such as are 'full of brambles and thorns, as our Master has taught us, shewing hereby the different disposi-'tion of every one's soul in particular, I will proceed.'

6. 'To[h] those therefore, who believe and obey, he gives 'this command, that they should 'have peace one with another.' See Mark ix. 50.

He seems to refer to Mark xiii. 32, when Peter says, 'For[i] 'if our Master confessed he 'did "not know that day and hour" whose signs yet he foretold, that he might refer all to the 'Father; how can we think it beneath us to own that we are ignorant of some things?' However, see Matthew xxiv. 36.

7. 'Then[k] said Simon [Magus], I mightily wonder at your folly. You propose your 'Master's words to us, just as if it were certainly known that he was a prophet; whereas I can 'easily demonstrate that he has often contradicted himself.—'For you own that he said, '"Every kingdom, and every city, divided against itself, cannot stand" [Matth. xii. 25]. And you own[l] that in another place he said, that he "sent a sword to set those at variance that were in the same house; so that the son would be divided from the father, and the daughter from the mother, and the brother from the brother: insomuch that if there were five in one house, three would be divided against two, and two against three." Luke xii. 52, 53. In these books are several passages taken out of St. Luke's gospel.

8. 'For[m] so did the true prophet testify to us with an oath, when he said, "Verily I say 'unto you, unless a man be born again of water, he shall not enter into the kingdom of 'heaven." John iii. 5. Which the author understands of baptism.

9. In another place: 'Now[n] the Son reveals the Father to those who do so honour the Son as they honour the Father.' John v. 23.

[a] L. viii. sect. 4. [b] L. ii. sect. 26. [c] Sect. 27. [d] L. ii. sect. 28. [e] L. i. sect. 61. [f] L. ii. sect. 28. conf. l. i. sect. 61. [g] L. iii. sect. 14. [h] Credentibus, ergo obedientibus, pacem habere inter se invicem jubet. L. ii. sect. 29. [i] Si enim Magister noster diem et horam, cujus etiam signa prædixit, nescire se professus est, ut totum revocaret ad Patrem; quomodo nos—L. x. sect. 14. [k] L. ii. sect. 32. [l] Et alibi iterum ais eum dixisse. Ibid. [m] L. vi. sect. 9. [n] L. ii. sect. 48.

10. That this writer was acquainted with the book of the Acts of the apostles, will appear from the following things. He mentions[a] the choice of Matthias to the apostleship, in the place of Judas, which is recorded, Acts i. He relates a speech made by Gamaliel in favour of the apostles, though here he misrepresents some things: 'Be[b] quiet for a while, O ye men of 'Israel; for you do not apprehend the trial which hangs over you: wherefore let these men 'alone. And if indeed what they do is a work of human counsel, it will soon come to an end: 'but, if it be of God, why do ye offend without cause, and yet advance nothing? For who can 'overcome the will of God?' See Acts v. 38, 39.

The author introduces Peter giving Clement, that is, himself, an[c] account of a dispute which James and the other apostles had with the Jews at the temple: And when the high priest, and a great multitude, were almost prepared for the receiving of baptism, 'a certain enemy did just then come into the temple, with a few that followed him.' He made a warm speech, exclaiming against the folly of those Jews who were almost converted by the apostles, and put all things into confusion; and made such a disturbance, that several were killed, and James was very much hurt. 'After[d] three days,' as Peter adds, 'one of the brethren came to us from 'Gamaliel,.....giving us private information,[e] that this enemy had received a commission from 'Caiaphas to persecute all who believed in Jesus, and was going to Damascus with his letters.' See Acts ix. 1, 2. xxii. 4, 5.

Our author undoubtedly means Paul; I do not know why he does not name him: but here seem to be marks of ill will towards St. Paul. Gamaliel is complimented with the[f] character of a brother, whilst his disciple is a furious enemy. Then the main reason why this enemy designed for Damascus, is said to be, that[g] 'he thought Peter had fled thither,' after the disturbance at the temple: which is an invidious charge. And he says nothing of the conversion of this enemy, though according to our accounts, and those undoubted, it happened soon after some things here related, in the way to Damascus; and was in all respects very extraordinary, and the greatest triumph of truth in any age.

Farther, the author has a relation of Simon of Samaria, that he affirmed himself to be[h] 'the supreme power of the High God' (see Acts viii. 10.), and[i] that 'he once believed in our Jesus.' See ver. 13. He says too, that Christ's 'disciples, in[k] imitation of their master, when they 'suffered, did in like manner pray for their murderers;' where he seems to refer to Stephen's prayer, Acts vii. 60; and perhaps to other instances of the like eminent virtue in the followers of Jesus.

I think here is good proof, that the author of this work was acquainted with the Acts of the apostles.

11. 'For[l] with God "he is not a Jew, who is called a Jew among men; nor is he a Gentile, who is called a Gentile." Rom. ii. 28. There is another[m] place which contains a reference to Matth. vi. 24, or Rom. vi. 16.

12. It is here said that the Israelites had[n] 'a cup afforded them from a rock which followed 'them.' 1 Cor. x. 4. It is reckoned among the greatest of crimes,[o] 'to partake of the table 'of dæmons; that is, to taste of what has been offered to them.' See 1 Cor. x. 20, 21.

13. 'So has your soul, by long negligence, produced many and pernicious notions of things, and[p] opinions of "science, falsely so called." 1 Tim. vi. 20.

14. In Hebr. vii. 2, Melchisedec, who was 'made like unto the Son of God,' is called 'King 'of Peace.' This author[q] says twice, that Christ 'was ordained of God to be the King 'of Peace.' But one cannot be positive that herein is any reference to the epistle to the Hebrews.

15. 'There is therefore an evident sign that such things are not spoken from the true God,

[a] L. i. sect. 60. [b] L. i. sect. 65. [c] Ibid. sect. 68, 69. &c. [d] Ibid. 71. [e] Quod inimicus ille homo legationem suscepisset a Caiaphâ pontifice, ut omnes qui crederent in Jesum persequeretur, et Damascum pergeret cum epistolis ejus. . . . Ibid. [f] See note [i] 468. [g] Idcirco autem præcipue Damascum festinaret, quod et illuc crederet confugisse Petrum. Ubi supra.

[h] Adserentem se esse quemdam stantem, . . . et virtutem summam excelsi Dei. L. i. sect. 72. [i] Nam inde quid ideam, quod et Jesu nostro crediderat. L. iii. sect. 49.

[k] Imitantes quoque discipuli magistrum, etiam ipsi, cum paterentur, similiter pro interfectoribus suis orabant. L. vi. sect. 5. [l] L. v. sect. 34. [m] L. v. sect. 12.

[n] Et ex sequenti petrâ poculum ministratum. L. i. sect. 35.

[o] Quæ autem animam simul et corpus polluunt, ista sunt, participare dæmoniun mensæ; hoc est, immolata degustare. . . et si quid aliud est quod dæmonibus oblatum est. L. iv. sect. 36. [p] Et intelligentias falsæ scientiæ. L. vi. sect. 2.

[q] Et agatis gratias largitori omnium, Patri, per eum quem posuit Regem Pacis. L. iv. sect. 32. . . ad hunc quem diximus a Deo destinatum Regem Pacis accessit. Ibid. sect. 33.

'when sometimes a lie is mixed with them; for[a] "there is never any lie in the truth."' 1 John ii. 21.

He says, the 'wedding garment' is the grace of baptism. 'The things whereby that garment may be defiled, are these: If any one departs from God the Father,—and receives any other teacher than Christ.—These[b] are things which pollute the garment of baptism even unto death.' Here seems to be an allusion to 1 John v. 16, 17.

16. Clement himself says, 'God ordered, that the whole multitude of mankind should be born into this visible world, that from[c] among them he might choose friends for his Son, with whom he might rejoice; and who might be "made ready" for him, as a beloved "bride for her husband." But till the time of "the marriage is come," which is when the future world appears,'—and what follows. See Rev. xix. 7, 8, 9. xxi. 2.

17. Beside these, there are some general things which seem to relate to the scriptures of the New Testament.

Among the ten books, which Clement, at the end of the third book of these Recognitions, says he had already sent to James, the contents of one of them are thus described: 'The[d] eighth is concerning those words of our Lord which seem to contradict one another, but do not, and in what manner they are to be cleared.' And somewhat of this kind is performed in the preceding part of this very work, as appears from our quotations.

In another place Peter is supposed to tell Clement, 'How the apostles were invited by the priests, and by the high priest Caiaphas, to the temple; and how James the archbishop stood upon the top of the stairs, and[e] for seven days one after another, proved out of the Lord's scriptures, to the whole body of the people, that Jesus was the Christ.'

The title of archbishop may be allowed to be added by Rufinus, or some other interpolator: but Dominic Scriptures, or the Lord's Scriptures, is a term often used by the Christian writers of the second century. It must be owned to be out of character to speak of the scriptures of the New Testament in a dispute with Caiaphas, at which time none of them were written. But the author here forgot himself. And indeed it is next to impossible for a writer not to say some things improperly in a work of this kind, and of this length.

However, after all, perhaps hereby are meant only the scriptures of the Old Testament, and this phrase may be judged equivalent to 'the written word of God.'

18. It may be now proper to distinguish the passages alleged out of these books of Recognitions, and observe the value of them. Here are passages of our four gospels: and one might conclude that the author owned them all, were it not for a[f] difficulty which I shall mention by and by; which may render it doubtful whether he used the four gospels, or some one gospel containing in it all these things. The reader will consider whether this difficulty be of any moment. He seems to own the first epistle of St. John, and the book of the Revelation. He was well acquainted too with the book of the Acts of the apostles; but how far he owned it, I cannot say. As for the passages relating to St. Paul's epistles, they may be reckoned not very[g] material; or however not sufficient to prove, that they were esteemed by this writer to be of authority. It may be suspected that the author had no great kindness for the apostle Paul; and for that reason made as little use of his epistles, and of the Acts of the apostles, as might be, though he was well enough acquainted with them.

This author, whoever he be, bears testimony likewise to many principal facts of the New Testament. He gives[h] an account of our Lord's temptation. He mentions,[i] the choice of the twelve apostles, and afterwards of other seventy-two disciples. In one place[k] he speaks of the

[a] In veritate enim nunquam mendacium est. L. iv. sect. 36.

[b] Hæc sunt quæ usque ad mortem baptismi polluunt indumentum. L. iv. sect. 36.

[c] Ex quibus eligerie amicos filio suo, cum quibus lætaretur, et qui ei, tamquam sponso, dilecta sponsa, pararentur. Verum usque ad nuptiarum tempus, quod est præsentia sæculi venturi, statuit. L. ix. sect. 3.

[d] Octavus de verbis Domini quæ sibi videntur esse contraria, sed non sunt; et quæ sit horum solutio. L. iii. sect. 75.

[e] Et Jacobus archiepiscopus stans in summis gradibus, per septem continuos dies, universo populo de Scripturis Dominicis adsignaverit, quod Jesus esset Christus. L. i. sect. 73.

[f] See below Numb. V. 3 of this chapter.

[g] Equidem observavi, nec in Clementinis, nec in *Recognitionibus*, quæ apocrypha sæpe diximus ab Ebionæis fuisse depravata, Paulum apostolum citatum inveniri. Coteler. Annot. ad Clementin. Homil. xix. sect. 2.

[h] L. iv. sect. 34.

[i] L. i. sect. 40.

[k] Propter quod observate cautius, ut nulli doctorum credatis, nisi qui Jacobi fratris Domini ex Hierusalem detulerit testimonium, vel ejus quicunque post ipsum fuerit. Nisi enim quis illuc ascenderit, et ibi fuerit probatus quod sit doctor idoneus, et fidelis, ad prædicandum Christi verbum; nisi, inquam, inde detulerit testimonium, recipiendus omnino non est. Sed neque propheta, neque apostolus, in hoc tempore, speretur a vobis aliquis alius præter nos. Unus enim est verus propheta, cujus nos duodecim apostoli verba prædicamus. Ipse enim est annus Dei acceptus, nos apostolos

twelve apostles in such a manner, as if he intended to exclude Paul from the honour of the apostleship, and even to deny him the character of a 'sufficient and faithful preacher of Christ's 'word.' Here are also relations [a] of the miracles of our blessed Lord's ministry, and of his death and resurrection, and the extraordinary signs attending those events.

20. To all these things does this writer bear witness. And yet, from his sly insinuations, and injurious reflections upon St. Paul, it may be suspected that he was a mere Ebionite; the ancients [c] assuring us that this sect of Christians rejected the authority of that apostle and his epistles. If this be our author's real character, what has been here alleged from this work ought to be considered as one instance of the advantage which may be made of the sentiments of those called heretics, for confirming the evangelical scriptures and history; which I hope will appear more fully hereafter.

V. Hitherto I have taken no notice of the *Clementine Homilies*; nor do I intend a large account of them; but it may be thought improper to omit them entirely. They are nineteen Homilies in Greek, published by Cotelerius, with two letters prefixed; one of them written in the name of Peter, the other in the name of Clement, to James bishop of Jerusalem: in which last letter they are intitled 'Clement's Epitome of the Preaching and Travels of Peter.' But it may be questioned whether one or both these letters do not belong to the Recognitions. Photius [d] seems to favour this supposition: at least, in his time, they were both prefixed to some editions of the Recognitions. The nineteenth Homily is imperfect at the end: and there is wanting another whole Homily to complete the number of twenty.

Le Clerc [e] thinks that these Clementine Homilies were composed by an Ebionite in the second century. The learned Benedictine, Bernard Montfaucon, is [f] of a quite different opinion, supposing them to have been forged much later; and not to have been mentioned, by any author, till long after the age of St. Athanasius. This is one of his arguments, that the Synopsis, in which the Clementines are mentioned, was not composed by that father. Grabe [g] says, the Clementines spoken of in that Synopsis, are not the same with our Clementine Homilies; which is very probable: those Clementines, mentioned in the Synopsis, are not the Clementine Homilies, but the Clementine Epitome, published by Cotelerius at the end of the Homilies. Montfaucon's argument, therefore, for the late age of the Synopsis, may be very good, as I think it is; and Le Clerc too may judge very rightly about the time of writing the Homilies. For though these Clementine Homilies are ancient, they were not cited by the name of Clementines; but were either reckoned another edition of the Recognitions, or called the 'Travels of Peter,' or the 'Disputation of Peter and Appion.' That they were sometimes mentioned by this last title, is probable, as will be shewn presently.

In these Homilies is the tame fictitious history [h] of the separation of Clement, and his father, and mother, and brethren, and their recognising each other, with that in the Recognitions: and there is a great agreement between these two works in several other things, though each has some other matters wanting in the other. Rufinus [i] says that there were two editions of the Recognitions: it is likely that by the other, which he left untranslated, he [k] means these Homilies. He does not say which is the first edition, though that may be reckoned a point of some moment, if we could determine it. I am apt to think the Clementine Homilies may be the original, or the first edition, and the Recognitions an improvement of them, because they appear more finished and artificial.

This work bids fair for being the same with that censured by Eusebius, under the title of

habens duodecim menses. L. iv. sect. 35. This is absolutely to exclude St. Paul, who was an apostle 'neither of men, nor by man,' as he openly professes. Gal. i. 1. See also ver. 11, 12. 17. ch. ii. 6. Against which claims of St. Paul this discourse of our author seems to be designedly levelled; as also possibly against 2 Cor. ii. 16, where St. Paul says, "And who is sufficient for these things?" or, as some read, 'Who 'is so sufficient for these things?' Vid. Mill. in loc.

[a] L. i. sect. 6, 7. l. v. sect. 10, 11. [b] L. i. sect. 41, 42, 43. [c] Irenæ. l. i. c. 26. al. 25. Orig. cont. Cels. l. v. p. 274. Euseb. H. E. l. iii. cap. 27.

[d] Cod. 112, 113. [e] Sequuntur ipsa Clementina, . . . opus hominis Ebionitæ, qui vixit seculo secundo. Præf. ad Patres Apost. sect. 6. [f] Ad hæc in apocryphis Novi Testamenti numerantur in Synopsi Κλημεντια, seu Homiliæ Clementinæ, quarum mentionem primo reperimus, diu post Athanasii ævum, apud Nicephorum Patriarcham. Sunt enim illæ opus diversum a Recognitionibus, quarum Origenes, Rufinus, et alii meminere, licet ejusdem sint argumenti, et, ut videtur, postea confictæ. In Synops. Scripturæ Admonit. apud Athanasii Op. T. ii. p. 125.

[g] Spicileg. T. i. p. 287. [h] Vid. Homil. xii. xiii. xiv. [i] Puto quod non te lateat, Clementis hujus in Græco ejusdem operis Ανακρισεων, hoc est, Recognitionum, duas editiones haberi; et duo corpora esse librorum in aliquantis quidem diversa, in multis tamen ejusdem rei narrationis. Rufin. Præf. ad Gaudentium. [k] Vid. H. L. P. i. p. 19. in Clement. Rom.

'Dialogues of Peter and Appion.' The whole work is prolix; and in the fourth, fifth, and sixth Homilies, is a history of Appion, and of a dispute with him. It is true, as Grabe[a] well observes, this dispute with Appion is not managed by Peter himself, but by Clement in his absence. But I do not know whether that be sufficient to overthrow this supposition; since Clement is reckoned the disciple of Peter, and his most intimate friend. And afterwards, in the seventh Homily, Appion is joined with Simon of Samaria, and others, who publicly declaim against Peter to the multitude. Not to add, that Clement relates that whole disputation to Peter, and receives his applauses for it.

Nor do I perceive that Photius says any thing to the prejudice of this opinion; he rather confirms it. In his article of the genuine and supposititious writings of Clement of Rome, the books mentioned by him are these five: the Constitutions; the Recognitions, under several titles, which he says are full of blasphemies against the Son, according to the Arian doctrine; the epistle of Clement to the Corinthians; the second epistle, which he says is rejected as spurious; and the 'long disputation,' as it is entitled, 'of Peter and Appion,' which he likewise calls spurious. If hereby he does not mean the Clementine Homilies, they are quite omitted, which is not likely.

Nicephorus Callisti, in the fourteenth century, suspected the Clementines then in use in the church, to be the Dialogue of Peter and Appion. He had only one difficulty: that[b] Dialogue was censured by Eusebius, as not agreeable to the right faith; whereas the book called the Clementines, in the time of Nicephorus, was highly approved in the church. But the reason of this I take to be very evident: his Clementines are the Clementine Epitome, as it is called, in which the Clementine Homilies are reformed and new modelled. The most obnoxious or offensive things, as not orthodox, had been left out, and other sentiments were inserted, agreeable to the age of him who reformed them. But still Nicephorus suspected those Clementines might be the Dialogue of Peter and Appion. We have much more reason to think the Clementine Homilies are the work which was sometimes spoken of under that title.

If our conjecture is not approved of, we must suppose that Dialogue to be lost; which is the opinion of[c] Fabricius.

1. In these Homilies are many passages of the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, and divers of them are different from those of the same gospels in the Recognitions. There is very little which can be certainly said to be taken from St. Mark's gospel, though Cotelerius has sometimes put it in the margin. We have these words mentioned as Christ's, after several other which are in Matthew and Luke: 'Hear,[d] Israel, the Lord your God is one Lord:' which seems to be a reference to Mark, xii. 29. He is supposed to refer,[e] in several places, to Mark xii. 24; but I do not see why he may not as well intend Matth. xxii. 29. It is thought likewise that[f] he refers to Mark i. 13, in what he says of our Lord's temptation in the wilderness. The small number of plain references to this gospel, may be accounted for from its great agreement with the other two gospels just mentioned. There are several passages out of St. John's gospel: I shall mention some of them presently. But there is scarce any one passage which can be affirmed to be taken[g] out of St. Paul's epistles, or any other book of the New Testament. However, in the before-mentioned letter of Clement[h] to James, Peter is introduced speaking of his approaching death, 'which he had been taught by his 'Lord and Master, 'Jesus Christ,' much in the same manner as it is mentioned, 2 Pet. i. 14.

2. The words of Christ are mentioned and appealed to here, as in the Recognitions; not as written but heard by Peter, or learned by others from apostles, or others who had heard our Lord. Thus, Peter[i] says, 'Our Master declared the faithful poor blessed.' 'Wherefore

[a] Spic. T. i. p. 273.

[b] Εγω δε ει μεν τα νυν παρ' ἡμιν Κλημεντια ονομαζομενα λεγει, ου πειθομαι· ταυτα γαρ τη εκκλησια και ευπαραδεκτα· ει δε ἑτερα εισι παρα ταυτα, λεγειν ουκ εχω. Nic. Call. Hist. E. l. iii. c. 18. Vid. Testimonia de Clementinis apud Patres Apost.

[c] Disputatio uberior Petri et Appionis Eusebio memorata et Hieronymo intercidit; falliturque Oudinus [de Script. Ex. Eccl. T. i. cap. 22], qui eam a Cotelerio, sub nomine Clementinorum, editam esse sibi persuasit. J. A. Fabric. Cod. Apocr. N. T. Part iii. p. 603. Hamb. 8vo. 1719.

[d] Εφη, Ακουε, Ισραηλ, Κυριος ὁ Θεος ὑμων Κυριος εἰς εστιν. Hom. iii. sect. 57.

[e] Hom. ii. sect. 51. iii. sect. 50 xix. sect. 20.

[f] Qui misit nos, Dominus noster et propheta, narravit nobis, quemadmodum diabolus quadraginta diebus cum eo collocutus, nihilque contra valens, promiserit se ex suis sectatoribus apostolos ad fraudem faciendam missurum. Hom. xii. sect. 35. Jam ergo confitetur, per quadraginta dies collocutum tentavisse se. Hom. ix. sect. 2.

[g] Vid. Coteler. Not. in Hom. xix. sect. 2. in part cited above, page 471.

[h] Sect. 2.

[i] Πλην ὁ διδασκαλος ἡμων πιστους πενητας εμακαρισεν. Hom. xv. sect. 10.

'[a] he himself, being a true prophet, said, "I am the gate of life; he that enters in by me, enters into 'life." John x. 9.—'And again: "My sheep hear my voice." Ch. x, 27.——'He[b] said, moreover, '"I am he of whom Moses prophesied." Ch. v. 46. In another place: For[c] so the prophet swore 'to us, saying, "Verily I say unto you, except ye be born again of living water in the name of 'Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." This is supposed to be a reference to John iii. 5. But he seems to have joined together several texts.

3. If this be the work of an Ebionite, as is generally[d] supposed, and seems not improbable,[e] it may be argued, that, when the author wrote, the[f] four gospels were owned by that sect, or at least by some branch of it. For though there may be some interpolations in these Homilies, there is no reason to think that any texts have been added. If such a thing had been attempted, we should have had here some passages out of other books of the New Testament, and possibly out of St. Paul's epistles. It is very probable also that we should have met with some forms of quotation, different from those now used in these Homilies.

I see no way of evading this conclusion, but by supposing that all[g] these texts of our several gospels were in some one gospel used by the Ebionites, called the gospel of Matthew, or according to the Hebrews, or by whatever other name it was distinguished. However, either way our evangelical history is confirmed.

This observation upon these Homilies may be reckoned applicable likewise to the Recognitions.

4. Though neither of these books be of any sacred authority, they may be both of some use; and may deserve a more particular examination than has been yet given them. I have said as much of them as is consistent with the nature of the present work, which does not allow me to stay too long upon any one piece. And yet I suppose enough has been said to render it probable, not only that the Clementine Homilies, but also that the book of Recognitions, which Mr. Whiston, in our time, has recommended to us, 'as certainly to be esteemed 'in the next degree to that of the really sacred books of the New Testament,' is the work of an Ebionite; and therefore, if there is in it any Arianism, it has been interpolated.

VI. After the Recognitions, and the Clementine Homilies, there follows, in the Patres Apostolici, a book entitled *The Clementine Epitome*; which has been already mentioned, and needs not to be now enlarged upon; it having plain marks of a later age than that we are concerned with at present. It seems to have been composed out of the Recognitions and Homilies and perhaps some other works, leaving out some things, and adding others. Cotelerius,[h] who published it, is much of this opinion. To this Clementine Epitome, or some such like piece, the author of the Synopsis, ascribed to St. Athanasius, refers, when among the contradicted or apocryphal books of the New Testament, such as the Travels of Peter, the gospel according to Thomas, and some others, he mentions the Clementines, 'out of which,' he says,[i] 'those

[a] Δια τουτο αυτος αληθης ων προφητης ελεγεν, Εγω ειμι ἡ πυλη της ζωης· ὁ δι' εμου εισερχομενος, εισερχεται εις την ζωην. . . . . και παλιν τα εμα προβατα ακουει της εμης φωνης. Hom. xiii. sect. 52. [b] Ετι μην ελεγεν, Εγω ειμι περι οὗ Μωυσης προεφητευσεν. Ibid. [c] Οὑτως γαρ ἡμιν ωμοσεν ὁ προφητης, ειπων· Αμην ὑμιν λεγω, εαν μη αναγεννηθητε ὑδατι ζωντι, εις ονομα Πατρος, Υιου, Αγιου Πνευματος, ου μη εισελθητε εις την βασιλειαν των ουρανων. Hom. xi. sect. 26.

[d] Vid. Præfat. Clerici, et judicium Cotelerii de Clementinis, apud Patres Apost. Mill. Proleg. 670.

[e] Vid. Hom. iii. sect. 12. vii. sect. 8. xvi. sect. 15. et alibi.

[f] It is generally said, that the Ebionites 'received the 'gospel according to St. Matthew only.' So Irenæus: Solo autem eo quod est secundum Matthæum evangelio utuntur, et apostolum Paulum recusant, apostatam eum Legis dicentes. Iren. l. i. c. 26. al. 25. or, 'the gospel according to the 'Hebrews, making little account of the rest.' So Eusebius: Ευαγγελιω δε μονῳ τῳ καθ' Εβραιους λεγομενῳ χρωμενοι, των λοιπων σμικρον εποιουντο λογον. H. E. l. iii. c. 27. 'The gospel 'according to Matthew alone, which they call according to 'the Hebrews: and that not entire, but corrupted and mu-'tilated.' So Epiphanius. Hær. xxx. sect. 3. p. 127. C. sect. 13. p. 137. C. This account of their opinion may suffice for the present.

[g] In this work are several things peculiar to St. Luke, which are not in any of our three other gospels. I shall put down references to them; not proposing this, however, as a complete collection of texts taken from the gospel of that evangelist. Words of Luke x. 7, are found in Homily iii. sect. 71. chap. x. 18. Hom. xix. sect. 2. ch. x. 20. Hom. ix. sect. 22. ch. xi. 52. Hom. iii. sect. 18. and Hom. xviii. sect. 16. The parable of the unjust judge, Luke xviii. 1—17. in Hom. xvii. sect. 5. Our Lord's visit to Zaccheus recorded, ch. xix. 1—10. Hom. iii. sect. 63. ch. xix. 43. Hom. iii. sect. 15. ch. xxiii. 34. Hom. xi. sect. 20. And it is reasonable to suppose, that the author used many more things of St. Luke's and St. John's gospel, as well as of St Matthew's, than those which we find recited or referred to in this work. But we shall have another opportunity of speaking more distinctly and at large of these things; I mean, when we come to consider the testimony of those called heretics. For if this be indeed the work of an Ebionite, we shall be obliged to take some notice of it once more.

[h] Ex Homiliis Clementinis, et Recognitionum libris, tum ex epistolâ Clementis ad Jacobum, Clementis martyrio, atque narratione Ephraimi, composita fuit ista Epitome, per eos homines, qui doctrinæ et pietatis suæ esse duxerunt, quicquid superfluum, falsum, et periculosum videbatur, id omne aut tollere, aut mutare et corrigere. Not. i. ad Epitom. Clement.

[i] Εξ ὡν μεμεφρασθησαν εκλεγεντα τα αληθεστατα και καθαρωτατα. Apud Athanas. Op. T. ii. p. 202.

'things have been selected which are true and divinely inspired.' This is probably the book which Nicephorus likewise speaks of, as being in his time approved by the church.

But, in composing of it, not only those things were selected which are true and right in the ancient Clementines, but divers other things were added. Thus, in the Clementine Homilies,[a] Clement says, 'I give thanks to God;' in the [b] Recognitions, 'I give thanks to Almighty 'God.' But in the parallel place of this Clementine Epitome,[c] Clement says, 'I give thanks 'to God, even the Father, and to his only begotten Son, and to his Holy Spirit.' The preaching of Barnabas at Rome, which [d] we before observed as it stands in the Recognitions, in this Epitome is thus represented: 'O Romans, hear! the Son of God is in Judea, promising eternal 'life to all that are willing:.....be converted, therefore, and [e] acknowledge one God in three 'persons.' In the Clementine Homilies Peter says to Clement, if you would know the things 'of God, you can learn them from him only' [that is, from Christ, the true prophet]. 'And 'his doctrine [f] and true preaching is, that there is one God, who made the world.' In the 'parallel place of the Clementine Epitome, Peter says to Clement: 'If you would know the 'things concerning God, you [g] can learn them only from our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus 'Christ.....And it is his doctrine, that there is one God in three persons, who made the whole 'world.' But we have no occasion to insist any longer on this book.

VII. I have spoken of these three pieces in the order in which they are placed by Cotelerius and Le Clerc, in their editions of them. But, as I before observed, I take the Clementine Homilies to be the original work upon which the Recognitions were formed; as the author of the Clementine Epitome has borrowed from both.

Thus has the name of Clement, the companion and fellow labourer of the apostle Paul, been abused by men of three several denominations and characters; an Ebionite, an Arian, and a Catholic. The hand of an Ebionite, in the Clementine Homilies, is I think, generally acknowledged by learned moderns: and Epiphanius, speaking of the Travels of Peter, says, they had been altered and corrupted by the Ebionites. It was very natural for him, who supposed those travels were written by Clement, to say that they were corrupted by the Ebionites; for certainly the peculiar principles of that sect could not proceed from a fellow-labourer of the apostle Paul. But that there was no good foundation, in the most early antiquity, for supposing Clement to be the author of any of these pieces, may be concluded from Eusebius. I apprehend it must appear probable, from our extracts and observations, that the Clementine Homilies were composed by an Ebionite; and that the main ground and foundation at least of the Recognitions, also is the work of a man of the same sect.

Some Arian must have interpolated the Recognitions, as is evident from the character of them in Photius before mentioned; and from Rufinus, who [h] says, 'that in some places (in 'his Greek copies of the Recognitions) the doctrine of Eunomius is so plainly put down, that 'one would believe Eunomius himself was the speaker, teaching, that the Son of God was 'created out of nothing.' These things, I suppose, could not be written before the fourth century.

That the Clementine Epitome was composed by an orthodox Christian, is notorious. However, it may be said in favour of the Catholics, that none of them appear to have had any hand in any of these Clementines during the first three centuries. It may be added likewise, that it was known that the Clementine Epitome was not an original piece; and that it was not pretended to be really written by Clement, but was allowed to consist of things selected out of some other work or works. This may be concluded from the author of the Synopsis: but yet this does not amount to a full vindication of this book, and the title given to it. For though the learned author of the Synopsis knew very well, as it seems, that the book of Clementines, in use in the church, was not really written by Clement, but was an orthodox

[a] Ἠδη ευχαριςω τω Θεω. Hom. i. sect. 21.

[b] Omnipotenti, inquam, Deo gratias ago. L. i. sect. 18.

[c] Εγω μεν, εφην, ηδη ευχαριςω τω Θεω και Πατρι, και τω μονογενει αυτε Υιω, και τω Πνευματι αυτε τω Αγιω. sect. 19.

[d] See Numb. IV. note [t], p. 468.

[e] Και γνωτε τον εν τρισιν ὑποςασεσιν ενα Θεον. Clementin. Ep. sect. 7.

[f] Εςιν τε αυτε το τε βελημα και το αληθες κηρυγμα, ὁτι εις Θεος, ὁυ κοσμος εργον. Hom. ii. sect. 12

[g] Παρα τω Κυριω και Θεου και Σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησυ Χριςου, ... Εςι τε αυτου το βουλημα, ὁτι εις Θεος εν τρισιν ὑποςασεσιν, ὁυ ὁ κοσμος εργον ὁ πας. Cl. Ep. sect. 22, 23.

[h] In quibus [Recognitionis libris] cum ex personâ Petri apostoli doctrina quasi vere apostolica in quamplurimis exponatur; in aliquibus ita Eunomii dogma scribitur [al. inseritur], ut nihil aliud quam ipse Eunomius disputare credatur, filium Dei creatum ex nullis extantibus asseverans. De Adulteratione Libr. Origenis.

modern book, composed out of some other more ancient writings, which were not completely catholic; yet the generality of people would be induced, from the title, to take it for the work of Clement himself. Nor is the account of this book in the Synopsis just and fair: since, as has been shewn, it is not a mere epitome of the ancient Clementines, but has many additions.

I am far from taking pleasure in mentioning these things: but there is a necessity of distinguishing genuine and suppositititious works. And I hope I may rely upon what is said by that great[a] author, Philelcutherus Lipsiensis, speaking of the various readings of the several copies of the New Testament: 'Depend on it, no truth, no matter of fact fairly laid open, can 'ever subvert true religion.' It is possible that some weak and inconsiderate men may be offended at the detection of forged and suppositititious writings; but I think that truth would suffer much more in the end by letting them pass without censure.

It cannot be, I think, beside the purpose, to put down in this place a passage of a letter of Salvian, presbyter of Marseilles in the fifth century, to Salonius, bishop[b] of some place in Gaul, or near it. Salvian wrote a treatise, in four books, against covetousness, without putting his name to it. It begins with an epistolary address in this manner: 'Timothy, the least of the 'servants of God, to the catholic church spread over the whole world, grace be to thee, and 'peace, from God our Father, and from Jesus Christ our Lord, with the Holy Spirit.' Salonius, dissatisfied about this, sent his scruples in a letter to Salvian, as appears from what Salvian writes by way of answer, which is to this purpose: 'You[c] ask me, my dear Salonius, why 'the name of Timothy has been put to some books lately composed and inscribed to the church 'by some man of our time. You add likewise, that, unless I clearly shew the reason of this 'title, since they are called Timothy's, perhaps they ought to be reckoned apocryphal.' Salvian then proposes the reasons of this title, still speaking of the author in the third person, without owning himself to have had any hand in those books. I need not now mention particularly those reasons; but I would make a few remarks upon this passage.

1. We see here the meaning of the word 'apocryphal;' it is much the same as spurious, or suppositititious; at least the word was so used sometimes. A book with the name of Timothy, which was not his, Salonius thought should be placed in the number of apocryphal books.

2. Here is an instance of the vigilance and caution of Christians about the books which they received as written by apostles, or apostolical men. The books against covetousness, named Timothy's, are good books; nevertheless, since they were not his, Salonius was for having them called by the disadvantageous title of apocryphal, or spurious. So far from receiving them as canonical, he would not admit them into the rank of ecclesiastical writings. Indeed here is inserted a modest 'perhaps,' which, it is likely, he thought necessary in writing to his master Salvian, whose opinion upon the point he did not yet know. Otherwise he seems to have expressed himself positively enough, and desires a good reason to be given him of the name put to these books.

3. It is a dangerous thing to assume the names of great men; the consequence may be worse than we imagine. Salvian did not intend that these books should be thought to be really written by Timothy; he was a man of more virtue, and particularly of more modesty, than to incur the suspicion of such a design. Nevertheless he acted indiscreetly, and Salonius justly demanded a clear reason of this title: otherwise these books were to be branded as apocryphal lest they should be supposed, by some people, to be really Timothy's. We are certainly indebted to the circumspection and care of Salonius, and perhaps of others likewise, in this affair. If no notice had been taken at that time of this ambiguous title, these books might have been reputed, by many, a genuine work of Timothy, the disciple and fellow-labourer of the apostle Paul; and notwithstanding this notice, they[d] seem to have been published, as his, in the first printed edition of them.

VIII. I now conclude my extracts out of Christian writers of the second century. If any miss some authors, which they expected to have seen mentioned here, it is likely they will find them in the following century.

[a] Remarks upon a discourse of Free-Thinking, sect. 32.

[b] It is not certain what place he was bishop of. Vid. Cave, Hist. Lit. P. i. p. 457. Stephan. Baluz. Not. ad Salvian. p. 374. Paris. 1669. Du Pin, Bibliotheque.

[c] Quæris a me, O mi Saloni, caritas mea, cur libellis nuper a quodam hujus temporis homine ad ecclesiam factis, Timothei nomen inscriptum sit. Addis præterea, quod nisi rationem vocabuli evidenter expressero, dum nominantur Timothei, interapocrypha sint fortasse reputandi. Salvian. ep. ix.

[d] Vid. Steph. Baluz. not. ad Salvian. p. 416. et Centuriatores Magdeburg. cent. v. c. 10. pag. 1325.

I do not sum up the several testimonies which have been already taken: we are as yet collecting evidence, and expect more. As a general review of the whole will be made at the end, that may be sufficient.

It ought to be observed, that we have not here the whole remaining evidence of the first two centuries, because I have hitherto insisted chiefly on catholic authors. I suppose that the sentiments of those called Heretics, will give some confirmation to the testimonies of catholic Christians. Possibly some heathen authors may afford us some evidence. Celsus the Epicurean, who within this period wrote professedly against the Christian religion, will be a considerable witness in behalf of the books, as well as facts, of the New Testament. But these are to be considered hereafter in distinct articles.

CHAP. XXX.

MINUCIUS FELIX.

Marcus Minucius Felix has left us an excellent defence of the Christian religion written in the form of a dialogue or conference between Cæcilius Natalis, a heathen, and Octavius Januarius, a Christian, in which Minucius sits as judge. Cæcilius first objects, and then Octavius answers. When he has finished, after a short interval of silence, Cæcilius owns himself convinced and overcome, and declares his readiness to become a Christian.

This piece had been long reckoned an eighth book of 'Arnobius against the Gentiles;' but for some while has[a] been restored by the critics to Minucius, to whom it is ascribed by ancient Christian authors who have quoted it: not to mention any other reasons, why it ought not to be esteemed a part of Arnobius's work.

It is difficult to determine with exactness the age of Minucius. The generality of learned men have placed him between Tertullian and St. Cyprian. Cave,[b] in particular, thinks he flourished about the year 220; but without being positive that he has hit his exact age. David Blondell[c] thought Minucius wrote under Marcus Antoninus the philosopher, about the year 170. The late most ingenious[d] and Critical Mr. Moyle too thought, that the age of Minucius, 'though not certain, had been fixed, with great probability, to the latter end of the reign of 'the same emperor by Mr. Dodwell.' And it is true, Mr.[e] Dodwell declared that to be his opinion, in his Dissertationes Cyprianicæ, published in 1684. But in a book intitled 'A Discourse concerning the use of Incense in Divine Offices,' published in 1711, he brings Minucius down a good deal later. 'But, says he,[f] 'what then shall we think of the aræ nullæ in 'Minucius Felix? He wrote a little after Tertullian, as mentioning[g] the representation of the 'God of the Christians with an ass's head, which was a calumny newly invented[h] when Ter-'tullian wrote his Apology; yet before St. Cyprian, who transcribes some passages out of him 'verbatim in his book De Vanitate Idolorum.'

It may be farther observed, that the internal characters of time in this work are not unsuitable to the latter part of the second, or the beginning of the third century. The Christians are in afflictive circumstances, without altars and temples; and are loaded by Cæcilius, in his part of the dispute, with all manner of reproaches. Lastly, St. Jerom, in his book of Illustrious Men, where he has some regard to the order of time, has placed Minucius between Tertullian and St. Cyprian; and in the chapter of Tertullian says, that Tertullian was then generally reckoned the first of the Latin writers of the church, after Victor and Apollonius.

[a] Vid. inprimis Disserta. Fr. Balduini in M. Minucii Felicis Octavium. [b] De ætate ejus quâ vixit, nil habeo quod pro certo affirmare ausim: si tamen in re obscurâ dubiâque hariolari licet, conjiciam illum, utpote Tertulliano suppar em, Cypriano antiquiorem, circa an. 220, claruisse. Cave, Hist. Lit. P. i. p. 66. [c] David Blondellus in Apologiâ de Episcop. et Presbyt. Vid. Testimonia præfixa Minuc. Felic. ex editione Jacob. Gronov. Ludg. Bat. 1709.

[d] Works of Walter Moyle, Esq. v. ii. p 84. See also vol. i. p. 389. [e] Diss. iii. sect. 16. p. 35.

[f] See Discourse, &c. sect. 20. p. 56. [g] Audio eos turpissimæ pecudis caput asini consecratum, nescio quâ persuasione, venerari. Minuc. Fel. cap. 9. p. 55. et cap. 28. p. 143. ed. Davis. Cantabr. 1712. [h] Vid. Tertullian. Apolog. cap. 16. p. 17. D.

I think, upon the whole, that if this Dialogue was written after Tertullian's Apology, yet it may be allowed to have soon followed it; and these two Christian apologists may be reckoned contemporaries. I therefore place Minucius at the year 210, near the end of the reign of Septimius Severus; which is agreeable to the opinion of [a] Baronius, and others.

It is thought probable, by many learned [b] men, that Minucius was an African. However, Trithemius, in the fifteenth century, calls [c] Minucius a Roman. To which we may add, likewise, that he says, Minucius flourished in the reign of the emperor Alexander, at the year 230.

Lactantius has twice mentioned this writer. In the [d] first place he quotes a passage from him, and gives his book the title of Octavius. In the other he says, 'that Minucius 'was an 'eminent pleader, and that his book, intitled Octavius, shews how able a defender of the truth 'he might have been, if he had given up himself entirely to that work.' Lactantius here speaking of several Christian apologists, first mentions Minucius, then Tertullian, and last of all St. Cyprian.

'Minucius Felix,' says St. Jerom in his [e] book of Illustrious Men, 'an eminent pleader of 'Rome, wrote a dialogue between a Christian and a heathen, which is intitled Octavius. There 'is another book, which goes under his name, Of Fate, or against astrologers: which though it 'be likewise the work of an eloquent man, does not appear to me agreeable to the style of the 'forementioned book. Lactantius, in his writings, makes mention of this Minucius.'

The book Of Fate, which is not now extant, is mentioned much after the same manner, in another work, by [g] St. Jerom, who, upon several [h] occasions, has commended the learning of this author. Minucius is also reckoned with the most eloquent Christian writers, by [i] Eucherius, bishop of Lyons in the fifth century. I forbear to allege any more testimonies.

That Minucius pleaded at Rome, appears from the Dialogue itself; in which the author mentions [k] the vintage season, when there was vacation at the courts of justice. We know likewise, from the book itself, that both Minucius and his friend Octavius were originally heathens: it is also intimated, that Minucius did not embrace Christianity before [l] he was of mature age, and able to judge for himself. As [m] for Octavius, he seems to have pleaded against the Christians, or to have sat in judgment upon them, in the former part of his life; when he treated them with the severity and injustice common with other heathen judges at that time.

This work is a monument of the author's ingenuity, learning, and eloquence. And the conversion of a man, of his great natural and acquired abilities, to the Christian religion, and his public and courageous defence of it, notwithstanding the many worldly temptations to the contrary which he must have met with at that time, especially in his station; as they give an advantageous idea of his virtue, so they likewise afford a very agreeable argument in favour of the truth of our religion.

Here are no express quotations of the books of scripture. But as it may be expected I

[a] Baron. Ann. 211. sect. 2, 3. Vid. et Tillemont, Note sur Minuce Felix. Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. i. p. 513. ed. de Bruxelles.

[b] Cave, Hist. Lit. Tillemont, Minuce Fel. Basnag. Annal. Pol. Ec. 210. n. iii. Fr. Balduin. Diss. in Min. Fel. Oct. Rigaltius in notis.

[c] Minucius Felix, causidicus, patriâ Romanus, vir in seculacibus literis eruditissimus, et in divinis lectionibus studiosus, . . . claruit Romæ sub Alexandro imperatore, anno Domini ccxxx. Trithem. de Script. Eccl. cap. 34.

[d] Minucius Felix, in eo libro qui Octavius inscribitur, sic argumentatus est . . . . Lactant. de Divin. Inst. l. i. cap. 11. p. 67. Lugd. Bat. 1660.

[e] Minucius Felix non ignobilis inter causidicos loci fuit. Hujus liber, cui Octavio titulus est, declarat, quam idoneus veritatis asserror esse potuisset, si se totum ad id studii contulisset. Id. l. v. cap. i. p. 459.

[f] Minucius Felix, Romæ insignis causidicus, scripsit dialogum Christiani et Ethnici disputantium, qui Octavius inscribitur. Sed et alius sub nomine ejus fertur, De Fato, vel contra mathematicos: qui, cum sit et ipse diserti hominis, non mihi videtur cum superioris libri stilo convenire. Meminit hujus Minucii et Lactantius in libris suis. De Vir. Ill. cap. 58.

[g] Minucius Felix, causidicus Romani fori, in libro cui titulus Octavius est, et in altero contra mathematicos (si tamen inscriptio non mentitur auctorem,) quid Gentilium scripturarum dimisit intactum? Id. ad Magnum, ep. 83. al. 84.

[h] Taceo de Latinis scriptoribus, Tertulliano, Cypriano, Minucio, Victorino, Lactantio, Hilario. Hieron. Apologeticus ad Pammachium, ep. 30. al. 50. Atque in hunc modum eruditionis famam declinando eruditissimus habebatur; istud Cypriani, hoc Lactantii, illud Hilarii est: sic Minucius Felix, ita Victorinus, in hunc modum locutus est Arnobius. Ad Heliodorum, Epitaph. Nepotiani, ep. 35. al. 3.

[i] Et quando clarissimos facundiâ Firmianum, Minucium, Cyprianum, Hilarium, Joannem, Ambrosium, ex illo volumine numerositatis evolvam. Eucher. in Ep. ad Valerianum.

[k] Sane et ad vindemiam feriæ judiciarum curam relaxaverant. M. Minucii Octav. cap. 2. p. 24.

[l] Utpote, cum diligenter in utroque vivendi genere versatus, repudiâris alterum, alterum comprobâris. Cap. 5. p. 31.

[m] Et nos idem fuimus, et eadem vobiscum quondam adhuc cæci et hebetes sentiebamus. . . . Nos tamen cum sacrilegos aliquos et incestos, parricidas etiam defendendos et tuendos suscipiebamus, hos nec audiendos in totum putabamus: nonnunquam etiam miserentes eorum crudelius sæviebamus, ut torqueremus confitentes ad negandum, videlicet ne perirent; exercentes in his perversam quæstionem, non quæ verum erueret, sed quæ mendacium cogeret. Vid. et quæ sequuntur, cap. 28. p. 141.

should not entirely omit the hints or allusions to them, found in so polite and elegant a performance, I shall take the following notice of such as have appeared to me in reading it.

I. 'The [a] birds subsist without an estate; and the beasts are fed by the day.' Perhaps here is a reference to Matth. vi. 26, and Luke xii. 24, if not also to the petition in the Lord's prayer for 'daily bread.'

II. 'How [b] can he be thought poor, who is rich toward God?' Compare Luke xii. 21.

III. Cæcilius says, 'The [c] Romans erect altars to unknown Gods.' Though these are the words of the heathen disputant, it may be thought probable that Minucius, the composer of the Dialogue, refers to Acts xvii. 23; "I found an altar with this inscription, To the unknown God."

IV. Octavius [d] speaks of the intimate presence of God with us, or of our 'living as it were 'with him,' in terms so resembling those of Acts xvii. 27, 28, that some may think he refers to them.

V. 'Seeds [e] do not spring till after they have putrefied.' This resembles 1 Cor. xv. 36; "That which thou sowest is not quickened except it die."

VI. 'Therefore,' says [f] Octavius, 'as gold is tried by the fire, so are we [Christians] by afflic-'tions.' See 1 Cor. iii. 13, and 1 Pet. i. 7. But this is too common a comparison to prove a reference to any particular writing.

VII. 'Fortitude [g] is improved by misfortunes;' or, literally, 'is strengthened by infirmities.' See 2 Cor. xii. 10.

VIII. 'Shall [h] I bring offerings and sacrifices to God, of things which he has set forth for 'my use, and so fling him back again his gift? This would be ungrateful.' Which has a resemblance with what is said, 1 Tim. iv. 3, 4; "..... to abstain from meats, which God has created to be received with thanksgiving.....for every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving."

IX. 'No [i] man can be so poor as he was born.' See 1 Tim. vi. 7. But the same thing has been said by heathen authors.

X. 'What soldier [k] is not more bold and courageous in the eye of his general? Nor is any 'man rewarded till he has been tried.....The soldier of God is not deserted in pain, nor does he perish when he dies.' The reader, if he thinks fit, may consider whether here is an allusion to St. Paul's comparisons, 2 Tim. ii. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8.

I do not judge it worth the while to allege any more passages of this sort from Minucius.

CHAP. XXXI.

APOLLONIUS.

Apollonius flourished, according to Cave,[l] about the year of our Lord 192. But Eusebius[m] informs us, that Apollonius himself says, that, when he wrote, it was forty years since Montanus had begun to recommend his false prophecy: and St. Jerom[n] has observed the same thing.

[a] Aves sine patrimonio vivunt, et in diem pecua pascuntur. Cap. 36. p. 176. [b] Et tamen quis potest pauper esse . . . qui Deo dives est? Ibid. [c] Dum aras exstruunt etiam ignotis numinibus, et manibus. Cap. 6. p. 41.

[d] Unde enim Deus longe est, cum omnia cœlestia, terrenaque, et quæ extra istam orbis provinciam sunt, Deo cognita, plena sint? Ubique non tantum nobis proximus, sed infusus est. . . . Non tantum sub illo agimus, sed cum illo, ut prope dixerim, vivimus. Cap. 32. p. 162, 163. [e] Semina non nisi corrupta revirescunt. Cap. 34. p. 171.

[f] Itaque ut aurum ignibus, sic nos discriminibus arguimur. Cap. 36. p. 177. [g] Fortitudo enim infirmitatibus roboratur. Ibid. [h] Hostias et victimas Domino offeram, quas in usum mei protulit, ut rejiciam ei suum munus? Ingratum est. Cap. 32. p. 160. [i] Nemo tam pauper esse potest, quam natus est. Cap. 36. p. 176.

[k] Quis non miles sub imperatoris oculis audacius periculum provocet? Nemo enim præmium percipit ante experimentum: et imperator tamen quod non habet, non dat; non potest propagare vitam, potest honestare militiam. At enim Dei miles nec in dolore deseritur, nec morte finitur. Cap. 37. p. 178.

[l] Hist. Lit. P. i. p. 53. in Apollonio. [m] Eus. H. E. l. v. c. 18 p. 186. B. [n] Dicit in eodem libro quadragesimum esse annum usque ad tempus quo ipse scribebat librum, ex quo hæresis Cataphrygarum habuerit exordium. De Vir. Ill. cap. 40.

Whence Tillemont [a] concludes, that Apollonius wrote about the year 211, at the conclusion of the reign of Severus, or in the first year of Caracalla. Valesius [b] likewise is of much the same opinion.

Eusebius, who has preserved several fragments of the forementioned treatise, calls Apollonius an ecclesiastical writer, beginning his account of it in this manner. 'Apollonius [c] likewise, an 'ecclesiastical writer, composed a confutation of the Cataphrygian heresy, as it is called, which 'at that time prevailed in Phrygia, writing a book on purpose upon that occasion.'

St. Jerom calls Apollonius a [d] 'most eloquent man;' and says, 'he wrote a long and excel 'lent work against Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla; and that [e] the seventh book of Tertul- 'lian's treatise of Ecstasy was particularly designed as a confutation of this piece of Apollo- 'nius:' which observation St. Jerom [f] has mentioned more than once. He says, likewise, that Apollonius flourished in the reigns of the emperors Commodus and Severus.

Eusebius speaks of Apollonius under no other character than that of an ecclesiastical writer; nor has St. Jerom mentioned any office he had in the church: for which reason, as [g] Tillemont says, it is not easy to rely upon Prædestinatus, a later writer, and otherwise full of mistakes, who calls him bishop of Ephesus. He is plainly different from Apollonius of whom [h] we spoke formerly, whom St. Jerom [i] calls a Roman senator, who also suffered under Commodus; whereas this person flourished partly in the reign of Severus, and probably reached to that of Caracalla.

I proceed, without making any more observations, to transcribe what relates to our purpose in the fragments of this work of Apollonius, written against the Montanists, which are preserved in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History.

I. After some other passages of this author, Eusebius adds: 'Then [k] he goes on saying, 'Is it not apparent, that all the scripture forbids a prophet to take gifts and money?' By scripture, meaning undoubtedly the books of the Old and New Testament; in which last, as well as in the former, are divers things to which he may be supposed to refer, particularly to Acts viii. 18...20. However, we shall presently see a text or two of the New Testament to this purpose.

II. Afterwards, speaking of Themison, a noted Montanist, he says: 'When [l] he ought to 'have been humbled [for the bad conduct which Apollonius there charges him with in time of 'persecution,] he exalted himself as if he had been a martyr; and had the assurance, as if he 'had been an apostle, to write a catholic epistle for the instruction of men more faithful than 'himself. Yea, and in the abundance of his zeal for his vain sentiments, he proceeds so far as 'to speak disrespectfully of Christ, and the apostles, and the holy church.'

III. Again, reproving these men: 'When [m] the Lord hath said, "Provide neither gold, 'nor silver, nor two coats," [Matth. x. 9, 10.] these, on the contrary, have heinously offended 'in the possession of things forbidden.' And, soon after: 'For we [n] ought to examine the 'fruits of a prophet; "for the tree is known by its fruit."' See Matth. vii. 15—20, and ch. xii. 33.

IV. 'Moreover, says [o] Eusebius, he relates, as from tradition, that our Saviour commanded 'his apostles not to depart from Jerusalem for the space of twelve years. He also makes use 'of testimonies out of the Revelation of John; and he relates, that by the divine power, the 'same John raised up to life a dead man at Ephesus.'

V. Here is then a reference or two to the gospel of St. Matthew. We are assured by

[a] Mem. Ec. T. ii. P. iii. Les Montanistes, article v. p. 44. et art. xi. p. 68. [b] Vid. Not. ad Eus. L. v. c. 18. p. 100.

[c] Τῆς δὲ καὶα Φρυγας καλουμενης αἱρεσεως και Απολλωνιος εκκλησιαστικος συγγραφευς, ανηρ λογου εισει τοἰε καὶα την Φρυγιαν ελεγχον ανεστημενος, ἰδιον καὶ αὐτον ποιησαι συγγραμμα. L. v. c. 18. p. 884. B. [d] Apollonius, vir disertissimus, scripsit adversus Montanum, Priscam, et Maximillam insigne et longum volumen. De Vir. Ill cap. 40.

[e] Tertullianus sex voluminibus adversus ecclesiam editis, quæ scripsit περι Εκστασεως, septimum proprie adversus Apollonium elaboravit, in quo omnia quæ arguit conatur defendere. Floruit autem sub Commodo Severoque principibus. Ibid.

[f] De Vir Ill. cap. 24. Melito; et cap. 30. Tertullianus. [g] Tillemont, as before, p. 68. [h] P. 444, 445.

[i] De Vir. Ill. cap. 42. [k] Εἶτ' επιφερει λεγων· Δοκει σοι πασα γραφη κωλυειν προφητην λαμβανειν δωρα και χρηματα; Ap. Eus. ib. p. 184. D. [l] Δεον επι τουτῳ ταπεινοφρονειν, ως μαρτυς καυχωμενος, εβουλητε μιμουμενος τον αποστολον, καθολικην τινα συνταξαμενος επιστολην καὶηχησιν μεν των αμεινον αὐτῳ πεπιστευκοτας συναγωνιζεσθαι δε τοις της κενοφωνιας λογοις· βλασφημησαι δε εις τον Κυριον, και τους αποστολους, και την αγιαν εκκλησιαν. Ibid p. 185. A.

[m] Εισηγουμενος γαρ τα Κυριε, μη κτησησθε χρυσον μηδε αργυρον μηδε δυο χιτωνας, οὗτοι παν τουναντιον περιειμεληκασι περι τας ἰδιων των απηγορευμενων κτησεις. p. 185. B. [n] Δει γαρ τους καρπους δοκιμαζεσθαι τε προφητου· απο γαρ του καρπου το δενδρον γινωσκεσθαι. Ibid. C. [o] Ετι δε ως εκ παραδοσεως τον Σωτηρα φησι προσειληχεναι τοις αὐτου αποστολοις, επι δωδεκα ἐτεσι μη χωρισθηναι της Ἱερουσαλημ. Κεχρηται δε και μαρτυριαις απο Ιωαννου Αποκαλυψεως· και νεκρον δε δυναμει θεια φησι αὐτῳ Ιωαννη εν τῃ Εφεσῳ εγηγερθαι ἱστορει. p. 186. C.

Eusebius, that Apollonius quoted the book of the Revelation. It is very probable, from the connection of things in this account, and from Eusebius's saying nothing to the contrary, that Apollonius ascribed the Revelation to John the apostle. It appears farther, that the apostles of Christ, and their writings, were in the highest esteem; and that the books called scripture, in a strict and peculiar sense, by Christians, were well known among them, and were considered as the rule of their faith and practice.

CHAP. XXXII.

CAIUS, AND OTHERS.

I. *Caius.* II. *An Anonymous Author against the Heresy of Artemon.* III. *A Treatise of the Nature of the Universe.*

I. CAIUS flourished, according to [a] Cave, about the year 210. We are informed by Photius, 'That it was commonly said, that Caius was a presbyter of the church of Rome in the time 'of Victor and Zephyrine, and that he was ordained bishop of the nations:' [b] by which some learned [c] men understand, that he was ordained to preach the gospel in infidel countries, without having any particular people or diocese assigned him. Fabricius, by a small alteration of the word in Photius, would read 'Athens,' instead [d] of 'nations;' and supposes, that having been first a presbyter in the church of Rome, he was afterwards made bishop of Athens.

Photius says, likewise, that he had seen a note of some person, whom he does not name, in a book Of the Nature of the Universe, ascribed by some to Josephus: 'That [e] it was written 'by Caius, a presbyter, who dwelt at Rome, who is also said to be the author of the Labyrinth.'

We are well assured from Eusebius [f] and [g] St. Jerom, that Caius lived in the time of Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome, about whose time [h] learned men are not entirely agreed; and of Antoninus Caracalla, who reigned from 211 to 217.

It is thought, by many, that Caius was a disciple of Irenæus. This has been concluded from some words at the end of a manuscript copy of the epistle of the church of Smyrna, concerning the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, where it is said: 'This [i] was transcribed from the copy 'of Irenæus, disciple of Polycarp, by Caius, who also was acquainted with Irenæus. I Socrates, 'living in Corinth, transcribed it from the copy of Caius.' But it may be questioned whether this note may be relied upon: if it may, here is no certain proof that this is our Caius. As this was a common name, all that can be hence concluded is, that the transcriber of that epistle lived about the same time with our author. Indeed Caius, as we shall see by and by, does not reckon the epistle to the Hebrews among St. Paul's epistles; which agrees well enough to a disciple of Irenæus, as Tillemont has observed. But this might be common, at that time, to many in several parts of the world.

It is also generally allowed, that Caius was a presbyter of the church of Rome; and bishop [k] Pearson says directly, that Eusebius, as well as Photius, gives him that title. Du [l] Pin too

[a] Hist. Lit. in Caio. [b] Τῶν τὸν Γαΐον πρεσβύτερον φασὶ γεγενῆσθαι τῆς καθ' Ῥωμην ἐκκλησίας ἐπὶ Ουίκτορος καὶ Ζεφυρίνου τῶν ἀρχιερέων. χειροτονηθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐθνῶν ἐπίσκοπον. Phot. Cod. 48. col. 36, 37. Photom. 1653.

[c] Cave, ut supra. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. i. p. 295. Caius. [d] Presbyter Romanus, atque inde episcopus Atheniensis; nam apud Photium pro ἐθνῶν ἐπίσκοπον legendum videtur Ἀθηνῶν. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. l. v. cap. i. T. v. p. 267. [e] Εὗρον δὲ ἐν παραγραφαῖς ὅτι τινὲς ἐσὶν ὁ λόγος Ἰωσήπου, ἀλλὰ Γαΐου, τινος πρεσβύτερου ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαβεβοητος, ὃν φασι συνθαξαι καὶ τὸν Λαβυρινθον. Phot. ibid.

[f] Eus. H. E. l. ii. cap. 25. p. 67. D. et lib. vi. cap. 20. [g] De vir. Ill. cap. 59 [h] Mr. Dodwell thought that Zephyrinus, successor of Victor, sat in the see of Rome from the year 195 to 214. Vid. Diss. singular. de Rom. Pontiff. Prim. Successione, cap. xv. sect. 2. 7. &c. Tillemont says, Zephyrinus governed the church of Rome from 201, or 202, to 219. See St. Zephyrine Mem. Ecc. T. iii. P. ii. p. 1. and note, p. 336. as also Caius, Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. i. p. 294. But Pagi says, from 197 to 217. Vid. Crit. in Baron. 197. n. v. 219. n. ii. [i] Ταῦτα μετεγραψάμὴν Γαΐος ἐκ τῶν Εἰρηναίου, μαθητῆ τῦ Πολυκάρπε, ὃς καὶ συνεπολεύσατο τῳ Εἰρηναίῳ. Ἐγὼ δὲ Σωκράτης ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἐκ τῦ Γαΐου ἀντιγράφων ἐγραψα. κ. λ. Ep. Eccles. Smyrn. sect. 23. apud Patr. Apost. et Vales. Annot. in Euseb. H. E. p. 73. D.

[k] Hunc Caium tum Eusebius tum Photius Romanæ ecclesiæ presbyterum fuisse asserunt. Pearson, Op. Post Diss. ii. sect. 3. p. 148. [l] Eusèbe et saint Jerôme disent bien, qu'il étoit prêtre, et qu'il a vêcu du tems de Zephirin; mais ils ne disent pas, qu'il fut Romain. Du Pin, Bibl. Caius.

says, that Eusebius and St. Jerom call Caius presbyter, but without saying of Rome; these learned men do not refer to any particular place, where this is said: and I am not aware that Eusebius or Jerom say any thing more, than that Caius was an ecclesiastical man, and had a dispute with Proculus, at Rome, in the time of Zephyrinus. Though therefore it may be allowed to have some probability, from Photius, that Caius was a presbyter of Rome, it can by no means be reckoned a certain thing.

There are three or four books ascribed to Caius: A Dialogue, or Disputation, with Proculus or Proclus, a follower of Montanus; another, Of the Universe; a third, called the Labyrinth, and the Little Labyrinth; a fourth, written against the Heresy of Artemon. These are all mentioned together by [a] Photius, as distinct works; but the two last are generally thought to be only different titles of one and the same work. Theodoret [b] says, that Caius wrote against Cerinthus; but I apprehend he means the book against the Montanists, in which Caius also opposed Cerinthus, as we shall soon see, from a passage to be transcribed from Eusebius. If Caius had composed a distinct work against that heretic, it is likely it would have been mentioned by Eusebius and Jerom.

There are therefore three books said to be written by Caius, of which we have some fragments remaining. I shall speak of each distinctly: and, first of all, of the Dialogue with Proculus, by which work Caius is best known; which is undoubtedly his, and which I take to be the only piece rightly ascribed to him. And, since St. Jerom says that the dispute with the Montanists was held at Rome in the reign of Caracalla, we cannot well place it before the year 212. It is probable, from the considerations mentioned by [c] Tillemont, that this Dialogue was written in Greek; which was also the opinion of [d] Valesius.

1. Eusebius having spoken of the martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, and the inscriptions on their tombs, says: 'And [e] Caius, an ecclesiastical man, who lived in the time 'of Zephyrinus, bishop of the Romans, in his book written against Proculus, a leader of the 'Cataphrygian sect, confirms this, speaking after this manner of the places where the sacred 'tabernacles of the forementioned apostles are deposited: "I am able to shew the trophies of 'the apostles: for whether you go to the Vatican, or to the Ostian Way, you will find the 'trophies of those who founded this church."

This passage is now produced chiefly as the testimony of Eusebius to our author's character and time, and the book against the Montanists; which was particularly written against Proculus, who is supposed to be the same Proculus whom Tertullian [f] has commended.

2. In another place, Eusebius, speaking of the writings of ancient ecclesiastical men, who flourished about the times of Severus and Antoninus Caracalla, says: 'There [g] is also come to 'our hands a dialogue [or disputation] of Caius, a most eloquent man, held at Rome in the 'time of Zephyrinus, with Proculus, a patron of the Cataphrygian heresy; in which also, re-'proving the rashness and audaciousness of his adversaries in composing new writings [or 'scriptures,] he makes mention of but thirteen epistles of the holy apostle, not reckoning that 'to the Hebrews with the rest. And indeed to this very time, by some of the Romans this 'epistle is not thought to be the apostle's.'

By the 'new writings,' or scriptures composed by the Montanists, it is reasonable to suppose, are intended some of their prophecies, which they had not only spoken, but written and published, with a design, as it seems, to have them received with the same or like respect with that paid to the scriptures received and owned by Christians as sacred. Upon this occasion Caius gave a list or catalogue of the apostle Paul's epistles received by himself and the church in general. One may be apt to think, that Caius reckoned up all the scriptures in general received by Christians from ancient time, in opposition to these 'new scriptures' of the Montanists. But supposing that he put down only the epistles of St. Paul, we should have been glad to have had this passage at length. It would have been a great pleasure to see thirteen of

[a] Cod. 48. [b] Καλα τȣτȣ δε ου μονον οἱ προρρηθεντες συνεγραψαν, αλλα συν εκεινοις και Γαῖος. Theodoret, Hær. Fab. l. ii. cap. 3. De Cerintho. [c] As before.

[d] Annot. in Eus. l. vi. cap. 20. p. 123. [e] Ουδεν δ' ἡττον και εκκλησιαστικος ανηρ Γαῖος ονομα, καλα Ζεφυρινον Ῥωμαιων γεγονως επισκοπον· ὃς δη Προκλῳ της καλα Φρυγας προισταμενῳ γνωμης εγγραφως διαλεχθεις, κ. λ. Euseb. H. E. l. ii. cap. 25. p. 67. D. [f] Tertullian adv. Valent. cap. v. p. 291. B. See also before in this volume, p. 417.

[g] Ηλθε δε εις ἡμας και Γαιȣ λογιωταῖȣ ανδρος διαλογος, . . . εν ᾧ των δι' εναντιας την περι το συντατειν καινας γραφας προπετειαντε και τολμαν επιστομιζων, των τȣ ἱερȣ αποστολȣ δεκατριων μονων επιστολων μνημονευει, την προς Ἑβραιȣς μη συναριθμησας ταις λοιπαις· επει και εις δευρο, παρα Ῥωμαιων τισιν, ȣ νομιζεται τȣ αποστολου τυγχανειν. H. E. l. vi. cap. 20.

St. Paul's epistles expressly named, with the churches, or particular persons, to whom they were sent; or however described, at least, by their several characters, in the order then used, all together in one catalogue, composed by this ingenious writer, at the beginning of the third century. And I cannot but think that Eusebius deserves to be censured for this omission.

The observation which Eusebius makes, at the conclusion of this passage, concerning some of the Romans, in his own time, not receiving the epistle to the Hebrews as Paul's, is somewhat remarkable. It may be considered, whether the occasion of it be, that Caius had some particular relation to the church of Rome; or whether it be only owing to this dispute having been held in that city, which was expressly mentioned before. If the former, this would afford some ground of suspicion that Caius was a presbyter of the church of Rome; which, we are informed by Photius, was a common opinion in his time.

As this testimony to St. Paul's epistles is very considerable, I shall transcribe also the passages of St. Jerom and Photius relating to the same matter; though they add little or nothing to the account given by Eusebius.

'Caius,' says St. [a] Jerom, 'in the time of Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome, that is, in the time 'of Antoninus, son of Severus, had a very notable dispute with Proculus, a follower of Mon-'tanus, charging him with rashness in defending the new prophecy. And in the same book 'reckoning up only thirteen epistles of Paul, he says the fourteenth, which is inscribed to the 'Hebrews, is not his: and with the Romans, to this day, it is not looked upon as Paul's.' This is St. Jerom's whole chapter concerning Caius, in his book of Illustrious Men.

St. Jerom, in this last sentence, says more than Eusebius, whose account is only, that 'by 'some of the Romans, that epistle was not thought to be Paul's.' And when St. Jerom writes, that Caius says, 'the fourteenth epistle, which is inscribed to the Hebrews, is not Paul's,' it is likely he ought to be explained by Eusebius that, when Caius mentioned thirteen epistles of Paul, he did not reckon that to the Hebrews with them, saying nothing about it.

Photius, at the conclusion of what he says of this writer, having mentioned the other books ascribed to him, adds: 'That he [b] is also said to have composed an elaborate disputation against 'Proculus, a follower of Montanus, in which he enumerates only thirteen epistles of Paul, not 'reckoning that to the Hebrews.' So Photius. And I think he has better represented Eusebius's sense than St. Jerom.

It has been supposed by [c] some, that Caius rejected the epistle to the Hebrews, because the Montanists, with whom he was disputing, made use of it in support of their peculiar sentiments. So Mr. Twells; whose words I shall transcribe, that the reader may see the force of this argument. 'Besides, [d] Caius's adversary in that dispute was a Montanist, as Eusebius tells us. 'Now there is a passage in this epistle, ch. vi. 4, 5, 6. which at first sight favours Montanus's 'opinion, against restoring 'lapsers' after 'baptism.' This place was appealed to by these 'heretics, in defence of that singularity (thus Tertullian, in his book De Pudicitia, c. 20; 'cites this very passage, to prove that there is no room for a second repentance); as it was 'afterwards by the Novatians, who maintained the same error. It is not therefore to be 'doubted but Proculus made his advantage of that same passage; which easily accounts 'for the other's leaving the epistle to the Hebrews out of the number of those written by 'St. Paul.'

But I am of opinion that this was not the reason of Caius's omitting this epistle; or, that this does not 'account for his leaving it out of the number of those written by St. Paul.' For, 1. If this epistle had been till then universally received by Christians, Caius could not have omitted it here. If a heretic's appealing to a book of scripture, in defence of any singular opinion maintained by him, had been a reason for rejecting such book, the catholics would have been obliged to reject most, if not all the books of the New Testament. But this could not be done, with regard to any book universally received. Therefore Caius's omission of this

[a] Caius sub Zephyrino, Romanæ urbis episcopo, id est, sub Antonino Severi filio, disputationem adversus Proculum, Montani sectatorem, valde insignem habuit; arguens eum temeritatis, super novâ prophetiâ defendendâ: et in eodem volumine epistolas quoque Pauli tredecim tantum enumerans, decimam quartam, quæ fertur ad Hebræos, dicit ejus non esse. Sed et apud Romanos, usque hodie, quasi Pauli apostoli non habetur. De V. I. cap. 59.

[b] . . . . Εν ᾗ τρις και δεκα μονας επιστολας αριθμειται Παυλε, εκ εγκρινων την προς Εβραιους. Phot. Cod. 48. col. 37.

[c] Vid. Grot. in Ep. ad Hebr. cap. vi. ver. 4, 5, 6.

[d] A Critical Examination of the late new Text and Version of the N. T. in Greek and English, Part ii. p. 50. London, 1791.

epistle affords an argument, that it was not then universally received as an epistle of the apostle Paul. 2. We know that at that time, or thereabout, this epistle was not universally received by catholic Christians from the express testimony and [a] acknowledgment of Tertullian himself, a Montanist. 3. This way of arguing makes Caius a mean and contemptible writer, which is not his character in antiquity. Mr. Twells is sensible of this consequence. Therefore he adds, in the words immediately following those already transcribed: 'It was perhaps easier to the 'eloquent Caius to cut this difficulty by rejecting the entire work, than to dissolve it by a cri-'tical discussion of the passage. We have such controvertists in our own times, men who 'judge of ancient writings according to modern prejudices; allowing no book or passage to be 'genuine, but what favours their own singularities; and condemning nothing for spurious that 'tends to support them.'

I suppose then, that Caius here gave a candid and unprejudiced enumeration of the epistles of St. Paul; and that he did not think the epistle to the Hebrews to have been written by that apostle. Whether he ascribed it to Barnabas, as Tertullian did, and possibly divers others at that time, or to some other person, we cannot be positive. It may be reckoned very probable, that this epistle was not unknown to Caius. But it appears to me not unlikely, that, in all his reading and conversation, he had never met with any who ascribed this epistle to Paul: and that, when he had enumerated his thirteen epistles, he supposed he had mentioned all the writings of that apostle.

3. In another place, Eusebius having cited part of a letter of Polycrates bishop of Ephesus to Victor bishop of Rome, concerning the death of John and Philip, also one of the twelve apostles, adds: 'And in the Dialogue [b] of Caius, which we mentioned just now, Proculus, with 'whom that disputation was held, agreeing with what we have here put down concerning the 'death of Philip and his daughters, says: "After this the four prophetesses, daughters of Phi-'lip, lived in Hierapolis in Asia, where is both their, and their father's sepulchre." Thus he. 'And,' adds Eusebius, 'Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, makes mention of the daughters of 'Philip, which had the gift of prophecy, who then lived with their father in Cæsarea of Judea, 'saying these words: "And we came unto Cæsarea, and entered into the house of Philip the 'evangelist." Acts xxi. 8, 9. Whether Proculus referred to the book of the Acts we cannot say.

4. Once more, Eusebius, speaking of Cerinthus, says: 'And [c] Caius, whom we quoted be-'fore, in his Disputation, writes thus of him. And Cerinthus also, who by his revelations, as 'if written by some great apostle, imposes upon us monstrous relations of things of his own 'invention, as shewn him by an angel, says, that after the resurrection there shall be a terres-'trial kingdom of Christ; and that men shall live again in Jerusalem, subject to sensual desires 'and pleasures. And being an enemy to the divine scriptures [literally, 'scriptures of God,'] 'and desirous to seduce mankind, he says, there will be a term of a thousand years spent in nup-'tial entertainments.'

This passage, together perhaps with other things in this dispute, said against Cerinthus, and not any particular and distinct book, I suppose to be what Theodoret refers to, when he says that Caius wrote against Cerinthus.

Whether Caius here intends our book of the Revelation, or some other piece, is a disputed point. Mr. Twells [d] thinks it 'probable, that Caius's testimony relates to some forgery of 'Cerinthus, under the name of St. John, and not to the present book of Revelation.' And Mr. Jones [e] thought this a clear case. But Dr. Grabe says, 'that though [f] some learned men have 'concluded, from this passage of Caius, that the heresiarch Cerinthus published an apocalypse;

[a] See before, ch. xxvii. p. 426—428.

[b] Και εν τω Γαΐε δε ω μικρω προσθεν εμνησθημεν διαλογω, Προκλος, προς ον εποιειτο την ζητησιν, περι της Φιλιππε και των θυγατερων αυτε τελειης συναδων τοις εκδεδεισιν ουτω φησιν· Μετα τουτο δε προφητιδες τεσσαρες αι Φιλιππε γεγενηνται εν Ιεραπολι τη κατα την Ασιαν· ὁ ταφος αυτων εστιν εκει, και ὁ τε πατρος αυτων· ταυτα μεν ουτος. H. E. l. iii. c. 31. p. 103. A. B.

[c] Γαΐος, ου φωνας ηδη προτερον παρατεθειμαι, εν τη φερομενη αυτε ζητησει ταυτα περι αυτε γραφει· αλλα και Κηρινθος ω δι' αποκαλυψεων ως απο μεγαλε αποστολε γεγραμμενων, τερατολογιας ημιν ως δι' αγγελε αυτω δεδειγμενας ψευδομενος επεισαγει λεγων, μετα την αναστασιν επιγειον ειναι το βασιλειον τε Χριστε, και παλιν επιθυμιαις και ηδοναις εν Ιερουσαλημ την σαρκα πολιτευομενην δουλευειν. Και εγγυς ὑπαρχων ταις γραφαις τε Θεε αυτοις χιλιονταετιας εν γαμω εορτης θυειν πλανην λεγει γινεσθαι. H. E. l. iii. c. 28. p. 100. A.

[d] See a Critical Examination of the late New Text and Version of the N. T. Part iii. p. 99, &c.

[e] New and Full Method, &c. vol. i. p. 224, &c.

[f] Cæterum Cerinthum hæresiarcham apocalypsin quandam edidisse, docti aliqui viri collegerunt ex verbis Caii, presbyteri Romani in dissertatione adversus Proclum, apud Eus. l. iii. H. E. cap. 28. . . Verum ex ipsis hisce verbis planum atque apertum mihi videtur, Caium ipsam S. Joannis Apocalypsin Cerintho adscripsisse, non vero aliam ab illâ distinctam, a Cerintho sub Johannis nomine editam, adstruxisse, &c. Grabe, Spicil. T. i. p. 312.

'yet it appears to him plain and manifest, from the words of this passage, that Caius ascribed 'the very Apocalypse of St. John to Cerinthus.' And Dr. Mill is of the same opinion,[a] that 'here were at that time some catholic Christians, who ascribed the Revelation, which from the beginning had been owned for St. John's, to Cerinthus, or some other impostor. This they did out of an abhorrence of those bad consequences, which some drew from this book, not rightly understood.

And it must be owned that Dionysius of Alexandria[b] affirms, that some before him had ascribed the Revelation, called St John's to Cerinthus. And he may be thought to refer to our Caius: nevertheless it does not appear to me very plain, that Caius speaks of our book of the Revelation. His description does not suit it; unless he is to be supposed to ascribe to that book itself the false and sensual notions which some had of the expected Millennium. Nor does St. John, or whoever is the author of this book, here give himself expressly the title and character of an apostle. However it must be allowed to be very probable, that Caius said nothing in favour of the book we now have with the title of the Revelation; if he had, Eusebius would not have failed to give us at least a hint of it. A bare silence about St. John's Revelation, even supposing Caius to have said nothing particularly against it, does not suit a disciple of Irenæus.

5. We have now observed four passages of the Dialogue written by Caius, and we have seen in them marks of a high respect for the ancient scriptures generally received by Christians, which he also calls divine scriptures, or 'scriptures of God;' and his detestation of all attempts to bring any other into a like esteem with them, or to mislead men from the true sense and meaning of them. Thirteen epistles of Paul he reckoned up in his dispute, but did not name that to the Hebrews. It is highly probable that in the same place he mentioned other books of the New Testament, and possibly of the Old likewise: but it is very likely that he did not receive the book of the Revelation, if he did not think it an imposture of Cerinthus.

II. Eusebius has[c] three passages taken out of a book written against the heresy of Artemon. It is evidently the same with that which is called by[d] Theodoret the Little Labyrinth; what he takes thence being for substance the same with what Eusebius quotes out of the book against Artemon. This opinion is also confirmed by Nicephorus, as has been observed by[e] bishop Pearson, and Cave. Photius indeed, in his article of Caius, mentions distinctly 'the Labyrinth,' as he calls it, and the book against the heresy of Artemon. But what he says can be of little weight against so much good evidence, that one and the same book is to be understood by these several titles.

This book is by some reckoned the work of an unknown writer; others think it to have been written by Caius. Among these last is[f] Pearson, who is even offended at Blondel for calling the author anonymous. But Pearson is a great deal too positive in this matter. Eusebius's quotations of this book are introduced in this manner: 'There are,' says[g] he, 'beside 'these, treatises of many others, whose names we have not been able to learn; orthodox and 'ecclesiastical men, as the interpretations of the divine scriptures given by each of them 'manifest: at[h] the same time they are unknown to us, because the treatises have not affixed 'to them the names of the authors.' He goes on: 'In[i] a work of one of these persons, com-'posed against the heresy of Artemon, which Paul of Samosata has endeavoured to revive in 'our time, is a relation very much to our purpose.' St. Jerom in his chapter of Caius, in his book of Illustrious Men, or Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, as it is also often called, takes no notice of any other work of his, but the dispute with Proculus. Theodoret[k] quotes this

[a] Fuere jam in ecclesiâ Romanâ, aliisque, qui Apocalypseos dicta de millenario in Christi regno, ejusque gaudiis, paulo crassius interpretati, missâ ferme spe cœlestium, in terrestrium horum, ceu propediem venturorum, expectationem toto animo ferebantur. Hoc cum lugerent nonnulli sanctitatis Christianæ studiosi, et vero dogma, unde, ex pravâ interpretatione, orta esset hæc impietas, in Apocalypsi traditum viderent, eo demum lapsi sunt, ut librum istum, qui sub nomine Johannis jam ab initio ferebatur, Cerinthi, aut alicujus alterius impostoris, esse crederent. Mill. Prol. n. 654. [b] Eus. H. E. l. iii. cap. 28. p. 100. B. C. [c] H. E. l. v. cap. 28.

[d] Hær. Fab. l. ii. cap. 5. [e] Non tantum Nicephorus, lib. iv. cap. 20, affirmat τον Μικρον ειρημενον Λαβυρινθον redarguisse absurditatem Artemonis et Theodoti, quem beatus victor depugnavit; sed et Theodoretus Hæreticarum Fabularum, lib. ii. cap. 5, trium pericoparum apud Eusebium summam ex Parvo Labyrintho deducit de Theodoto agens. Pearson, Op. Post. p. 148. [f] Hunc anonymum vocat Blondellus, cum constet eum Caium fuisse. Pearson, ibid. p. 147. [g] Ὧν ουδε τας προσηγοριας καταλεγειν ἡμιν δυνατον. Eus. l. v. c. 27. p. 195. B. [h] Αδηλων δ' ὁμως ἡμιν, ὁτι μη την προσηγοριαν επαγεται των συγγραψαμενων. Ibid. [i] Τουτων εν τινος σπουδασματι κατα της Αρτεμωνος αἱρεσεως πεπονημενῳ. κ. λ. Ib. cap. 28. in. [k] Κατα της τουτων αἱρεσεως ὁ Σμικρος συνεγραφη Λαβυρινθος, ὁν τινες Ωριγενους ὑπολαμβανουσι ποιημα· αλλ' ὁ χαρακτηρ ελεγχει τους λεγοντας. Ειτε δε εκεινος, ειτε αλλος, συνεγραψε, τοιονδε εν αυτῳ διηγειται διηγημα. Fab. l. ii. cap. 5. De Theodoto.

book thus: 'Against their heresy [that is, the heresy of Artemon and his followers] was written the Little Labyrinth, which some think to be a work of Origen, but the style is sufficient to shew their mistake. But whether it was written by him, or some other, there is in it the following relation:' without so much as making a conjecture at the author. As for Photius, on whom Pearson chiefly relies, he had seen a note upon the book Of the Universe, in which it was observed, 'That it was [a] ascribed to several, as also the Labyrinth was to Origen; whereas really it was written by Caius, the same who composed the Labyrinth.' And Photius may have been of the same opinion with the writer of this note, though I think he does not expressly say so. But since the more early writers, Eusebius, Jerom, Theodoret, appear not to have known the author of this work, it is best to consider him as anonymous, as I find some other learned [b] moderns beside Blondel have done.

Though I do not reckon Caius the author of this work, it is fitly enough considered here, being mentioned by Eusebius in his account of matters about the time of the emperors Commodus and Severus. Indeed, as he did not know the name of the author of this work, so he might not exactly perceive the time of it. However, from the things and persons mentioned in the passages quoted by Eusebius, it is very probable that it was not composed under Victor, but under Zephyrinus, or his successor, as has been well shewn by [c] Pearson. I may therefore well enough place him in the same year with Caius.

1. The design of the first passage of this work is to shew the novelty of that heresy, that our Saviour was a mere man; whereas the persons against whom the author writes, asserted its antiquity. 'For [d] they say, that all the ancients, and even the apostles themselves, received and taught the same things which they now hold: and that the truth of the gospel was preserved, till the time of Victor, the thirteenth bishop of Rome from Peter; but by his successor [or, 'from the time of his successor'] Zephyrinus, the truth has been corrupted. And possibly what they say might have been credited, if, first of all, the divine scriptures did not contradict them; and then also, secondly, the writings of the brethren more ancient than Victor, which they published in defence of the truth against the Gentiles, and against the heresies of their times.' The brethren mentioned by name are Justin, Miltiades, Tatian, Clement, Irenæus, Melito, with a general appeal to many more not named, and to ancient hymns composed by the faithful in honour of Christ.

This shews plainly that there were scriptures called divine, which were esteemed to be of higher authority than the writings of the most early Christian writers, who lived so near the time of the apostles. It likewise assures us, that the persons against whom this author argues, did also appeal to the apostles for the truth of their opinions, and did not pretend to assert any thing contrary to the doctrine of the apostles.

2. 'Moreover,' adds Eusebius, 'the author of the forementioned book relates another thing which happened in the time of Zephyrinus, writing thus in these very words: I will therefore [e] remindmany of the brethren of a thing which happened in our time, which if it had been done in Sodom, I think it might have reformed even them.' Perhaps here is a reference to Matth. xi. 23. Well, what is this sad thing? The author proceeds: 'There [f] was one Natalis a confessor [that is, who had suffered from the heathen for the sake of Christianity], not long ago, but in our times. This person was deceived by Asclepiodotus, and another Theodotus, a banker, both disciples of the first Theodotus the tanner, who had been excommunicated by Victor for this opinion, or rather madness. This Natalis was persuaded by them to accept of the office of a bishop of this heresy, upon the consideration of receiving from them a salary of one hundred and fifty denarii (about five pounds) by the month. Having

[a] Ὥσπερ και τον Λαβυρινθον τινες ὑπεγραψαν Ὠριγενους· επει Γαιου εστι ποιημα τη αληθειᾳ, αυτου συντεταχοτος τον Λαβυρινθον. Ap. Phot. Cod 48.

[b] Eruditissimus vero ille anonymus, &c. Dallæus, de Scriptis Dionys. Areop. &c. l. i. c. 2. p. 10. Genevæ, 1666. Vetus auctor apud Eusebium, libro v. Hist. Ec. cap. 28 Jacob. Sirmond. not. ad Facundum, lib. iii. cap. 2. Nec aliter scriptor antiquus contra Artemonis hæresin, ap. Euseb. Hist. Ec. Cav Dissertat. de Libris et Officiis ecclesiasticis Græcorum, p. 42. V. Εωθινος. ad calcem part. ii. Hist. Lit.

[c] Pears. ib. p. 148.

[d] Φασι γαρ τους μεν προτερους ἁπαντας, και αυτους αποστολους παρειληφεναι τε και δεδιδαχεναι ταυτα, ἁ νυν οὑτοι λεγουσι· και τετηρησθαι την αληθειαν του κηρυγματος μεχρι των Βικτορος χρονων ὁς ην τρισκαιδεκατος απο Πετρου εν Ῥωμῃ επισκοπος· απο δε του διαδοχου αυτου Ζεφυρινου παρακεχαραχθαι την αληθειαν· ην δ' αν τυχον πιθανον το λεγομενον, ει μη πρωτον μεν αντεπιπτον αυτοις αι θειαι γραφαι. Και αδελφων δε τινων εστι γραμματα πρεσβυτερα των Βικτορος χρονων, ἁ εκεινοι προς τα εθνη ὑπερ της αληθειας, και προς τοτε αἱρεσεις εγραψαν. Eus. H. E. l. v. c. 28. p. 195. D.

[e] Ὑπομνησω γουν πολλους των αδελφων πραγμα εφ' ἡμων γενομενον· ὁ νομιζω ὁτι ει εν Σοδομοις εγεγονει, τυχον αν κἀκεινους ενουθετησε. Ibid. p. 196. C.

[f] Ναταλιος ην τις ὁμολογητης.

'associated himself with them, he was often admonished by the Lord in visions; for [a] the mer-'ciful God,[b] and our Lord Jesus Christ, would not that he should perish out of the church, who 'had been a witness of his own sufferings.' 1 Pet v. 1. The author proceeds to relate, 'that 'Natalis for a [c] while neglecting these visions, out of fondness for the honour he enjoyed, and 'the love of filthy lucre, was at length scourged and sorely beaten by holy angels for a whole 'night. Whereupon in the morning, being convinced of his fault, he put on sackcloth, and 'humbled himself before Zephyrinus, and all the clergy and laity, and after many tears and 'entreaties was difficultly re-admitted to the communion of the church.'

In what is here said of Natalis having been a 'witness of Christ's sufferings,' it may be thought there is a reference to 1 Pet. vi. 1. and in what is said of his 'love of filthy lucre,' to 1 Tim. iii. 3. or some other place where St. Paul condemns that fault.

3. 'To these we shall add,' says Eusebius, 'some other words of the same writer concern-'ing the same men, which are to this purpose: Moreover they [d] have without fear corrupted 'the divine scriptures, and have rejected the rule [canon] of the ancient faith, and have 'been ignorant of Christ; not enquiring what the divine scriptures say, but carefully studying 'what figure of syllogism may be found out to support their impious system: and if any 'one object to them a text of divine scripture, they consider whether a conjunctive or 'disjunctive form of syllogism can be made of it. And, leaving the holy scriptures of 'God, they study geometry, as being of the earth, and speaking of the earth, and ignorant of 'him that cometh from above.' Here is a manifest reference to John, iii. 31. This writer proceeds to say, 'that by some of these persons Euclid's geometry is laboriously studied; and 'they admire Aristotle and Theophrastus; and by [e] some of them Galen is even adored. They 'who abuse the sciences of the infidels for the support of their heretical sentiment, and with an 'impious subtlety adulterate the simple faith of the divine scriptures, of such men what need 'I say that they are far from the faith? for which reason they have without fear laid their 'hands upon the divine scriptures, saying that they have amended them. And that I do not 'charge them falsely, any one may know that pleaseth: for if any one will be at the pains to 'procure a number of their copies, and compare them together, he will find that they disagree 'very much; for the copies of Asclepiades [or Asclepiodotus] differ from those of Theodotus. 'And many of them may be met with, because their disciples have diligently transcribed their 'several emendations, as they call them, but indeed corruptions. Again, the copies of Hermo-'philus agree not with these already mentioned: and those of Apollonides [or Apollonius] differ 'one from another; for any one, by comparing those first put out with these which were 'afterwards again perverted by him, may perceive a difference. How daring [f] a crime this is, 'possibly they themselves are not ignorant: for either they do not believe the divine scrip-'tures to have been dictated by the Holy Spirit, and then they are infidels; or else they think 'themselves wiser than the Holy Spirit, and what are [g] they then but mad men? For they 'cannot deny this their daring crime, since the copies have been written out with their own 'hands; and they did not receive such [h] books from those by whom they were first taught the 'Christian doctrine: nor are they able to produce the copies from whence they transcribed 'these things. Nay, some of them have not thought it worth the while to corrupt the scrip-'tures, but plainly [i] rejecting the law and the prophets, by means of a lawless and impious 'doctrine [taken up] under pretence of grace, they have fallen into the lowest pit of destruc-'tion.'

This may be thought a most terrible passage, weakening the credit of the sincerity or integrity of our present scriptures; since even in those early times there were men who had the

[a] Ὁ γαρ ευσπλαγχνος Θεος και Κυριος ἡμων Ιησους Χριστος ουκ εβουλετο εξω εκκλησιας γενομενον απολεσθαι μαρτυρα των ιδιων παθων. Ibid. p. 197. A.

[b] Or, as some may choose it should be translated, 'our most merciful God and Lord Jesus Christ.' [c] Δελεαζομενος τη τε παρ' αυτοις πρωτοκαθεδρια, και τη φιλαργυρια αποκλυσμη αισχροκερδεια, τελευταιων ὑπο ἁγιων αγγελων εμαστιγωθη, δι' ὁλης της νυκτος ὁ ταλαιπωρος αικισθεις. Ibid.

[d] Γραφας μεν θειας αφοβως εφθαρκασι· πιστεως δε αρχαιας κανονα ἡθετηκασι· Χριστον δε ουκ εγνωκασιν· ε τι αι θειαι λεγουσι, γραφαι ζητουντες, κ. λ. . . . καν αυτοις προφερηται τις ῥητον γραφης θειας, εξεταζουσι, . . καταλυπτουντες δε τας ἁγιας τα Θεου γραφας, ·ατιμιαν επιφερουσιν· ὡς αν εκ της γης ὁντες, και εκ της γης λαλουντες, και τον ανωθεν ερχομενον αγνοουντες. κ. λ. p. 197. B. C.

[e] Γαληνος γαρ ισως ὑπο τινων και προσκυνειται. Οἱ δε ταις των απιστων τεχναις εις την της αιρεσεως αυτων γνωμην αποχρωμενοι, και τη των λογων πανουργια την απλην των θειων γραφων πιστιν καπηλευοντες· ὁτι μηδε εγγυς πιστεως ὑπαρχουσι, τι δει και λεγειν; Δια τουτο ταις θειαις γραφαις αφοβως επεβαλον τας χειρας, λεγοντες αυτας διωρθωκεναι. Ib. p. 197. D. 198. A.

[f] Οσης δε τολμης εστι τουτο το αμαρτημα, εικος μη δε εκεινος αγνοειν. Ibid. A. [g] Και τι ἑτερον η δαιμονωσιν; Ib. B.

[h] Και παρ' ων καπηχθησαν μη τοιαυτας παρελαβον τας γραφας. Ibid. [i] Αλλ' απλως αρνησαμενοι τον τε νομον και τους προφητας. Ibid.

assurance to correct and alter their copies according to their own fancy, in order to render the m agreeable to their particular sentiments. But the concern may be abated by a few remarks.

1.) Whatever alterations were made, or attempted to be made, by some few, there were others who greatly disliked their conduct, and strictly guarded against alterations and pretended emendations of their copies. They loudly exclaimed against them, severely censured the authors of them, and warned all men against them.

2.) It is probable that all the alterations or corruptions here complained of, concerned only the copies of the Old Testament; and, if they relate to them, then to the copies only of some Greek version of the Old Testament, probably that of the Seventy. For this is what our author says: That some of these men did not think it worth the while to alter the scriptures, 'but they plainly rejected the law and the prophets.' They are therefore the scriptures of the Old Testament that he had been speaking of all along, when he complained of the alterations of the divine scriptures: and since these alterations were made, or attempted to be made, in a version only, the damage is the less. This indeed does not excuse these men, nor quite remove their crime, but it lessens the mischief of it.

3.) It seems reasonable to make some abatements in the charges of this writer. It is plain he is credulous, and indulges his passion, and declaims. I have no occasion to add a comment, by way of proof of these particulars; they are apparent from the passages here produced; so that every one may perceive as much by reflecting upon what we have transcribed. Besides, he blames these persons against whom he writes for things in which there is no fault. He censures them for 'studying geometry,' and for 'admiring Aristotle and Theophrastus.' Then it is likely he aggravates some things, as when he says, 'they left the scriptures to study Euclid's 'geometry.' Possibly they only joined together these two studies. He insinuates too, that some of them 'adored Galen,' which is very improbable. Considering all these things, it is reasonable to suppose that he has magnified the fault of these men; that is, in some measure misrepresented what they performed upon the scriptures. A writer of this character might censure a truly critical performance, as such things since have been often suspected and condemned by others.

4.) Upon the whole, then, we have seen in this writer a reference or two to the gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, and St. Peter's first epistle. There were scriptures in the hands of Christians which they respected as sacred and divine, dictated by the Holy Spirit, and the rule of their faith, and particularly of superior authority to the writings of the Christian brethren next in succession after the apostles; and they esteemed it a daring crime, of a high nature, to make any alterations in them. This writer also bears witness to the followers of Artemon, that they made appeals to the writings of the apostles and the brethren for the truth and antiquity of their sentiments. He adds, and loudly complains of it, that they had attempted to correct and alter (that is, corrupt) the copies of the divine scriptures; but he has not particularly informed us, what copies: it appears to be most probable, that he means only the copies of a Greek version of the Old Testament. And there is reason to think, likewise, that in what he has said relating to this matter, he has been guilty of some mistake or misrepresentation, and has aggravated things beyond the truth.

5.) I do not despise any work or fragment of this early antiquity, tending to illustrate the scriptures, or any practices of the Christian church. These passages are useful in several respects: but I could have spared a part of them for the sake of the passage or passages of Caius, concerning St. Paul's epistles, and the other ancient scriptures. And I heartily wish that Eusebius had made room in his Ecclesiastical History for more of that eloquent man.

III. The third piece, which by some has been reckoned the work of Caius, is intitled, 'Of 'the Universe,' as likewise 'Of the Cause of the Universe,' and 'Of the Nature of the Uni-'verse;' as we are informed by[a] Photius, in whose time it had inscribed, in some copies, the name of Josephus. But he had seen a note in it, wherein it was said to be written by Caius, a presbyter who dwelt at Rome. By some, he says, it was ascribed to Justin Martyr, and by others to Irenæus. As for himself, Photius argues that it can hardly be esteemed a work of Josephus, because the author gives our Saviour the title of, 'the Christ,' and speaks rightly enough of his divinity: and also expresses himself unexceptionably of our Lord's ineffable generation by the father.

[a] Cod. 48.

As this work has been ascribed to so many, and neither Eusebius nor Jerom have taken any notice of it in their accounts of Caius, I think there is no sufficient reason to reckon it his. Consequently bishop Bull has been too hasty in[a] placing Caius among the Antenicene fathers who held the Nicene faith upon the sole foundation of what is said in this book. And it is[b] now the general opinion of learned men, that it is Hippolytus who has the best title to this treatise.

It is not now extant entire: but we have a large fragment, which has been published by several learned men, and in particular not long since by Fabricius, in his edition of Hippolytus.

I shall give a short account of the references which there are in this Fragment to the books of the New Testament, which is all that can be expected in this place. I must take some farther notice of it in the chapter of Hippolytus.

Here are then made use of, in explaining the Christian doctrines, several scripture phrases, as[c] 'fire unquenchable,'[d] 'Abraham's bosom,' Luke xvi. 22. 26. And it is said that between the good and bad 'there[e] is a great and deep gulph [or chaos] fixed, so that no righteous man, 'if he were in compassion desirous so to do, could get thither; nor is there any unrighteous 'man that can pass, though he should attempt it.' The author says, 'that all men, just[f] and unjust, shall be brought before God the Word: for to him has the Father given all judgment.' Here is at least a reference to John v. 22. He has also the words[g] of 1 Cor. ii. 9, and probably takes them thence, though they are also in Isa. lxiv. 4. He seems to allude to several things in the Revelation, in a passage too long to be inserted here; where he says,[h] 'That in the kingdom 'of heaven, to which the righteous shall be brought, there is no night nor day measured by 'time,...nor sun,...nor moon,'—and what follows: Compare Rev. xxi. 23. xxii. 5. This does not suit Caius, who is supposed to have rejected the Revelation.

CHAP. XXXIII.

ASTERIUS URBANUS.

Eusebius has made large extracts out of a treatise in three books against the Montanists, composed[i] by one of those many eminent persons whom divine Providence raised up at that time to defend the truth. But our historian has here expressed himself so obscurely, that it has been much[k] doubted who is the author of this work; whether Asterius Urbanus, or Appollinaris of Hierapolis, or Apollonius, or Rhodon, or some other person whose name is unknown. However, Cave thinks it probable, from some words of[l] Eusebius, among the citations of this work, that the author is Asterius Urbanus, Valesius[m] too is of this opinion; though it seems to be somewhat doubtful whether those words are not interpolated.

Asterius Urbanus is placed by Cave at the year 188. Tillemont, who agrees with him as to the author of the treatise, concludes[n] that it was written about the year of Christ 232, the eleventh of the emperor Alexander; because Maximilla is here said to have been dead

[a] Vid. Geo. Bull. Defens. Fid. Nic. cap. viii. sect. ii.

[b] Utcunque autem de vero hujus operis auctore inter antiquos non convenit, neoterici Indiculi hujusce auctoritate, stylo et argumentationis genere, aliisque adhuc argumentis freti, Hippolyto id adjudicant; et in his novissimus Steph. Le Moyne, qui Latinâ versione instructum fragmentum ejus ab Hæschelio olim editum recudi fecit inter Varia Sacra. Cave, H. L. P. i. in Hippolyto.

[c] Λιμνη πυρος ασβεστου. Apud Hippolytum, ex editione Fabricii, p. 220.

[d] Τουτῳ δε ονοματι κικλησκομεν κολπον Αβρααμ. Ibid. p. 221.

[e] Χαος γαρ Βαθυ και μεγα ανα μεσον εστηρικται, ὡστε μη δικαιον συμπαθησαντα προσδεξεσθαι, μητε αδικον τολμησαντα διελθειν. Ibid.

[f] Παντες γαρ, δικαιοι και αδικοι, ενωπιον του Θεου λογου αχθησονται. Τουτῳ γαρ ὁ Πατηρ την κρισιν πασαν δεδωκε. p. 222.

[g] Ibid.

[h] Ουδε νυξ ουδε ἡμερα χρονῳ μετρουμενη, ουχ ἡλιος . . . ου σεληνη . . . Ibid.

[i] Αλλους τε συν αυτῳ [Απολλιναριῳ] πλειους των τηνικαδε λογιων ανδρων, ἡ της αληθειας υπερμαχος ανιστη δυναμις. H.E. l. v. cap. 16. in.

[k] Vid. Cav. H. L. in Asterio Urbano, p. 51. Vales. ad Eus. l. v. cap. 16. Tillemont, Mem. Ecc. T. ii. P. iii. Les Montanistes, not. 7.

[l] Και μη λεγετω εν τῳ αυτῳ λογῳ τω κατα Αστεριον Ουρβανον το δια Μαξιμιλλης πνευμα, κ. λ. Eus. ib. p. 182. A.

[m] Εν τῳ αυτῳ λογῳ κατα Αστεριον Ουρβανον.] Hæc verba scholion esse mihi videntur, quod vetus quidam scholiastes, seu Eusebius ipse, ad marginem libri sui annotaverat ad ea verba quæ paulo ante præcesserunt, αυθις δε εν τῳ αυτῳ φησι λογῳ. Porro ex his verbis elicitur, Asterium Urbanum auctorem esse horum trium librorum adversus Cataphrygas, non autem Apollinarem, ut credidit Rufinus et Christophorsonus. Vales. in notis, p. 98.

[n] See Till. as before, Montanistes, art. 12. p. 70.

[a] between thirteen and fourteen years, whom the same learned man computes[b] to have died in 218 or 219. It is doubtful whether this author was a bishop or a presbyter; and absolutely unknown of what place. I ought to observe, that[c] Dodwell, who once took this writer to be Asterius Urbanus, afterwards altered his mind, not thinking the argument of Cave before mentioned sufficient to determine the point; and supposing that Eusebius's words are capable of another sense. Fabricius[d] agrees with Dodwell, and thinks this treatise was written some time after 212.

Nevertheless I am not unwilling to agree with those who suppose Asterius Urbanus to be the author of this treatise; and Tillemont's argument for the time of it appears to me probable. According to that computation, our extracts out of this work should be deferred somewhat longer. But because the subject matter of it has an affinity with that of some foregoing chapters, as concerning the Montanists; and because we would not be too confident in our opinion about the author or time of this performance, we choose to speak of it in this place.

It appears from the preface[e] to this work, preserved in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, that the author upon some occasion was at Ancyræ in Galatia: and finding the church there disturbed with the new prophecy, as it was called, of Montanus, he disputed publicly upon that subject for several days; so as to comfort and establish the church, and confute the enemies of the truth. The presbyters of that place entreated him to draw up in writing the substance of what he had said upon that occasion; which he declined to do for some time, but at length complied, at the request of Abercius Marcellus, to whom the work is inscribed.

I. The author then, in his preface, says to Abercius Marcellus: 'I have hitherto deferred 'to perform your request, fearing[f] lest I should seem to some to add to the doctrine of the 'new covenant of the gospel, or to give new ordinances beside those there prescribed. To 'which it is impossible that any thing should be added, as it is that any thing should be taken 'away from it, by one who has determined to govern himself according to the same gospel.'

Possibly it may be questioned by some, whether the author here expressly speaks of the writings of the New Testament, or only of the Christian doctrine; for which reason I have aimed at a literal translation of this passage: though I am of opinion, that he intends the scriptures of the New Testament; the rather, because he was afraid of seeming, 'by writing,' to add any thing to the doctrine of the gospel. If the author be understood to speak of the scriptures of the New Testament, which appears most probable, this passage affords evidence of the high respect which this catholic Christian had for them.

For the farther satisfaction of some of my readers, I shall put down a part of this passage, as it has been translated by[g] Tillemont in his Ecclesiastical Memoirs. 'I have hitherto deferred to comply with your request,.....' because I was apprehensive that some might accuse me of a 'design to add something to the divine scriptures, and to the rules which are prescribed to us by 'the word of the New Testament and of the gospel.' Valesius translates thus: 'Lest I should 'seem to some, by writing, to add any thing to the evangelical doctrine of the New Testa-'ment, and to make farther determinations of my own.'

II. Afterwards, in his accounts of the rise of the pretended prophecies of Montanus, he says, that at Ardaba, a village in Mysia near Phrygia, when Montanus uttered his prophecies, some discouraged him, 'being mindful[h] of the premonition and caution of the Lord to beware 'of false prophets when they appeared. But others,' he says, 'forgetting the premonition 'given by the Lord, encouraged that infatuating, deceitful, and seducing spirit.' It is likely the author refers to Matth. xxiv. 11, "And many false prophets shall arise, and shall deceive many." See also chap. vii. 15.

III. Eusebius informs us, that in the second[i] book of his treatise the author writes to this purpose: 'Whereas then they call us also murderers of the prophets, because we did not receive 'their prating prophets (for these, they say, are those which the Lord promised to send to the 'people,) let them tell us, in the name of God, who of their people, since the time that Mon-

[a] Πλειω γαρ η τρισκαιδεκα ετη εις ταυτην την ημεραν, εξ ου τελευτησεν η γυνη. Ap. Euseb. ib. c. 16. p. 182. C. Vid. et cap. 17. p. 184. A. [b] Tillemont, Les Montanistes, art. v. p. 45. [c] Dodw. Diss. Iren. iv. sect 38.

[d] Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 190. [e] Ap. Eus. ib. cap. 16. p. 179. C. D. [f] Δεδιως δε και εξευλαβουμενος, μη πη δοξω τισιν επισυγγραφειν η επιδιαλασσεσθαι τω της τε ευαγγελι καινης διαθηκης λογω· ωμην προσθειναι μηδ' αφελειν δυναιτο, τω καια το ευαγγελιον αυτο πολιτευεσθαι προηρημενω. Eus. ib. p. 179. C. [g] As before, art. xii. p. 70.

[h] Επειμων, και λαλειν εκωλυον· μεμνημενοι της τε Κυριε διαστολης τε και απειλης, προς το φυλατεσθαι την των ψευδοπροφητων εγρηγορως παρουσιαν. κ. λ. Eus. c. 16. p. 180. B.C.

[i] Ibid. p. 181. B. C.

'tanus and his women began to prate, have been persecuted by the Jews, or put to death by 'the wicked Gentiles? Not one: nor have any of them been apprehended and crucified for 'the name of Jesus; nor have any of their women been whipped in the Jewish synagogues, 'nor stoned; no, no where, not one.' Here is a plain reference to Matth. xxiii. 34.

IV. He goes on: 'But [a] it is said that Montanus and Maximilla had quite another kind of 'death. For it is reported that, at the instigation of that mad spirit, they hanged themselves; 'though not both together, or at the same time.....And so they ended their days in the same 'manner that the traitor Judas did.' Here is undoubtedly a confirmation of the fact of Judas's making away with himself: and probably a reference to the history of it in Matth. xxvii. 5. Acts i. 18. However, afterwards this good man says modestly and charitably, that though this is reported of 'Montanus and the forementioned woman,' yet it is not certain, nor does he know it to be true. 'Perhaps they died in that manner, perhaps in some other.' Nevertheless this shews, that even in those days there were orthodox Christians who gave out stories without ground against such as were reputed heretics. The author likewise mentions one Theodotus, another zealous Montanist, as he says, of whom there was a report, that giving himself up entirely to that spirit of error, he was by it taken up into the air, and perished miserably. But this writer does not own the truth of this, any more than of the other stories.

V. Afterwards Eusebius says, that this author reckons up all the prophets of the New covenant or Testament, shewing that they did not prophecy in ecstasy: 'They [b] will not be 'able to shew,' says he, 'neither under the old nor the new covenant [or dispensation], any 'inspired prophet speaking after this manner; neither Agabus, nor Judas, nor Silas, nor the 'daughters of Philip.' Here are references to Acts xi. 27, 28, and xxi. 11, where Agabus is called a prophet, and his prophecies are related; and to ch. xv. 32, where Judas and Silas are called prophets; and to ch. xxi. 9, 10, where Philip is said to have 'four daughters which did 'prophecy.' The author does not confine himself here to prophets mentioned in the scriptures of the New Testament; he instances likewise in Quadratus, and Ammias of Philadelphia: and says he could mention others, whose example gave no encouragement to the way of prophesying used by the Montanists.

VI. Once more he argues against Montanists, that they had no succession of prophets among them; and that, though Maximilla had been dead above thirteen years, no other had appeared: 'But yet,' says he, [c] 'the apostle expected [or, gives us ground to expect] that the 'gift of prophecy should continue in every church till the last advent 'of the Lord.' I cannot say what particular text he here refers to; by the apostle I suppose him to mean Paul; and possibly he refers to 1 Cor. xiii. 8. "Charity never faileth; but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail." Perhaps some concluded hence, that though prophecies should fail in the end, yet they were to continue in the church so long as the world lasts.

So far of this treatise against the Montanists, whether written by Asterius Urbanus, or by some other.

CHAP. XXXIV.

ST. ALEXANDER, BISHOP OF JERUSALEM.

Alexander, whom [d] we have already mentioned more than once, at first bishop of some place in Cappadocia, afterwards of Jerusalem, is placed by Cave as flourishing in the year of Christ 212, because he was then chosen bishop of Jerusalem, as [e] we learn from Eusebius's Chronicle.

[a] Αλλῳ δε θανατῳ τελευτησαι λεγονται Μοντανος τε και Μαξιμιλλα. Τουτους γαρ ὑπο πνευματος βλαψιφρονος ἑκατερους ὑποκινησαντος λογος αναρτησαι ἑαυτους. . . . . και ουτω τελευτησαι και τον βιον καταστρεψαι Ιουδα προδοτου δικην. p. 181. C.

[b] Τουτον δε τον τροπον, ου τε τινα των κατα την παλαιαν, οτε των κατα την καινην [διαθηκην] πνευματοφορηθεντα προφητην δειξαι δυνησονται· ουτε Αγαβον, ουτε Ιουδαν, ουτε Σιλαν, ουτε τας Φιλιππου θυγατερας. Ib. cap. 17. p. 183. C.

[c] Δειν γαρ ειναι το προφητικον χαρισμα εν παση τῃ εκκλησιᾳ μεχρι της τελειας παρουσιας ὁ αποστολος αξιοι. p. 183. D.

[d] P. 393, 446.

[e] Alexander, tricesimus quintus Ierosolymarum episcopus, ordinatur adhuc vivente Narcisso, et cum eo pariter ecclesiam regit. Eus. Chr. p. 172.

I choose to give, as often as may be done conveniently, the history of my authors in the very words of other ancient writers, who were their contemporaries, or lived near their time. Eusebius's account of Alexander lying scattered in several chapters of his Ecclesiastical History, it might be tedious to put down at length all his passages relating to this person. I shall therefore begin with transcribing St. Jerom's account in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers; which when I have done, I shall add some things out of Eusebius and others, confirming what St. Jerom says, or supplying his defects.

'Alexander,' says [a] Jerom, 'bishop of Cappadocia, going to Jerusalem to visit the sacred 'places, when Narcissus, then of a great age, governed the church of that city, it was revealed 'both to Narcissus, and to many of his clergy, that the next day in the morning would come 'into that church a bishop, who should be a helper of the sacerdotal chair. This coming to 'pass as it had been foretold, in an assembly of all the bishops of Palestine, Narcissus himself 'consenting, and even promoting it above any one else, Alexander took upon him the govern-'ment of the church of Jerusalem. This person, at the conclusion of a letter to the Antinoites '[the people of Antinopolis in Egypt], speaks of the peace of the church in this manner: "Nar-'cissus salutes you, who before me filled the episcopal seat of this place, and now governs it 'together with me by his prayers, being an hundred and sixteen years old, and with me 'earnestly exhorts you to think the same things." He wrote another letter to the Antiochians, 'by Clement presbyter of Alexandria, of whom we spoke before. He also wrote to Origen 'and for Origen against Demetrius, pleading that, in respect to the testimony given him by 'Demetrius himself, he had ordained him presbyter. There are likewise extant others of his to 'divers persons. In the seventh persecution, under Decius, at which time Babylas suffered at 'Antioch, he was apprehended and carried to Cæsarea, and being put in prison was crowned 'with martyrdom for his confession of the name of Christ.'

Eusebius, in [b] his Ecclesiastical History, confirms what Jerom says of Alexander's having been first bishop in Cappadocia, and his coming to Jerusalem 'for the sake of prayer, and to 'visit the [sacred] places,' or out of devotion: and that there were several revelations from God to encourage the choosing him bishop in that city, and, as it seems, one to Alexander himself; and 'likewise 'a voice heard distinctly by some eminent for piety [or understand-'ing]. The brethren therefore of that church would by no means consent to his return home, 'but detained him with them.' Beside these revelations and visions, Eusebius mentions another reason of this choice; which was, the fortitude with which Alexander had suffered in the late persecution under Severus. For in Jerom's Latin version of Eusebius's Chronicle, at the twelfth year of that emperor, of our Lord 204, it is said: 'Alexander is [c] in esteem for the 'confession of the name of Lord.' And in his Ecclesiastical History, having mentioned the death of Severus, and the accession of his son Antoninus, called Caracalla, in the year of Christ 211, he adds: 'At 'that time Alexander, one of those who had signalized themselves 'by their fortitude in the persecution, and by the favour of divine Providence survived the 'combats they had sustained in their confessions,.....being famous for his confessions of the 'Christian faith in the time of the persecution, was promoted to the forementioned bishoprick 'of Jerusalem; Narcissus, his predecessor, being yet alive.'

Alexander was a great admirer of Origen. There was, as Eusebius says in his [f] Ecclesiastical History, 'a great disturbance at Alexandria: so that Origen, not thinking it safe to stay there, 'nor yet in any other part of Egypt, went into Palestine, and took up his residence at Cæsarea '[about the year of our Lord 216], where he was desired by the bishops of that country to 'discourse and expound the scriptures publicly in the church, though he was not yet ordained 'presbyter. This may be made evident from what Alexander bishop of Jerusalem, and The-'octistus bishop of Cæsarea, write by way of apology in their letter to Demetrius.' Afterwards, 'about the year 228, as Eusebius expresses it, 'the [g] two most approved and eminent bishops 'of Palestine, I mean those of Cæsarea and Jerusalem, judging Origen worthy of the highest

[a] De Vir. Ill. cap. 62.

[b] Εκ της των Καπ-παδοκων γης, ενθα το πρωτον της επισκοπης ηξιωτο, την πορειαν επι τα Ιεροσολυμα ευχης και των τοπων ιστοριας ενεκεν πεποιη-μενος. Eus. H. E. l. vi. cap. 11. p. 222. A.

[c] Φιλοφρονεσταται δε τηδε υπολαβουσαι αδελφοι ενεδ' δικαδε κατ' παλινοστειν επειγεσθαι, καθ' ειδαν αποκαλυψιν και αυτοις νυκτωρ οφθεισαν, μιαν τε φωνην σαφεστατην τοις μαλιστα αυτων σπουδαιοις χρησασαν. Ibid.

[d] Alexander ob confessionem Dominici nominis insignis habetur. Eus. Chr. p. 172.

[e] H. E. l. vi. c. 8, p. 210, A.

[f] H. E. l. vi. c. 19. p. 222. A.

[g] Ibid. cap. 8. p. 209. C.

'dignity and office, ordained him presbyter by imposition of their hands.' And so writes 'Jerom after Eusebius. Photius[b] says, 'Origen was ordained by Theoctetus [or Theoctistus] 'bishop of Cesarea, with the approbation of Alexander bishop of Jerusalem.'

Eusebius having given an account of Alexander's promotion to the bishoprick of Jerusalem, and of the letter to the Antinoites, as before in Jerom, proceeds: 'Serapion[c] being dead at 'Antioch [in the year 211], Asclepiades succeeded him in the bishoprick of that place, who 'also was famous for his confessions in the late persecution. Of this ordination Alexander 'makes mention, in a letter to the Antiochians, in this manner: "Alexander,[d] the servant and 'prisoner of Jesus Christ, sendeth greeting in the Lord to the blessed church of the Antio-'chians. The Lord made my bonds light and easy in my imprisonment, when I heard that 'Asclepiades, so fit and worthy on account of the eminence of his faith, was by divine Provi-'dence instrusted with the care of your holy church of the Antiochians." This letter he sent 'by Clement, as appears from the conclusion of it, which is thus: "This epistle, my lords and 'brethren, I have sent you by Clement, a blessed presbyter, a virtuous and approved man, whom 'you know already, and will know better; who, whilst he was here, confirmed and increased 'the church of the Lord." The conclusion of this letter St. Jerom likewise has inserted in his book of Illustrious Men, in the chapter of Clement of Alexandria.

Asclepiades was ordained bishop of Antioch in the year 211, in the beginning of the reign of Caracalla: at which time, as appears by this letter, Alexander was in prison. If therefore he was put in prison so soon as the 12th of Severus, of our Lord 204, as is intimated in Eusebius's Chronicle, he must have continued there seven or eight years, or else have been imprisoned more than once in the reign of Severus. This is an observation[e] of Tillemont. The 'church of the Lord, which Clement 'had confirmed and increased,[f] is the church in Cappadocia of which Alexander was then bishop.

Eusebius has left us a fragment of Alexander's letter to Origen. Moreover, says[g] he, 'Alexander, in a letter to Origen, makes mention both of Clement and Pantænus as his friends 'in this manner: "For this, as you know, was the will of God, that the friendship which was 'begun between us, from our ancestors, should not only remain inviolable, but also become 'more firm and fervent: for we know those blessed fathers, which have gone before us, with 'whom we shall shortly be; I mean the truly blessed Pantænus my lord, and the holy Clement, 'who was my lord [or master], and profitable to me: and if there be any others like them, by 'whom I came to the knowledge of you, my most excellent lord and brother."'

St. Jerom says, 'there were extant other letters of Alexander written to divers persons.' But Eusebius has taken no particular notice of any, beside those which I have now given an account of.

In another place of his Ecclesiastical History, Eusebius speaking of the persecution under Decius, and the martyrdom of Fabian, bishop of Rome, and of others at that time, says: 'And 'in Palestine Alexander, bishop of the church at Jerusalem, is again brought before the 'governor's tribunal at Cesarea for Christ's sake; and having made a second glorious confes-'sion, is put into prison, being now venerable for his old age and grey hairs. Having died in 'prison, after a noble and illustrious confession before the governor's tribunal, he was suc-'ceeded in the bishopric of Jerusalem by Mazabanes.'

Epiphanius likewise[h] says, that Alexander suffered martyrdom at Cæsarea.

Dionysius of Alexandria, in a letter to Cornelius bishop of Rome, as we are informed by Eusebius, writes[i] thus of the bishop of Jerusalem: "As for blessed Alexander, he was cast 'into prison, and there made a blessed end."'

Thus we are fully assured of Alexander's martyrdom, and the manner of it: that he did not die by torments, or by the hand of the executioner: but that he expired in prison, where he had been confined for the name of Christ. The letter of Dionysius affords help likewise for settling the time of his death. That letter was written, as Tillemont[k] says, in the reign of Gallus, in the year 252. It is reasonable therefore, as he farther argues, to place the death of

[a] De Vir. Ill. cap. 54.
[b] Εχων συνευδοκησεις και τον Ιεροσολυμων Αλεξανδρον Cod. 118. col. 297. ver. 38, &c.
[c] Euseb. ibid. p. 212. D. 213. A.
[d] Ibid.
[e] Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. ii. p. 314. St. Alexandre.
[f] Eus. ib. l. vi. c. 14. p. 216. C.
[g] Ibid. l. vi. cap. 39. p. 234. B. C.
[h] De Mens. et Pond. num. 18.
[i] Ὁ μεν γαρ μακαριος Αλεξανδρος εν φρουρα γενομενος μακαριως ανεπαυσατο. Eus. ib. cap. 46. p. 248. A.
[k] Tillemont, as before, p. 321.

Alexander in the year 251, at the end of the reign of Decius, and not at the beginning of it, in 249 or 250; for it is not likely that Dionysius should send Cornelius a piece of news that was two or three years old. Basnage[a] likewise, and[b] Ruinart, think that Alexander died in 251, and at the latter end of that year: so that this bishop governed the church of Jerusalem for the space of 39 years.

We are farther informed, both by[c] Eusebius and[d] St. Jerom, that Clement of Alexandria dedicated to this Alexander a book intitled 'The Ecclesiastical Canon,' or, 'Against those that 'judaized.'

There is yet one thing more to be taken notice of, which is omitted by Jerom: that Alexander erected a library at Jerusalem. Eusebius[e] speaks of it in this manner, in his Ecclesiastical History: 'At that time flourished many learned and ecclesiastical men, whose 'epistles, which they wrote to each other, are easy to be found; for they are preserved to our 'time in the library at Ælia [Jerusalem], erected by Alexander bishop of the church in that 'city, from which also we have collected materials for our present work:' which shews also, that this library had not been destroyed in any of the persecutions between Alexander's and Eusebius's time.

The meek and gentle spirit of Alexander is commended by Origen, at the beginning of a homily delivered at Jerusalem. 'You[f] are not, therefore, to expect in us,' says he, 'what you 'have in your bishop Alexander; for we acknowledge that he excels us all in the gift of gentle-'ness. Nor do I only commend him for this quality; you have all full experience of it, and 'admire him on that account.....I have mentioned these things at the beginning, because I 'know you are ever wont to hear the mild discourses of your most gentle father; whereas the 'fruit of our plantation has somewhat of roughness in its taste. Nevertheless, by the help of 'your prayers, it may become medicinal and salutary.'

From this passage we may conclude, that Alexander was a frequent and an agreeable preacher; though, as Eusebius says[g] in another place, he and Theoctistus attended on Origen as their master. The 'mild discourses' which his people were 'always wont to hear,' cannot be understood of private admonitions, but must mean public discourses or homilies, such as that which Origen was now engaged in.

Origen commends Alexander for the mildness of his temper. He himself possessed the same excellent property to a great degree. It is very conspicuous in his homilies, and other works, though he seems not to have known it.

We cannot but now reflect with pleasure and satisfaction upon the merit of this bishop of Jerusalem. His piety, particularly that amiable virtue of humility, is conspicuous in the fragments I have transcribed; and his meekness is celebrated by Origen. If he was not learned, he was however a patron of learning. Nor have we any reason to think him destitute of a competent measure of useful knowledge: he seems to have been a disciple of Pantænus and Clement, under whose instructions he could not fail of making some considerable improvements. He had an intimate friendship with Clement and Origen, two of the most learned men that ever lived: and we cannot but reckon ourselves still indebted to him for his generous protection of Origen, and for his library, and the materials thereby afforded to Eusebius, and in all likelihood to others also. Above all are we obliged to him for his glorious testimony to the truth of the Christian religion, and his remarkable example of steadiness in the faith of Christ, of which he made two confessions before heathen magistrates, at above forty years distance from each other; for the last of which he suffered an imprisonment, where he made a happy end. And certainly the succession of bishops and churches in the land of Judea, where the preaching, miracles, and sufferings of Christ and his first apostles are placed by the evangelists, under so many difficulties and troubles, affords a strong argument for the truth of those great and extraordinary facts, upon which the Christian religion is founded.

[a] Basn. 251. n. xiii. [b] De sancto Alexandro, sect. 12. Apud Acta Mart. Sincera et Selecta, p. 137.

[c] Eus. ib. cap. 13. p. 214. C. [d] De Vir. Ill. cap. 38.

[e] Ib. cap. 20. [f] Nolite ergo in nobis illud requirere, quod in papâ Alexandro habetis; fatemur etiim quod omnes nos superat in gratiâ lenitatis. Cujus gratiæ non solus ego prædicator existo, sed vos omnes experti cognoscitis et probatis. Hæc idcirco diximus in præfatione, quia scio vos consuevisse lenissimi patris dulces semper audire sermones. Nostræ vero plantationis arbuscula habet aliquid austeritatis in gustu; quod tamen, orantibus vobis, fiet medicamentum salutare, &c. In libr. Reg. Hom. i. in. T. ii. 482. A. Bened.

[g] H. E. l. vi. cap. 27.

CHAP. XXXV.

ST. HIPPOLYTUS.

HIPPOLYTUS flourished, as Cave computes, about the year 220. He is generally called Hippolytus Portuensis, it being now a common opinion that he was bishop of Portus in Italy, or else of Portus Romanus, otherwise called Adan, or Aden, in Arabia. As I am far from having room for all that might be said upon this article, I shall only produce some authentic testimonies to Hippolytus in ancient authors, and the judgments of some learned moderns; referring such as are desirous of farther information to those[a] who have treated largely of this writer and his works.

Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, in his account of writers who lived not far from the beginning of the third century, says: 'At that time flourished many eminent ecclesiastical 'men, whose epistles, which they wrote to each other, are still easy to be found. Among these 'were Beryllus, bishop of Bostra in Arabia;.....and[b] Hippolytus, also bishop of some other 'church.' Soon after, in another chapter of the same work: At[c] that time Hippolytus, beside 'many other pieces, composed his book about Easter, containing a chronological history of 'affairs to the first year of Alexander [year of Christ 222,] to which he added a canon of six-'teen years for regulating the feast of Easter. The rest of his works which have come to our 'knowledge, are such as these: Upon the Six Days Work; Upon those Things which 'followed the Six Days work: Against Marcion: Upon the Canticles; Upon some Parts of 'Ezekiel: Concerning Easter: Against all Heresies: and many other, which are still extant 'and in the hands of many people.' So far Eusebius.

St. Jerom, in[d] his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers: 'Hippolytus, bishop of some church '(for I have not been able to learn the name of the city), wrote a computation of Easter, and 'chronicle of the times, to the first year of the emperor Alexander: and invented a cycle of '16 years, which the Greeks call εκκαιδεκαετηρις, and gave occasion to[e] Eusebius's canon of 19 'years of the same kind. He wrote some commentaries upon the scriptures, of which I have 'seen these: Upon the Six Days Work, and upon Exodus, upon the Canticles, upon Genesis, 'and upon Zechariah; of the Psalms, and upon Isaiah; Of Daniel; Of the Revelation; Of 'the Proverbs; Of Ecclesiastes; Of Saul and the Pythoness; Of Antichrist; Of the Resur-'rection; Of Easter; Against all Heresies; and[f] a Discourse [or Conference] in the praise of 'our Lord and Saviour, in which he intimates his delivering it in the church, when Origen was 'present. In imitation of him, Ambrose, who, as we before said, was converted from the heresy 'of Marcion to the true faith, persuaded Origen to write commentaries upon the scriptures.'

Fabricius in his notes upon this chapter observes, that St. Jerom is the only person who says that Ambrose was moved by the example of Hippolytus to excite Origen to write so many commentaries upon the scriptures; and thinks that[g] Eusebius's words, from whom St. Jerom seems to have taken this, ought to be understood of the time, rather than the example of Hippolytus. I would not be positive, because Eusebius's expression is ambiguous; but I think that St. Jerom's is one good sense, and not an improbable meaning: 'That from him' (not from that time) 'was the rise of Origen's commentaries upon the divine scriptures.' And from divers places of Origen's works it appears, that some had written commentaries upon the scriptures before himself. But suppose we translate Eusebius's expression, εξ εκεινου, 'from that 'time;' yet the connection seems to afford ground to conclude, that the writings of Hippolytus (of which he had spoken just before) were partly an occasion of Origen's commentaries upon the scriptures.

[a] Steph. Le Moyne, Varia Sacra, Cav. Hist. Lit. P. i. et ii. Du Pin, Bibl. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. ii. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. T. v. p. 203, &c, et Hippolyt. Opp. Hamburg. 1716. Oudin, De Script. Ec. T. i. Basnag. Ann. Polit. Ecc. 222 n. vii.. x.

[b] Ὡσαυτως δε και Ἱππολυτος ἑτερας τε και αὐτος προεστως εκκλησιας. H. E. l. vi. cap. 20. p. 222. D.

[c] Ib. cap. 22.

[d] Hippolytus, cujusdam ecclesiæ episcopus (nomen quippe urbis scire non potui), temporumque canones scripsit, usque ad primum annum Alexandri imperatoris; et sedecim annorum circulum, quem Græci ἐκκαιδεκαετηρίδα vocant, reperit. Hieron. de Vir. Ill. cap. 61.

[e] Vid. Euseb. de Vit. Const. l. iv. cap. 34, 35.

[f] Et προσομιλιαν de laude Domini Salvatoris: in quâ, præsente Origene, se loqui in ecclesiâ significat. In hujus æmulationem Ambrosius, quem de Marcionis hæresi ad veram fidem correctum diximus, cohortatus est Origenem in scripturas commentarios scribere. Hieron. ibid.

[g] Εξ εκεινου δε και Ωριγενει των εις τας θειας γραφας ὑπομνηματων εγινετο αρχη, Αμβροσιου εις τα μαλιστα προτρεψαμενου αὐτον, κ.λ. Eus. H. E. l. vi. cap. 22.

St. Jerom has mentioned this writer in divers other of his works. In his commentaries upon Daniel he takes notice of an opinion of [a] Hippolytus concerning the Seventy Weeks. In his preface to his commentary upon Zechariah, he intimates, that [b] Hippolytus had written commentaries upon that prophet. In the preface to his commentaries upon St. Matthew he says, that [c] he had read the commentaries of the martyr Hippolytus. In one of his epistles he [d] again calls Hippolytus martyr. In other places [e] he mentions Hippolytus, together with Clement and Origen, and other ecclesiastical writers of note; he says likewise that he had '[f] written upon the Sabbath, whether we ought to fast on that day; and upon the question, whether the eucharist ought to be received daily, as they are said to do in the churches of Rome and Spain;' and gives Hippolytus the character of an eloquent man. Nor has he failed to mention him in his letter to [g] Magnus, among other learned Christian authors; where he is placed with the Greek writers of the church, as he is also [h] elsewhere. In the account of Dionysius of Alexandria, St. Jerom mentions a letter of his [i] sent to Rome by Hippolytus, as does [k] Eusebius also. If Dionysius was then bishop, and this be our Hippolytus, he could not die before 247 or 248, when Dionysius was made bishop of Alexandria.

I shall just observe here, that Epiphanius [l] mentions Hippolytus among other eminent ecclesiastical writers, 'who had admirably confuted the Valentinians.' Epiphanius is supposed by some [m] to have often borrowed from Hippolytus, without naming him.

Theodoret has quoted Hippolytus several times: he continually [o] calls him 'bishop and martyr.' It is worth the while to observe the works of Hippolytus which Theodoret has quoted, for the sake of the valuable fragments preserved by him. They are such as these: A Discourse or Homily upon those words, 'The Lord is my shepherd,' Ps. xxiii. 1; A Discourse on Elkanah and Hannah; Another Discourse upon the beginning of Isaiah; all three quoted together by [p] Theodoret, in one of his Dialogues: and though they are cited as discourses, yet perhaps these are only some parts of the commentaries of Hippolytus. In another place are [q] fragments out of commentaries upon the second and upon the twenty-fourth psalm, and out of a homily [r] concerning the distribution of the talents; where also is quoted again the Discourse upon Elkanah and Hannah; A Discourse upon the Canticles, or 'the great Hymn,' as it is there called; An Epistle to a certain Queen, which is quoted [s] again in another place; where is the title of another work, called A Discourse upon [t] the Two Thieves. [See Matth. xxvii. 38; Luke xxiii. 39....43.] Who that queen was, whether some Arabian princess, or one of the Roman empresses, is not certain. Hippolytus is mentioned again by Theodoret,[u] among many other authors who had written against Marcion and his followers;[x] and in another place [y] among those who had written against the Nicolaitans.

Photius has two articles relating to Hippolytus. In the first he speaks of his book Against Heresies, which he calls a 'little book.' He says expressly that Hippolytus was a disciple of Irenæus, and seems to have learnt this from Hippolytus himself. 'In this book was [z] a confutation of thirty-two heresies, from Dositheus to Noetus and the Noetians. Hippolytus says, that the same heresies had been confuted by Irenæus, and that he intended his small tract as

[a] Hæc Eusebius. Hippolytus autem de eisdem hebdomadibus opinatus est ita. Hieron. in Dan. cap ix. col. 1114. ed. Bened. [b] Scripsit in hunc prophetam Origenes duo volumina. ... Hippolytus quoque edidit commentarios. Hier. Pr. in Zachar. [c] Legisse me fateor.... Theophili, Antiochenæ urbis episcopi, commentarios; Hippolyti quoque martyris. Prolog. in Comm. super Matth.

[d] Hippolyti martyris verba ponamus. Ad Damasum, ep. 125. qu. 3. [e] Scilicet nunc enumerandum mihi est, qui ecclesiasticorum de impari numero disputârunt, Clemens, Hippolytus, Origenes; ... nostrorumque Tertullianus, Cyprianus, Lactantius. Ep. 30. al. 50. Nuper Sanctus Ambrosius sic Hexemeron illius compilavit, ut magis Hippolyti sententias Basilique sequeretur. Ep. 41. al. 65. [f] De sabbato quod quæris, utrum jejunandum sit; et de eucharistiâ, an accipienda quotidie, quod Romana ecclesia et Hispaniæ observare perhibentur, scripsit quidem et Hippolytus, vir disertissimus. Ep. 52. al. 28. [g] Ep. 83. al. 84.

[h] See before, note [e]. [i] Et ad Romanos per Hippolytum alteram. De Vir. Ill. cap. 69. [k] Και ἱερα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς ἐν Ῥωμῃ τῷ Διονυσίῳ φερείσης διακονίαν, διὰ Ἱππολύτου. Eus. l. vi. cap. 46. p. 248. A. [l] Φημι δε Κλήμης, και Εἰρηναιος, και Ἱππολυτος, και αλλοι πλειους, οι και θαυμαστως την καθ' αυτων πεποιηνται αναιρεσιν. Epiph. Haer. 30. c. 33. p. 205. B. [m] Vid. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T iii. P. ii. p. 17. St. Hippolyte. [n] Τῷ ἁγιῳ Ἱππολυτῳ, επισκοπῳ και μαρτυρος. Dial. i T. iv. p. 36. B. Vid. et Dial. ii. p. 88. A. Dial. iii. p. 155. Hæret. Fab. l. iii. cap. 1. p. 227. A. [o] Dial. i. p. 36. [p] Dial. ii. p. 88, 89. [q] Εκ τῳ λογῳ, τῳ εις την των ταλαντων διανομην. Ib. p. 88. A. [r] Dial. iii. p. 155. D. [s] Εκ τῳ λογῳ εις της δυο λῃστας. Ib. 156. A. [t] Haer. Fab. l. i. cap. 25.

[u] Ibid. l. iii. cap. 1. [x] Ἀτεγνωσθη βιβλιδαριον Ἱππολυτῳ. Μαθητης δε Εἰρηναιου ὁ Ἱππολυτος. Ην δε το συνταγμα καλα αἱρεσεων λβ'. Αρχην ποιημενον Δοσιθεανους, και μεχρι Νοητου και Νοητιανων διαλαμβανομενον. Ταυτας δε φησιν ελεγχοις ὑποβληθηναι ὁμιλουντος Εἰρηναιου· ὡν και συνοψιν ὁ Ἱππολυτος ποιεμενος τοδε το βιβλιον φησι συντεταχεναι. Την δε φρασιν σαφης ἐστι και ὑποσεμνος και απεριτιος, ει και προς τον Ατθικον ἐκ επιστρεφεται τον λογον. Λεγει δε αλλα τε τινα της ακριβειας λειπομενα, και ὁτι ἡ προς Ἑβραιους επιστολη ουκ ἐστι του αποστολου Παυλου. Phot. Bibl. Cod. 121. p. 301.

'an abridgment of what Irenæus had said His style,' says Photius, 'is clear, grave, and con-'cise, without aiming however at the Attic purity and elegance. Nevertheless he advances 'some things which are not right; particularly he says, that the epistle to the Hebrews is not 'the apostle Paul's.' Photius adds, that Hippolytus is said to have written many other pieces. This very much confirms the supposition, that Irenæus did not receive the epistle to the Hebrews as St. Paul's.[a]

In the other place, Photius gives an account of his Commentary upon Daniel, and the Discourse of Christ and Antichrist; and calls Hippolytus[b] bishop and martyr. With regard to the style of the former of these, Photius says 'it is clear, and such as is suitable to a commentary, 'though it is far from the Attic purity.' The character which this great critic gives of our author, though he dislikes and censures some things in him, is enough to make us regret the loss of so many, indeed almost all his works.

The whole of what Photius says of this commentary upon Daniel is so masterly, and so fine a model of criticism, that I cannot forbear inserting it here; though for the main it has been transcribed already by Du Pin and Mr. Tillemont. 'It is not,' Photius says, 'a continued 'explication of the prophet, nevertheless he omits nothing material. Many things are here 'expressed after the manner of the ancients, not with the exactness of later ages. But there 'is no reason to blame him on that account: for it would be unjust to find fault with those 'who have laid the foundations of any science, that they have not brought it to perfection; 'we ought rather to think ourselves obliged to them for their good endeavours, and leaving us 'such helps for farther improvement. But that he determines the appearance of Antichrist (at 'which time he also fixes the end of this visible world) to the year 500 from Christ, and the 'completion of 6000 years from the creation of the world; this is rather a mark of a warm fancy 'than of discretion, since Christ himself would not satisfy the disciples about such matters, 'though they desired him. This determination[c] therefore is to be imputed to human ignorance, 'not to illumination from above.'

It may not be improper to take some notice in this place of the extracts which Photius made out of Stephen Gobar's work, in which Hippolytus is mentioned several times. 'Stephen 'then,' as Photius assures[d] us, 'observes what opinion Hippolytus and Epiphanius had of 'Nicolas, one of the seven deacons, and that they strongly condemned him; whilst Ignatius, 'Clement, Eusebius, and Theodoret, though they condemned the heresy of the Nicolaitans, say 'that Nicolas was not such an one.' Stephen informs us farther,[e] 'that Hippolytus and Ire-'næus say, the epistle of Paul to the Hebrews is not his.' Finally, 'he[f] observes what opinion 'the blessed Hippolytus had of the heresy of the Montanists.'

We have now had a large testimony to the works of Hippolytus, and have seen him styled more than once bishop and martyr: but hitherto no discovery is made of the place either of his bishopric or martyrdom. However, there are writers of the fifth and following centuries, who mention the place of his bishopric; whether upon good ground or not, is not altogether certain. Gelasius, bishop of Rome in the latter end of the fifth century, calls Hippolytus[g] metropolitan of the Arabians, if[h] that passage be his, and not interpolated. Anastasius, presbyter of Rome in the seventh century, calls him[i] bishop of Portus Romanus. In[k] the Paschal Chronicle, composed about the same time, Hippolytus is styled martyr, and bishop of Portus near Rome; by others he is called bishop[l] of Rome, and[m] a Roman writer, and the like; whose passages may be seen in the testimonies collected by Fabricius, in his edition of[n] Hippolytus.

Modern authors are diviced in their opinions. Some have thought that he was bishop of

[a] See before, ch. xvii. p. 369. 370. [b] Ανεγνωσθη Ἱππολυτου επισκοπου και μαρτυρος ἑρμηνεια εις τον Δανιηλ, κ. λ. Cod. 102. p. 525. [c] Και ἡ αποφασις ανθρωπινης αγνοιας, αλλ' ουκ επιπνοιας της ανωθεν διελεγχει. Ph. Cod. 202. col. 525. [d] Ετι δε ποιας ὑποληψεις εσχεν Ἱππολυτος και Επιφανιος περι Νικολαου, του ἑνος των ζ διακονων, και ὁτι ισχυρως αυτον καταγινωσκουσιν. κ. λ. Phot. Bibl. Cod. 232. col. 901. n. 7, 8. [e] Ὁτι Ἱππολυτος και Ειρηναιος την προς Ἑβραιους επιστολην Παυλου, ουκ εκεινου ειναι φασιν. Ib. col. 904. n. 10. [f] Τινας ὑποληψεις ειχεν ὁ αγιωτατος Ἱππολυτος περι της των Μοντανιστων αἱρεσεως. Ibid. col. 904. n. 13.

[g] Hippolyti, episcopi et martyris Arabum metropolis, in memoriâ hæresium. Gelas. in Testimon. de duabus naturis in Christo. Bib. Patr. T. viii. p. 704. Lugd. [h] See Tillemont's remarks upon this testimony, Mem. Eccl. T. iii. P. ii. p. 339. Bruxelles. Note ii. sur S. Hippolyte.

[i] . . . testimonia ex dictis sancti Hippolyti, episcopi Portûs Romani, ac martyris Christi Dei nostri. Anastasius, presbyter, et apocrisiarius Romæ, in epistolâ ad Theodos. presbyterum Gangrensem, laudat. a Fabric. Op. S. Hippolyti, p. 225.

[k] Ἱππολυτος τοινον ὁ της ευσεβειας μαρτυρ, επισκοπος του καλουμενου Πορτου πλησιον της Ρωμης. Chr. Pasch. p. 6.

[l] Κλημης και Ἱππολυτος επισκοπος Ῥωμης. Leont. Byz.

[m] Και Ἱππολυτος ὁ Ῥωμαιος συγγραφευς. Niceph. C. Pol.

[n] S. Hippolyti Op. pp. 7—11. Hamb. 1716.

Porto, near the mouth of the Tiber. Le Moyne [a] thinks he was bishop of Portus Romanus, otherwise called Adan, or Aden, in Arabia Felix. Cave [b] and [c] Basnage, and many others, go readily into this sentiment. According to these learned men, Hippolytus was an Arabian, and bishop of Portus Romanus in that country; but afterwards (at what time, and upon what occasion, is unknown) he came to Rome, and resided there some time; where he became famous for his zeal and labours in preaching the gospel, and defending the Christian religion; where likewise, or near it, he might have the honour of suffering martyrdom.

Tillemont is more cautious in this respect: and thinks that since Eusebius, Jerom, and Theodoret were either plainly ignorant of the place where Hippolytus was bishop, or make no mention of it, it is not likely that later authors should teach us any thing certain, and that can be relied upon, in this matter. Tillemont discourses largely upon this question, in his second note upon Hippolytus. His own conjecture is, that Hippolytus might be bishop of some small city, the name of which was little known in the world; and that he has been supposed to have been bishop of Porto in Italy for no other reason, but that some person of the same name was martyred there, who perhaps came from the east, and in a long course of time was confounded with the great Hippolytus, bishop and martyr.

Prudentius has celebrated a martyr of this name, who suffered either at Portus or Ostia, near the mouth of the Tiber, whom Theodoric Ruinart [d] thinks to be our Hippolytus. But there are [e] arguments against that opinion, which to me appear unanswerable.

Dr. Heumann published some time ago a [f] curious dissertation, wherein he argues, that Hippolytus was not an ecclesiastical, but a civil bishop; probably warden or inspector of Portus Romanus or Ostia, an office of no small trust and honour. And he thinks that Hippolytus, though not a senator, was a Roman of quality, and an illustrious convert to the Christian religion. He allows him to have written most of the works generally ascribed to him; but he does not think that Hippolytus died a martyr.

How long Hippolytus lived, is unknown. As he is said to have been a martyr, some are disposed [g] to place his death in the persecution under Maximin, about the year 235; or else in the Decian persecution, about the year 250.

Though we are not able to determine with certainty the place of his bishopric, nor the place or time of his supposed martyrdom, and have scarce any history of his life, we have seen sufficient proof of his fame and great eminence for learning, and for the number of his works upon a variety of subjects. His having Origen for his hearer, is reckoned an argument that he was of the eastern part of the world: his being a disciple of Irenæus, might make us suspect that he was rather born and educated in the west. He certainly wrote in Greek. His works must have been well known in the east: this is evident from Eusebius's being acquainted with so many of them. He seems likewise to say that [h] they were lodged in the library at Jerusalem, erected by Alexander, bishop of that city. But I do not perceive that this will enable us to determine the age of Hippolytus. If indeed his works were placed there by Alexander himself, who died in the year 251, it might be argued by some that Hippolytus had died some time before: but their being there in Eusebius's time, is no proof that they were placed there by Alexander; for some might be so generous as to make additions to the library begun by that good bishop of Jerusalem. Nor is it impossible that some of these works might be lodged there by Alexander, in the life time of Hippolytus.

As this writer's works were evidently well known in the east, so a noble monument erected to his honour near Rome, seems to be a proof of his fame in Europe. Of this I must now give a short account. In the year 1551 was dug up in the neighbourhood of that city, a marble monument, with the image of a venerable person sitting in a chair: here likewise are engraved in Greek letters cycles of 16 years. Though there is no name remaining upon this monument, it is generally allowed to belong to our Hippolytus. Tillemont [i] says, nobody doubts but this canon is his.

[a] Vid. Steph. Le Moyne in Prolegomenis ad Varia Sacra; et Hippolyt. Fabric. p. 12. [b] Verum inter omnes hac de re sententias verisimillima videtur nupera Cl. Le Moyne conjectura, Hippolytum fuisse episcopum Portûs Romani in Arabiâ, εμπορια της Αραβιας a Ptolomæo vocati, ac postea Adanæ sive Adenæ nomen, quod et hodie retinet, adepti; Romanis mercatoribus perquam noti, et ab iis tunc temporis admodum frequentati. Cav. H. L. P. i. p. 66. Vid. et P. ii. p. 42, 43. [c] Basn. Ann. Pol. Ec. 222. n. vii.

[d] Vid. Acta Martyrum Sincera, p. 168.

[e] Vid. Basn. Ann. 222. n. viii. [f] Dissertatio, in quâ docetur, ubi, et qualis episcopus fuerit Hippolytus. Vid. Primitiæ Gottingenses, p. 239. 253. Hanover. 1738. 4to.

[g] See Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. ii. p. 12. [h] H. E. l. vi. cap. 20. [i] As before, p. 10.

Upon this monument there is likewise a table of titles of divers works. Some of them are the same with those mentioned by Eusebius and Jerom; others are titles of works which they have taken no notice of. Beside others, all which are not equally legible, here are these: 'Of 'the Pythoness; Of the Gospel of John, and the [a] Revelation; Against [b] the Greeks, and 'against Plato, and also of the Universe; An Exhortation to Severina,' which may be the epistle to a certain queen, mentioned by Theodoret; 'Hymns upon all the Scriptures.'

The late learned John Albert Fabricius has given us a very valuable edition of the remaining work and fragments of Hippolytus. But as there are several things ascribed to him without ground, and the pieces which are thought by some to be his are supposed to have been strangely interpolated, I shall now observe, as I promised at the beginning of this chapter, the judgments of divers learned men upon them.

Dodwell says: 'The [c] name of that blessed martyr has been so abused by impostors, that 'it is not easy to distinguish what is his: nor can I see how that monument, wherein so many 'of his matters are recounted, could be erected in the age wherein he suffered.' That is very right; it could not be erected immediately after his sufferings: but I suppose it cannot be questioned that this monument is of great antiquity. However, if there were any reason to think that this monument was not erected till some centuries (though a few only) after the death of Hippolytus, this would much weaken the authority of the catalogue of his works engraved upon it; and it might also help us to account for the differences between that catalogue and those in Eusebius and Jerom. Possibly the composer of the catalogue upon the monument confounded two persons of the same name, and ascribed several of the works of both to one.

Mill, who must be allowed a good judge in this matter, having [d] designed to publish this author's work, and [e] having made large preparations for it, expresses himself to this purpose in his Prolegomena to the New Testament: 'That [f] Hippolytus left behind him many works. But 'the pieces extant under his name are in a manner all spurious, except perhaps the treatise of 'Antichrist, which Combefis will have to be genuine.'

Grabe, in his notes upon bishop Bull's 'Defensio Fidei Nicenæ,' scruples to insist upon any passages in the treatise 'Of the End of the World, and Antichrist, and the Second Coming of 'our Lord Jesus Christ;' or in the other treatise, intitled 'A Demonstration concerning Christ 'and Antichrist;' affirming that [g] both these pieces are interpolated, especially the former: and that he has good reasons for this assertion, which he promises to shew more fully in another place.

The Benedictine editors of St. Ambrose's works, express themselves as if they [h] thought all the works of Hippolytus entirely lost.

Du Pin [i] says, the treatise of Christ and Antichrist is more ancient than the other, Of the End of the world, &c.: but he thinks that even that is not worthy of Hippolytus. Of the book against Noetus, Du Pin says, that though it is not really the work of Hippolytus, it contains the principles of the ancients concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. Tillemont [k] thinks it probable, that the forementioned book against Noetus, which we now have, is a fragment of Hippolytus's work against Heresies, and the conclusion of it. And it appears to him undoubted, that it was written by some author of the third century, the sentiments concerning the Trinity being so agreeable to those times.

Casimire [l] Oudin thinks the fragment of the work concerning the Universe, with the fragments in Theodoret's Dialogues, all we have remaining of this martyr's works.

[a] Ὑπερ τȣ κατα Ιωαννην ευαγγελιȣ και αποκαλυψεως.

[b] Προς Ἑλληνας και προς Πλατωνα, και περι τȣ παντος.

[c] See Mr Dodwell, in his Discourse concerning the Use of Incense in Divine Offices, p. 107. [d] Hanc [Διδασκαλιαν Ἱππολυτȣ] ex codice MSS. eruit, et cum reliquis Hippolyti operibus propediem editurus est Joannes Mill. . . a quo certiora de Hippolyto ejusque scriptis expectamus. Cav. Hist. Lit. P. i. p. 69. [e] Vid. Fabric. Hippolyt. in Præf. init.

[f] Scripsit alia haud pauca Hippolytus. Quæ autem sub nomine ejus feruntur, spuria fere sunt, excepto forsan tractatu de Antichristo, quem pro genuino venditat Combefisius Mill, Proleg. n. 655. [g] Reliqua certiora quidem sunt, attamen non omni prorsus dubio carent; quod utrumque Hippolyti scriptum, maxime prius, interpolatum esse videatur, ut in dicto spicilegio pluribus demonstrabo. Grabe, ap. Bull. Def. Fid. Nic. cap. 8. p. 95. [h] Duobus memoratis patribus insuper alios duos addit Hieronymus, Didymum . . ., et Hippolytum martyrem. Sed cum hujus opera temporum iniquitate perierint, quod Hieronymi adjiciamus testimonio, nihil habemus. Præfat. ad S. Ambros. Op. p. penult.

[i] Du Pin, Bibl. Hippolite. [k] Till. Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. ii. p. 16, 17. [l] Opinatus, hoc ferme unicum ex omnibus hujus martyris operibus superesse, cum fragmentis aliis, quæ Theodoretus in Dialogis refert. Oudin, de Scriptor. Ecc. T. i. col. 228.

Mr. Whiston, speaking of Hippolytus, says, 'We [a] have, I believe, one small genuine trea-'tise of his still extant, De Antichristo, published by the very learned Combefis; to which is 'added a very small piece, De Susanna, which, with his Paschal Cycle, seems to be all that is 'really his.'

The treatise of Christ and Antichrist was first published by Gudius in Greek, and afterwards by Combefis, with a Latin translation.

Basnage is not unwilling to allow this last-mentioned [b] piece to be the real and genuine work of Hippolytus, mentioned by Photius.

For a more particular critique upon the several works of Hippolytus, I would willingly refer my readers to Du Pin and Tillemont.

And if I may at last deliver my own opinion, I would say, though scarce any of them are altogether sincere and uncorrupted, there are few of which some good use may not be made by a man of candour and judgment.

Pearson [c] being of opinion, that the Apostolical Constitutions were composed in the fourth or fifth century, out of divers small pieces, called Doctrines, or Institutions, said to be written by Clement, Ignatius, Hippolytus, and others, supposes that a large part of the eighth book of the Constitutions consists of a like piece, ascribed to Hippolytus. What ground there is for this sentiment, may be seen in Pearson himself, and others [d] who espouse it, or have examined it. I apprehend that if the composer of the Constitutions did borrow from Hippolytus, it is nevertheless impossible for us now to determine with certainty what is his; and therefore I think I may defer the farther consideration of this opinion till I come to speak distinctly of the Constitutions, which I see no reason to do as yet. If my memory does not fail me, there is no notice taken of this matter by Du Pin, or Tillemont, or Oudin, in their history of Hippolytus and his works: either therefore they were entirely ignorant of it, or they did not think it worthy of their regard. One of the titles upon the fore mentioned monument, is [e] 'The Apos-'tolical Tradition concerning Gifts' of the Spirit; and it has been argued that this means Hippolytus's Didascalia, or Institution, supposed to be now inserted in the eighth book of the Constitutions. But all that Mr. Tillemont says of that title is, that probably [f] it is some book written against the Montanists.

Mill, in his edition of the New Testament, a work of prodigious labour and extensive use, and above all my commendations, prefixes to each book of that sacred volume testimonies of ancient Christian writers: and before the four gospels are so many testimonies, under the name of Hippolytus. Two of those testimonies or passages, those prefixed to St. Matthew's and St. John's gospels, are taken out of a little book, intitled 'Of the Twelve Apostles;' the other two, prefixed to St. Mark's and St. Luke's gospels, are taken out of another little piece (though undoubtedly somewhat longer than the former) intitled, 'Of the Seventy or Seventy-two Disciples.' And among the testimonies prefixed to St. John's gospel, that called Hippolytus's is placed between Clement of Alexandria and Origen; which might well dispose some persons to think, that the Hippolytus hereby intended is our Hippolytus of the third century; though it is now well known to the learned, and universally agreed, that our Hippolytus is not the author of those two pieces, but that they were composed by Hippolytus Thebanus, in the tenth or eleventh century, or by some late writer: so that I thought I had no reason to take any notice of either of these pieces in my account of Hippolytus's works. Nor should I have done it now, if I had not accidentally cast my eye upon one of those testimonies in Mill's New Testament, which I think are very improperly placed, and might mislead some persons. They are indeed of little or no value. In the book or catalogue of the seventy disciples, it is said of the evangelists Mark and Luke, 'That they two were of Christ's seventy disciples, and that they were dis-'persed by the word which Christ spoke: "[g] Unless a man eat my flesh and drink my blood,

[a] See Essay on the Apostolical Const. ch. iv. or, Primitive Christianity revived, vol. iii. p. 402.

[b] Extant hodie duæ de Antichristo homiliæ sub nomine Hippolyti. Prior titulum habet, De Consummatione Mundi, et Antichristo; posterior, De Antichristo.... Ac posterior quidem est Hippolyto longe dignior: nobisque ea insidet sententia, quod illa ipsi est de quâ mentionem movit Photius. Basnag. Ann. 222. n. x.

[c] Vid. Pearson, Vind. Ignat. Part i. cap. 4.

[d] Vid. Grabe. Spic. Patr. T. i. p. 43. et p. 284. 285. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 208. Hippolyt. ex ed. Fabric. p. 248, &c. Cav. Hist. Lit. in Hippolyto. Mr Robert Turner's Discourse of the pretended Apostolical Constitutions, ch. 24. p. 287, &c.

[e] Περι χαρισματων αποστολικη παραδοσις.

[f] Outre ces ouvrages, cette table marque encore un écrit Des dons [du Saint Esprit;] De la Tradition Apostolique; ou de la Tradition Apostolique sur les dons; apparemment pour refutér les Montanistes. Tillemont, M. E. T. iii. P. ii. p. 15. Saint Hippolyte.

[g] See John vi. 53, and 60.

'he is not worthy of me." But the one being brought back again to Christ by Peter, and the 'other by Paul, they both had the honour to write a gospel [or, to preach the gospel,] for 'which they suffered martyrdom; one being burnt to death, the other crucified upon an 'olive tree.' But such stories as these deserve no regard, unless they were to be found in some writings unquestionably ancient.

That every one who needs it may have full satisfaction concerning these pieces, I shall place in the margin the judgments of two or three learned men upon them, particularly [a] Cave and [b] Du Pin; which last learned writer says, these pieces contain divers fictions of the modern Greeks. Fabricius, in his account of our Hippolytus, called Portuensis, gives [c] a large catalogue of his works, without mentioning either of these; and afterwards, in his article of the latter Hippolytus, called Thebanus, he says that [d] both these books are to be accounted his.

In what is here said, it is not intended to cast any reflection upon Mill, for whom I have a profound respect. The greatest men upon earth are liable to some oversights amidst the labours of such a work as his New Testament.

I. Having now at length, I hope, cleared the way, I proceed to represent this author's testimony to the books of the New Testament: and I shall make my extracts chiefly out of the fragments of Hippolytus, preserved in Theodoret, which are unquestionably genuine. These alone bear testimony to the gospels, and to many particular and principal facts recorded in them, and to divers other books of scripture. Beside those fragments, I may also make some use of 'the Demonstrations concerning Christ and Antichrist,' the fragment of the treatise 'Of the 'Universe,' and the book against Noetus.

II. Theodoret then expressly quotes Hippolytus, bishop and martyr, as saying in his epistle to a certain queen: 'Therefore he [e] calls him the "first fruits of them that slept," and "the first 'born from the dead;" who being risen, and willing to shew that what had risen was the same 'that had died, his disciples doubting, he called Thomas to him, and said, "Handle me, and 'see; for a spirit has not flesh and bones as ye see me have."' Hippolytus here cites the gospels inaccurately, and as is probable, by memory only. But that we here have his words right, we are farther assured by another place of Theodoret; where he has quoted again [f] this same passage, just as it is here. 1 Cor. xv. 10; Col. i. 18; Rev. i. 5; John xx. 22; Luke xxiv. 39.

III. Presently after the forecited passages, Theodoret quotes another from the Discourse of Hippolytus upon Elkanah and Hannah, where the first epistle to the Corinthians is quoted again in this manner: 'As [g] the apostle says, 1 Cor. v. 7, "For Christ, God, our passover is sacrificed for us."'

IV. It is worth the while to take some more passages of Hippolytus, cited presently after by Theodoret, out of the Discourse upon the 'great Hymn,' as he calls it, and other pieces. 'They '[h] who do not acknowledge the Son of God incarnate, shall acknowledge him when he comes 'as judge in glory, even him who now is abused in an inglorious body.' The same author, in the same Discourse: 'For the apostles coming to the sepulchre on the third day, "found not 'the body of Jesus." Luke xxiv. 3, as the children of Israel, when they went up to the moun-'tain to seek the grave of Moses, found it not.' The same author, in his commentary upon the second Psalm: 'He coming into the world, appeared to be God and man. His humanity 'is easily perceived, when [i] he hungers, and [k] is weary, and [l] being weary thirsts, and [m] fearing

[a] De XII. Apostolis, ubinam quisque prædicârit, et consummatus sit, Judiculus. Hippolyto juniori potius tribuendus. Cave, de Hippolyto Portuensi, Hist. Lit. P. i. p. 70. Hippolytus, patriâ Thebanus, quem cum Hippolyto Portuensi male confundunt nonnulli, claruit circa ann. 933. . . Hunc etiam, ut videtur, auctorem habet Judiculus de XII. Apostolis, sub Hippolyti senioris nomine Gr. L. a Combefisio editus. Id. ibid. p. 580. [b] Le petit opuscule de la vie des Douze Apôtres, et de leurs actions, que le pere Combefis a fait imprimer . . . n'est point d' Hippolite, et contient plusieurs fictions des nouveaux Grecs, touchant la mort des Apôtres. On doit porter le même jugement d'un livre écrit à peu près sur un même sujet, attribué au même auteur, touchant les Soixante et Douze Disciples de Jesus Christ. Du Pin Bib. Hippolyte.

[c] Vid. Fab. Bib. Gr. l. v. cap. i. sect. 25. T. v. p. 203—214.

[d] Sed et opusculum, quod de XII. Apostolis, sub Hippolyti nomine, laudat Cotelerius. . . atque integrum vulgavit cum versione suâ Combefisius. . . . et quæ de LXXII. Discipulis habet Baronius, . . . ex Hippolyti Thebani Chronico petita videntur. Fabr. ib. p. 212.

[e] Τὰ αὐτὰ, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς βασιλίδά τινα ἐπιστολῆς· Ἀπαρχὴν αὐτὸν λέγει τῶν κεκοιμημένων, ὃς πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν ὀφθεὶς ἀνέστας, καὶ βουλόμενος ἐπιδεικνύναι, ὅτι περ ἦν τὸ ἐγηγερμένον, ὅπερ ἦν καὶ ἀπεθνήσκον, διστάζοντων τῶν μαθητῶν, προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Θωμᾶν, ἔφη· Δεῦρο ψηλάφησόν με, ὅτι πνεῦμα ὀστᾶ καὶ σάρκα οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα. Ap. Theodoret. Dial. ii. p. 88. B. T. iv.

[f] Dial. iii. p. 155. D.

[g] Ὡς ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει· τὸ δὲ πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστὸς ὁ Θεός. Ibid. Dial. ii. p. 88. C.

[h] Οἱ γὰρ τὸν Υἱὸν τὸν Θεὸν ἐνσαρκον μὴ ἐπιγινώσκοντες, ἐπιγνώσονται αὐτὸν κριτὴν ἐν δόξῃ παραγινόμενον, τὸν νῦν ἐν ἀδόξῳ σώματι ὑβριζόμενον. Ib. p. 89. A. B.

[i] Matth. iv. 2. [k] John iv. 6. [l] John iv. 7. or ch. xix. 28. [m] Matth. ii. 13, 14; xii. 14, 15; John iv. 3, and other places.

'flees, and [a] praying is sorrowful, and [b] sleeps upon a pillow, and [c] deprecates the cup of his 'passion, and [d] "being in agony sweats, and is strengthened by an angel," and [e] is betrayed 'by Judas, and [f] insulted by Caiaphas, and set at nought [g] by Herod, and [h] scourged by Pilate, 'and [i] derided by the soldiers, and [k] is fastened to the cross by the Jews, and "crying with a 'loud voice,' commends his spirit to the Father;" and [m] "bowing his head, giveth up the 'ghost;" and [n] his "side is pierced with a spear," and [o] "being wrapped in fine linen," he is 'laid in a sepulchre; and [p] on the third day is raised by the Father. His divinity also is clearly 'perceived, when [q] he is worshipped by angels, and [r] visited by the shepherds, and [s] expected 'by Simeon, and [t] receives testimony from Anna, and [u] is enquired for by the wise men, and [x] 'is shewn by a star, and [y] when he turns water into wine at a wedding, and [z] rebukes the sea, 'violently agitated by the winds, and [aa] walks upon the sea, and [bb] gives sight to a blind man 'from his birth, and [cc] raises Lazarus who had been dead four days, and performs various works 'of power, and forgives [dd] sins, and [ee] gives power to his disciples.'

Much the same things are found again in the last chapter of the book against Noetus: and, if I mistake not, this passage mightily answers the character which Photius gave of this writer's style, that [ff] it is concise, or free from superfluities. Here are references to all the four gospels; and many things are mentioned which are recorded in each of them.

V. In other passages of Hippolytus, cited by Theodoret, is notice taken of the birth of Jesus, at [gg] Bethlehem, 'of a virgin and the Holy Spirit;' where he must refer to the first chapter of St. Matthew's or St. Luke's gospel

VI. He may be supposed to refer to Acts x. 40, in those words before cited: 'On the third 'day is raised by the Father.' He may be reckoned likewise to have an eye to the first chapter of the Acts, and to chapter xxvi. 23, when in a passage preserved in Theodoret [hh] he speaks of Christ's ascending at Pentecost, and of his being the first that ascended into the heavens. I suppose it cannot be doubted but Hippolytus received the Acts of the apostles. Beside what is alleged here, this may be also argued from what was before cited from Photius: That Stephen [ii] Gobar observes, what opinion Hippolytus had of Nicolas, one of the seven deacons.

VII. It may be also reckoned undoubted, that he received thirteen epistles of St. Paul, and most other books of the New Testament; but the epistle to the Hebrews he did not allow to be St. Paul's, as [kk] was observed formerly. But we should have been glad to have seen his arguments and reasonings upon that matter, if he made use of any.

VIII. His opinion of the disputed catholic epistles, that of James, the second of Peter, the second and third of John, and the epistle of Jude, does not appear very manifest from his remaining works or fragments; where scarce any of these are quoted, except that there is [ll] a reference to 2 Pet. i. 21, in the book Of Christ and Antichrist.

IX. The book of the Revelation was received by Hippolytus as the apostle John's. About this there can be no question made. Jerom, in the catalogue of his works, mentions one intitled 'Of the Revelation.' One of the titles upon the monument before mentioned is, 'Of 'the Gospel according to John, and the Revelation.' Mill thinks [mm] that this was a defence of both these books of scripture; which is perfectly agreeable to the description which [nn] Ebedjesu

[a] Matth. xxvi. 37. [b] Mark iv. 38.
[c] Matth. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. [d] Luke xxii. 43, 44. [e] Matth. xxvi. and other gospels.
[f] Matth. xxvi. 65. [g] Luke xxiii. 11.
[h] Matth. xxvii. 26. John xix. 1. [i] Matth. xxvii. 27. Mark xv. 16. Luke xxiii. 36. John xix. 2.
[k] Matth. xxvii. 35. [l] Luke xiii. 46.
[m] John xix. 30. [n] . . . . ver. 34. [o] Matth. xxvii. 59, 60. Mark xv. 46. Luke xxiii. 53. John xix. 40.
[p] Acts x. 40. [q] Luke ii. 13, 14.
[r] Ver. 15, 16, 17. [s] Luke ii. 25.
[t] Ver. 36, 37, 38. [u] Matth. ii. 12.
[x] . . . . ver. 2. 9. [y] John ii. 1, . . . 11.
[z] Matth. viii. 26. Mark iv. Luke viii. [aa] Matth. xiv. 25, 26. Mark vi. 48, 49. John vi. 19.
[bb] John ix. 1, . . . 7. [cc] John xi. and xii. 17.
[dd] Matth. ix. 2. 6. Mark ii. 10. Luke vii. 48, 49.
[ee] Matth. x. 1. Mark iii. 15, vi. 7. Luke ix. 1, x. 19, xxiv. 49. John xx. 22, 23. [ff] Και απερίττος. Phot. Cod. 121. col. 301. [gg] Ὁ δε Κυριος αναμαρτήτος ην, εκ των ασηπτων ξυλων το καθ' ανθρωπον, τεθ' εξιν εκ της παρθενε και τθ Αγιε Πνευματος . . Αγε δη μοι, ω Σαμουηλ, εις Βηθλεεμ ἐλκομενην την δαμαλιν, ἱνα επιτειξης τον εκ Δαβιδ βασιλεα τικτομενον. . . . Ειπε μοι, ω μακαρια Μαρια, τι ην το ὑπο σε εν τη κοιλια συνειλημμενον, και τι ην το ὑπο σε εν παρθενικη μητρα βαστάζομενον; Ap. Theodoret. Dial. i. p. 36. B. C. D.
[hh] Εν δε τη πεντηκοστη ἱνα προσημανη την των ὀρανων βασιλειαν, αὐθις πρωτος εις ὀρανες ανεβας, και τον ανθρωπον δωρον τω Θεω προσενεγκας.' Ap. Theodoret. Dial. ii. p. 88. C.
[ii] See before, p. 497. [kk] See p. 496, 497.
[ll] Hippolyt. Op. p. 5. [mm] Cum hoc, inquam, vidisset martyr, necessarium duxerit, S. Joannis operum vindicias agere. Mill, Proleg. n. 654. [nn] Sanctus Hippolytus, martyr et episcopus, composuit librum de dispensatione: . . . et apologiam pro apocalypsi et evangelio Joannis apostoli & evangelistæ. Ebedjes. Catalog. Lib. Syr. cap. 7. ap. Assem. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 15.

gives of one of the works of Hippolytus, and undoubtedly meaning this. We saw formerly[a] a reference to the Revelation in the fragment of the treatise 'Of the Universe;' it is largely quoted in the 'Demonstration concerning Christ and Antichrist.' Here it is said, 'That[b] John saw 'the revelation of tremendous mysteries in the Isle of Patmos, which he also made known to 'others.' He is here called 'blessed John, apostle and disciple of the Lord;' and again, 'prophet[c] and apostle;' prophet, no doubt, with regard to this book. Andrew of Cæsarea, about the year 500 in his Commentary upon the Revelation, several times mentions our author's interpretations of things recorded in that book. Andrew's passages are collected by [d] Fabricius, and may be seen in his edition of Hippolytus.

X. The respect for the sacred scriptures appears in the 'Demonstration concerning Christ 'and Antichrist.' At the beginning of that work the author tells Theophilus, to whom he writes, 'That[e] in order to give him instruction in the things about which he enquires, he will 'draw out of the sacred fountain, and set before him, from the sacred scriptures themselves, 'what may afford him satisfaction.' He then quotes immediately both Paul's epistles to Timothy, and afterwards many books of the New Testament. And near the conclusion of the same work, he says, 'Two different[f] advents therefore of our Lord and Saviour have been 'shewn out of the scriptures; the first inglorious in the flesh, the other glorious.' He mentions this division of all the books of sacred scripture,[g] 'the law, prophets, gospels, and apostles.'

XI. Dr. Mill has observed[h] some readings in this book different from our present copies. I shall take notice of but one, 2 Tim. ii. 2. 'the[i] things which thou hast heard of me in many 'discourses,' instead of, 'among many witnesses.' Mill thinks this to be an explication only, and not a true reading.

I have no occasion to sum up this testimony; it is easy to see in these numbers what it is.

CHAP. XXXVI.

AMMONIUS.

I. *Ammonius: his History, and Testimony to the Books of the New Testament.* II. Qu. *Whether Tatian's and Ammonius's Harmonies are now extant?* III. *Extracts out of a Latin Harmony ascribed to Tatian.* IV. *Extracts out of a Latin Harmony ascribed to Ammonius.*

Porphyry, in his work which he wrote against the Christians, as cited by Eusebius, says of Ammonius, the celebrated philosopher of Alexandria, master of Plotinus and other eminent men, 'That[k] having been educated a Christian by Christian parents, as soon as he came to years 'of understanding, and had a taste of philosophy, he presently betook himself to a life agree-'able to the laws.' To which Eusebius says, 'That[l] it is a notorious falsehood, to say he 'exchanged Christianity for Gentilism; for Ammonius maintained sincere and uncorrupted

[a] Ch. xxxii. at the end. [b] Οὗτος γαρ εν Πατμῳ τη νησῳ ων, ὁρᾳ αποκαλυψιν μυστηριων φρικτων, ἁτινα διηγουμενος αφθονως και ἑτερους διδασκει. Λεγε μοι, μακαριε Ιωαννη, αποστολε και μαθητα του Κυριου, τι ειδες και ηκουσας περι Βαβυλωνος. De Chr. et Ant. sect. 30. p. 18. [c] Λεγει γαρ ὁ προφητης και αποστολος. Ib. sect. 50. p. 25. [d] P. 34, 35.

[e] Βουληθεντος σου κατ' ακριβειαν εκμαθειν τα προτεθεντα σοι ὑπ' εμου κεφαλαια, αγαπητε μου αδελφε Θεοφιλε, ευλογον ἡγησαμην αφθονως αρυσαμενος ὡς εξ ἁγιας πηγης, εξ ἁγιων γραφων παραστησαι σοι κατ' οφθαλμων τα ζητουμενα. De Chr. et Ant. sect. 1.

[f] Ὡσπερ γαρ δυο παρουσιαι του Κυριου και Σωτηρος ἡμων δια γραφων εδειχθησαν. Ib. sect. 44. [g] Εσφαλησαν, εν κατα παντα, εν μηδενι συμφωνοι τη αληθειᾳ ευρισκομενοι, μητε κατα τον νομον. . . μητε κατα τους προφητας . . . μητε κατα την των ευαγγελιων φωνην . . . μητε τοις αποστολοις πειθομενοι. Ib. sect. 58. [h] Prol. n. 655, 656. [i] Και ἁ ηκουσας παρ' εμου δια πολλων παρακλησεων. Ib. sect. 1.

[k] Αμμωνιος μεν γαρ Χριστιανος εν Χριστιανοις ανατραφεις τοις γονευσιν, ὁτε του φρονειν και της φιλοσοφιας ἡψατο, ευθυς προς την κατα νομους πολιτειαν μετεβαλετο. Apud Eus. H. E. l. vi. cap. 19. p. 220. B. [l] Ψευσαμενῳ δε σαφως . . . τον δ' Αμμωνιον εκ βιου του κατα την θεοσεβειαν, επι τον εθνικον τροπον εκπεσειν . . . τῳ τε Αμμωνιῳ τα της ενθεου φιλοσοφιας ακεραια και αδιαπτωτα, και μεχρις εσχατης του βιου διεμενε τελευτης· ὡς που και οἱ τ' ανδρος εισετι νυν μαρτυρουσι πονοι, δι' ὡν κατελιπε συγγραμματων παρα τοις πλειστοις ευδοκιμουντος· ὡσπερ ουν και ὁ επιγεγραμμενος περι της Μωυσεως και Ιησου συμφωνιας, και ὁσοι αλλοι παρα τοις φιλοκαλοις εὑρηνται. Ib. p. 220. D. 221. A.

'the doctrine of the divine philosophy to the end of his life, as his works which he left behind 'him still testify, and for which he is in great repute; as the treatise intitled, Of the Consent 'of Moses and Jesus, and divers others, which may be found with the curious.'

After Eusebius, St. Jerom, in his book of Illustrious Men, writes to this purpose: 'At that 'time [the person last spoken of is Origen] Ammonius, an eloquent and very learned man, was 'famous at Alexandria; who, among many excellent monuments of his wit, composed also an 'elegant work of the Consent of Moses and Jesus, and [a] invented the Evangelical Canons, 'which Eusebius of Cæsarea afterwards followed. This person is falsely reproached by Por-'phyry, that of a Christian he became a heathen; when it is certain, he continued a Christian 'to the end of his life.'

And to this day it has been the general opinion of learned men, that Ammonius Saccas, the celebrated Alexandrian philosopher, and the author of these two Christian works, as well as of other pieces upon the same principles, are one and the same person. Tillemont[b] says, he does not see that any one doubts of it: but that manner of expression seems to shew, that he himself had some suspicion to the contrary. And [c] Fabricius has openly called into question this supposition, and I think demonstrated, beyond dispute, that they are two different persons. I shall only observe, that Porphyry was nearer Ammonius Saccas than Eusebius; that he could not but be well informed by his master Plotinus, who spent [d] eleven years with Ammonius: and besides, we are assured by Longinus, another disciple of Ammonius Saccas, that he never wrote any thing. This may be sufficient to satisfy us that the writings, of which Eusebius and St. Jerom speak, are not to be ascribed to Ammonius Saccas. I have no occasion, therefore, to add any thing farther relating to the history of that heathen philosopher, as one would think every one must allow him to be, who reads Porphyry's life of Plotinus.

Who Ammonius was who composed these Christian books, and continued a Christian all his days, cannot be now certainly known. Eusebius has mentioned one of the same name, a presbyter[e] of Alexandria, who suffered martyrdom in the Dioclesian persecution: and one might be apt to think that this was the man, if Eusebius had not been of a different mind. However, it may be argued that St. Jerom had some reason to think his Ammonius younger than Origen, since in the Catalogue he is placed after him: which would be improperly done, if he was satisfied that he was the same Ammonius[f] who was Origen's master in philosophy; and who was plainly somewhat, though not a great deal, older than his scholar. Accordingly Origen is placed by Cave at the year 230, and Ammonius at 220. It might be added, for supporting this conjecture, that in the titles of the chapters of St Jerom's Catalogue, Ammonius is called presbyter; and by Eusebius and Jerom, and every body, the author of this Harmony is called an Alexandrian: all which considerations might lead us to the Alexandrian presbyter and martyr of this name, if Eusebius's opinion upon the point did not lie as a bar in our way; for it may be reckoned somewhat probable, that if the author of the Harmony had been his contemporary, or had lived very near his own time, he must have known it. I therefore speak of Ammonius, the author of the Harmony, at the year 220, where he is placed by Cave, without presuming to determine his time; though I differ from him, and most other learned men, in thinking that he is not the same with Ammonius Saccas

We have seen two writings ascribed to Ammonius, the Consent of Moses and Jesus, and Evangelical Canons, as St. Jerom calls them. The former is quite lost; of the latter we have this farther account in antiquity. Eusebius himself, in his letter to Carpian, says, 'That Am-'monius [g] of Alexandria had left us a gospel composed out of the four with great pains and 'labour, subjoining [h] to Matthew's gospel the consonant passages [or sections] of the other 'evangelists.....and that, taking occasion from the work of the forementioned writer, he had 'composed, in another method, ten canons in number, which are there subjoined.'

[a] . . . et evangelicos canones excogitavit, quos postea secutus est Eusebius Cæsariensis. Hunc falso accusat Porphyrius, quod ex Christianis Ethnicus fuerit, cum constet eum usque ad extremam vitam Christianum perseverâsse. De Vir. Ill. cap. 55. Nous ne voyons point que personne doute qu' Ammone, auteur de la Concorde, ne soit le même que le philosophe. Mem. T. iii. P. ii. Ammone. note 2. p. 390.

[b] Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. iv. p. 160, 161. 172. et. seq.

[c] Porph. de Vit. Plotin. cap. 3. Conferatur Conspectus [illegible] Plotini, apud Fabric. Bib. Gr. lib. iv. cap. 26. init.

[d] Eus. l. viii. cap. 13. p. 308. C.

[e] Vid. Euseb. ib. l. vi. c. 19. p. 220. B. 221. B. C.

[f] Αμμωνιος μεν ὁ Αλεξανδρευς, πολλην, ὡς εικος, φιλοπονιαν και σπουδην εισαγηοχως, το δια τεσσαρων ημιν καταλελοιπεν ευαγγελιον, τω κατα Ματθαιον τας ὁμοφωνους των λοιπων ευαγγελιστων περικοπας παραθεις . . . εκ τε πονηματος τε προειρημενε ανδρος ειληφως αφορμας, καθ' ἑτεραν μεθοδον κανονας δεκα τον αριθμον διεχαραξα σοι τους ὑποτεταγμενους. Euseb. Ep. ad Carp.

[h] Subjoining, &c.] According to Mr. Wetstein's interpretation of the original words, I should have translated after

St. Jerom, in his preface to the four gospels, expresseth himself thus of this author: 'I have 'also put [a] down the Canons which Eusebius, bishop of Cesarea, disposed into ten numbers, fol- 'lowing Ammonius of Alexandria.'

Cassiodorius [b] ascribes the Canons to Eusebius, without mentioning Ammonius.

Victor of Capua says, 'I have [c] understood that Ammonius of Alexandria, who is also said 'to be the inventor of the Evangelic Canons, joined the passages of the three [other] evange- 'lists with Matthew, and composed a gospel in a continued series of narration. Eusebius, in 'his epistle to one Carpian, in the preface to his edition of the forementioned Canons, pro- 'fesses to have imitated the design of that person.'

Zachary of Chrysopolis, in the 12th century, who wrote a commentary upon the Gospel of the Four, supposed to have been composed by Ammonius, expresses [d] himself much after the same manner: but I do not think it needful to translate his words.

Upon the whole, though St. Jerom says that Eusebius followed Ammonius, and even reckons the Evangelic Canons among the works of Ammonius, they may have been properly Eusebius's invention, whilst yet the Harmony of Ammonius had been the occasion of that thought; which I think is all that Eusebius's words import: and his account of his own work may be justly reckoned the most authentic and exact.

All that I have said of Ammonius, is only to shew that there was such a work, called a Gospel of the Four, or a Harmony of the Four Gospels, composed before Eusebius's time by some learned Alexandrian, named Ammonius. The testimonies here alleged afford full proof of this matter, and leave no room to doubt of it: though we do not know exactly who this Ammonius was. This is satisfactory evidence that there were four authentic gospels, and no more, in use in the church; and this work is likewise a proof of the zeal of the Christians for those writings, and of their care about them.

II. But before I conclude this chapter, I shall proceed a little farther: for this may be reckoned a fit opportunity for examining two Harmonies of the Gospels, which we now have in Latin; the one ascribed to Tatian in the second, the other to Ammonius in the third century. What the most ancient writers have said of Tatian's Harmony, has been observed [e] formerly; as now, what they have said of that composed by Ammonius. Whether either of these is now extant, is not absolutely certain. However, I shall take notice of the judgments of several learned moderns upon those we have, and then make some remarks upon each of them.

Cave is not unwilling [f] to allow both the Harmonies of these two learned ancients to be still extant: only he thinks that, sometimes called Ammonius's, ought to be reckoned Tatian's; as on the contrary that the other, sometimes called Tatian's, ought to be given to Ammonius.

Mill [g] thinks the short one, which is the same Cave supposes to be Tatian's, cannot be really his; but is rather an epitome of the gospels composed by some learned catholic writer long after Tatian, in the fifth century: but the Harmony of Ammonius he [h] supposes to be still extant, which is the larger of these two we now have in Latin. And here he and Cave agree.

Mr. Jo. James Wetstein [i] thinks, there is now no where one copy extant of Tatian's Harmony, of which Theodoret saw so many; nor will he [k] allow the other to have been composed by Ammonius, but thinks it the work of some writer since Eusebius, for which he offers

this manner: 'Setting over against Matthew's gospel the 'parallel sections,' &c. For he says, Codex Latinus exhibet quatuor evangelistas in unum conflatos: Ammonius autem quaternis columnis quatuor evangelistas distincte descripserat; hæc enim est vis verbi παραθεις, i. e. juxta Matthæum reliquos apposuit. Prolegom. cap. vi. p. 67. But Eusebius uses that verb barely for 'alleging, subjoining, putting down,' and the like. Thus: Γαϊος, οὐ φωνας ηδη προτερον παρατεθειμαι, κ. λ. H. E. l. iii. cap. 28. init. So likewise Origen: Πολυ δε εστι νυν παρατιθεσθαι τε Ἡρακλεωνος τα ῥητα, κ. λ. Com. in Joh. Tom. xiv. p. 211. D. Huet. [a] Canones quoque, quos Eusebius Cæsariensis episcopus, Alexandrinum sequutus Ammonium, in decem numeros ordinavit, sicut in Græco habentur, expressimus. Hieronym. Præf. in Quatuor Evangelia. [b] Eusebius quoque Cæsariensis canones evangelicos compendiosâ brevitate collegit. Cassiodor. de Instit. Divin. Lit. cap. 7. [c] Reperi Ammonium quemdam Alexandrinum, qui canonum quoque evangelii fertur inventor, Matthæi evangelio reliquorum trium excerpta junxisse, ac in unam seriem evangelium nexuisse. Sicut Eusebius episcopus Carpiano cuidam scribens..... supradicti viri imitatus studium, refert in hunc modum. Vict. Cap. Præf. &c. apud Biblioth. Max. Lugdun. Tom. iii. p. 265.

[d] Unum ex quatuor evangelistarum dictis evangelium claro studio composuit Ammonius Alexandrinus, qui canonum quoque evangelii fertur inventor.... Zachar. Chrysop. Præf. ap. Bibl. Patr. Max. Tom. xix. p. 741. H. [e] Chap. 13. p. 354, 355. [f] Cav. Hist. Lit. P. ii. in Ammonio.

[g] Prolegom. in N. T. numb. 353. Vid. et n. 351, 352.

[h] Id. ibid. n. 660 – 666.

[i] Prolegom. ad Nov. Test. Græci edit. accuratissimam, p. 65. [k] Ibid. p. 66, 67.

divers reasons. Valesius [a] is of opinion, that the shorter Harmony, called Tatian's, is the work of some catholic Christian, and therefore not his. I shall consider his arguments presently. These are the judgments of moderns.

Victor of Capua, when he had found that which is the same with our larger Harmony, took it for [b] Tatian's, though indeed [c] he was not positive: however it is very probable he was mistaken, since it has the genealogies. Zachary before mentioned commented upon the same Harmony as Ammonius's, and took it for granted that Tatian's [d] was quite lost. But herein he might be mistaken; it might be extant, though he did not know it: and we have been lately assured by Dr. Asseman, that [e] Tatian's Diatessaron, or Gospel of the Four, is now in the Vatican Library, in the Arabic language: it is one of the books which he brought out of the east. I wish we had a more particular account of that Arabic Diatessaron; though the Greek, if it could be found, would be a much greater curiosity.

Valesius [f] has three arguments to prove, that the shorter of our two Harmonies is not Tatian's: that Tatian's Harmony was composed in the very words of the evangelists, leaving out only our Lord's genealogy from David; which plainly is not the method of our Harmony: that in the work we have, Christ is more than once called 'the son of David,' which Tatian had nothing of in his Diatessaron: lastly, that here our Saviour's ministry consists of three years, whereas the ancients allowed it no more than the space of one year.

As for the first difficulty, I know of no good authority we have for thinking that Tatian's Harmony was composed in the very words of the evangelists. The third objection I hope to answer in my remarks upon this work, and extracts out of it, by and by. But the second argument insisted on by Valesius is of considerable weight; for Theodoret's words are, that [g] 'Tatian, in his Diatessaron, left out the genealogies, and every thing else that shews our Lord 'to have been born of the seed of David, according to the flesh.' And if Theodoret's words are to be understood strictly, that Tatian not only omitted the genealogies which shewed our Lord's descent from David, but also all those places of the gospels where Jesus is spoken of occasionally as 'the son of David,' I see no way of answering this difficulty.

Otherwise, there are several things very favourable to the supposition, that this is Tatian's Harmony. It has an air of politeness in the style and method of it, even in the Latin translation, which suit Tatian well enough; who, as Eusebius says, 'had [h] the assurance to alter 'some words of the apostle Paul, and correct the composition and order of his style.' It answers the description which Theodoret gives of Tatian's performance, in two respects; it wants the genealogies and is very compendious. There are here also some marks of antiquity, as may appear hereafter: and from Dr. Asseman I learn, that Dionysius Bar-Salibi, bishop of Amida in Mesopotamia, in [i] the twelfth century, who was well acquainted with [k] Ephrem's writings upon the gospels, writes [l] in his preface to St. Mark's gospel, speaking of Tatian's Diatessaron, 'that St. Ephrem wrote commentaries upon that work, the beginning of which is "In the beginning was the Word;" which are the first words of our shorter Latin Harmony.

This must be of considerable importance to Tatian, if it may be relied upon: I say, if it

[a] Vales. Not. ad Euseb. l. iv. cap. 29.

[b] Tatianus quoque.... hoc evangelium (ut mihi videtur) solerti compaginatione disposuit.... Arbitror enim propterea non Ammonii, sed hujus [Tatiani] esse editionem memorati voluminis.... Victor. Præfat. ap. Bib. Patr. T. iii. p. 266. A.

[c] Ut jure ambigi possit, utrum Ammonii an Tatiani inventio ejusdem operis debeat æstimari. Ibid. B.

[d] Sane hujus hæresiarchæ [Tatiani] si superesset opus evangelicum, quod sancti Justini lateri adhærens fortassis explicuit, in eo Domini Jesu verba diligenter amplecti, secure legere ovibus vocem cognoscentibus, nil prohiberet. Zachar. ap. Bib. Patr. T. xix. p. 742. A.

[e] Tatiani Diatessarôn, seu, Quatuor Evangelia in unum redacta: in fol. Bembyc. 123. Asseman, Bib. Or. T. i. p. 619.

[f] At evangelium Tatiani ipsismet evangelistarum verbis contextum fuit, resectis duntaxat iis quæ ad Davidicam Christi genealogiam spectant. Præterea in opere illo quod editum est, Christus filius David dicitur non semel. Denique tres anni prædicationis Christi in illo opere distinguuntur; cum veteres eorum dumtaxat unum prædicationi Christi tribuerint. Valesius in notis ad Eus. H. E. l. iv. cap. 29.

[g] Οὗτος και δια τεσσαρων καλεμενον συνθεικεν ευαγγελιον, τας γενεαλογιας περικοψας, και τα αλλα οσα εκ σπερματος Δαβιδ καλα σαρκα γεγεννημενον τον Κυριον δεικνυσιν. Theodoret. Hær. Fab. l. i. cap. 20.

[h] See before, p. 354.

[i] Vid. Asseman, Bibl. Or. T. ii. p. 210.

[k] Dionysius Barsalibæus, e Jacobitarum sectâ, Amidæ in Mesopotamiâ episcopus, in suis commentariis in evangelia sæpe laudat Ephræmi commentaria in textum evangeliorum; de quibus, in Præfatione in Marcum, sic loquitur. Assem. T. i. cap. vi. p. 57.

[l] Aliud ab Ammonii et Tatiani Diatessarôn agnoscit [Bar-Salibæus], fol. 150. Eliæ nimirum Salamensis Syri, de quo in præfatione in Marcum, cap 9. 'Tatianus, 'Justini Martyris ac philosophi discipulus, ex quatuor evan-'geliis unum digessit. Hunc librum S. Ephræm commen-'tariis illustravit, cujus initium, "In principio erat Verbum." 'Elias Salamensis, qui et Aphthonius, evangelium confecit 'instar τε Diatessarôn Ammonii, cujus meminit Eusebius in 'Prologo ad Canones Evangelii. Nam quum Elias illud Dia-'tessarôn quæsisset, nec invenisset, aliud ipsi simile elabora-'vit.' Assem. T. ii. p. 159, 160.

may be relied upon; for, as we in this part of the world have been puzzled about these two Harmonies, and each by turns has been ascribed to Tatian and Ammonius, so it is very possible that eastern writers likewise, of late times, may have made mistakes in this matter. Ebedjesu bishop of Soba, who flourished [a] at the latter end of the thirteenth century, in [b] his Catalogue, confounds Tatian and Ammonius, making both one. However, this testimony of Bar-Salibi is of the more weight, in that he appears to have known both these authors and their works: for Dr. Asseman has observed, that [c] Bar-Salibi, in his commentaries upon the gospels, quotes the Harmonies of Tatian and Ammonius. This then may be reckoned very honourable to Tatian's Harmony; for if Ephrem wrote commentaries upon it, it may be argued that it was not so contemptible, or so heretical, as some have thought.

This will be of some use to lessen the force of an objection of Dr. Mill, who says that [d] Tatian was a Valentinian, and therefore supposed our Lord's ministry to have been but of one year's duration; whereas this Harmony has three years. So different are men's ways of arguing! It seems it was a heresy in the Valentinians to allow but one year to Christ's ministry; and yet Valesius says, all the ancients computed no more. But to answer Mill only at present. First, it is not certain that Tatian was a Valentinian, when he composed his Diatessaron. Secondly, supposing him to have been then a Valentinian, he might not have embraced every notion of theirs, or they may not have been all of the same opinion. It is now thought by many that the ancient catholics allowed but one year to Christ's ministry; but yet some plainly computed three passovers in it, and reckoned it an error or a heresy in the Valentinians, to say it lasted only one year: at least this was Irenæus's opinion. Thirdly, Ephrem's Commentaries afford a considerable argument, that Tatian's Harmony was nor composed upon the Valentinian scheme. So far in answer to Mill.

And I do not know whether these Commentaries may not also afford us some help with regard to the difficulty which I have before acknowledged to be so considerable. If it were true, in the strictest sense of Theodoret's words, that Tatian had left out every thing that shewed Jesus to be the son of David, it is hard to conceive that Ephrem should have taken so much notice of him. Moreover, Theodoret owns that this book was made use of by a large number of catholic Christians, as a compendious work. As for his laying aside the copies he met with, and putting the four gospels in their room, let Tatian's Harmony be ever so good, he was in the right to take care that it did not supply the place of the four gospels.

There may be then some room to suppose, that Tatian's Harmony was not so defective or fraudulent as some have thought. If it had been composed throughout upon the Valentinian, or any other heretical scheme, one would think that Bar-Salibi should not have said that Ephrem wrote commentaries upon it, but rather that he had written a confutation of it: and possibly the bare name of the author made some people think worse of the work than it deserved. But Ephrem, as it seems, was not entirely governed by prejudice.

However, it ought to be owned that Gregory Bar-Hebræus, otherwise called Abulpharagius, who flourished in the thirteenth century, speaking of the Harmony used by Ephrem, calls it 'Ammonius's of Alexandria: but then he plainly means the same Harmony that Bar-Salibi does, for he says it began with those words, 'In the beginning was the Word;' which agrees with our lesser Harmony. And I think it may be said that Bar-Salibi's testimony is the more valuable of the two; because he appears to have been acquainted with both these Harmonies, and speaks more like a man of understanding in this matter than Bar-Hebræus. And if we are not enabled hereby to determine whose Harmony this is, whether Tatian's or Ammonius's, yet we gain a material point, the antiquity of our lesser Harmony; which seems now to be rendered unques-

[a] Vid Assem. Bibl. T. i. p. 538, 539. et T. iii. p. 3.

[b] Evangelium, quod compilavit vir Alexandrinus Ammonius, qui et Tatianus, illudque Diatessarôn appellavit. Ebedjesu in Catalog. Libr. Eccl. cap. iii. apud Assem. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 12.

[c] Præter Ephræmum vero. . . auctores hi ab ipso citantur; videlicet, . . . Ammonii et Tatiani Diatessarôn, fol. 30. Asseman. ib. Tom. ii. cap. xxxii. p. 518. Vid. quæ supra, not.

[d] Accedit, quod tres annos prædicationis Christi distinguat; cum Valentiniani, e quorum numero fuit Tatianus, annum unum duntaxat Christi prædicationi tribuerint. Mill, Prol. n. 352. Conf. Basnag. A. 29. n. 20.

[e] Idem testatur Gregorius Bar-Hebræus, vulgo Abulpharagius, episcopus Tagritensis, in libro quem 'Horreum Mysteriorum' inscripsit, quo totam sacram scripturam brevissimis notis dilucidat; ubi præfatione in Matthæum sic de Ephræmo scribit: 'Eusebius autem Cæsariensis, videns corruptelas quas 'Ammonius Alexandrinus in evangelium Diatessarôn nuncupatum induxerat, cujus initium, "In principio erat Verbum," 'quod Sanctus Ephræm dilucidavit, quatuor quidem evangelia, ut in textu, perfecta integraque reliquit; verba vero, 'quæ in ipsis consentiunt, communi canone notavit.' Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. cap. vi. p. 57, 58.

tionable, from these testimonies to Ephrem's commentaries upon it in the fourth century. Thus Mill's opinion, that it was not composed before the fifth century, is quite overthrown.

With regard to Ammonius's Harmony, I would observe two things: First, That I question whether we fully understand Eusebius's description of that work. We read him with preconceived notions, taken from Harmonies and Evangelical Canons since composed, with which we are best acquainted; which may cause some to mistake Eusebius's meaning, whose words I do not well understand, at least I am not fully satisfied about his meaning: and I had rather suspend my judgment than determine positively in a doubtful point. Secondly, It is very probable that this work has been interpolated since it was first composed; nay, the very form of it may have been in some measure altered. If I mistake not, these two observations may weaken some of the arguments made use of by Mr. Wetstein, and other learned men, to prove that our larger Harmony is not the work of Ammonius.

After all, I am not positive of the genuineness of either of these Harmonies. I am nevertheless somewhat inclined to think that the lesser may be Tatian's for the main part; and the larger, in like manner, Ammonius's: but I do not think that either of them is sincere and uncorrupt. And considering that we have no certain account of any other ancient Harmonies beside those two of Tatian and Ammonius; and that both these appear to have been famous in every part of the world, in the east and west, and made use of in many languages; I apprehend that every slight objection ought not to be regarded: and that they had need to be very good reasons indeed, which shall induce us to conclude that the two Harmonies we now have, which are plainly of great antiquity, are not the Harmonies of Tatian and Ammonius, or at least remains of them.

III. I shall now make some remarks upon both these Harmonies; and, in the first place, upon the shorter of the two, which at present is more generally called Tatian's than the other: and I may likewise call it so sometimes, for avoiding circumlocutions, still leaving every o to judge as he sees fit of the real author.

1. Tatian's Harmony then is a compendious history of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, taken out of the four gospels. It consists of four parts. The first is a kind of introduction, containing the history of our Lord's nativity, and the former part of his life: the three other parts are the three years of our Lord's ministry.

2. The introduction is formed out of the beginning of St. John's gospel, and the first chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke, and the beginning of St. Mark's gospel. The genealogies do not appear here; but he plainly has the history in the first chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, from ver. 21 to the end, as well as that in Luke, chap. i. Our Lord is conceived in the womb of a[a] virgin; Joseph is admonished of it; is brought to Bethlehem by means of the assessment ordered by an edict of Augustus, Joseph being of the family of David. Here Jesus is born. Then follows the history of the shepherds, the wise men, the flight into Egypt, the slaughter of the infants, and other things about that time recorded in the evangelists.

3. The author says, that[b] 'the child Jesus abode seven years in Egypt.' This is a singularity.

4. In the same introduction the author mentions our Lord's journey to Jerusalem at the age of twelve years, his baptism, fast and temptation in the wilderness, and other things, which need not be insisted upon.

5. The remaining parts of this work consist of the three years of our Lord's ministry. But though his ministry is here divided into three years, I apprehend that, according to this Harmony, it consists only of two years and a part; for the third[c] year, in which our Lord dies, is not complete. The author therefore computed three passovers in the gospels, at the last of which Jesus suffered. And that he reckoned no more, is farther evident hence, that he does not suppose the 'feast of the Jews,' mentioned John v. 1, to have been passover, but pentecost, as he[d] also plainly calls it. This is a mark of antiquity; modern harmonisers, who prolong

[a] Censi capite sunt tum forte, Octavi Augusti edicto, omnes qui Romano parebant imperio: quum Joseph Bethleem, quæ civitas erat David, ad quem genus referebat, simul cum virgine proficiscitur; ubi illa partu soluta, enixa est Jesum Evangeliorum Quatuor Harmonia, Tatiano Syro auctore. Ap. Bib. Pat. T. ii. P. ii. p. 201. B.

[b] Crescebat interea puer, et confortabatur spiritu, continuum septennium agens in Ægypto, usque post Herodis interitum. Ib. C.

[c] Et hæ quidem res gestæ finem secundo Dominicæ prædicationis anno imposuere. Extremus annus Dominicæ prædicationis idem illi plane qui et vitæ finis fuit. Ibid. p. 207. H. 208. A.

[d] Contulit autem se eo itinere Hierosolymam, ad solennia Pentecostes, ubi ad Probaticam piscinam expositum duodequadraginta annorum languidum, sabbato (mirum in modum sævientibus Pharisæis) sanum fecit. p. 206. D.

our Lord's ministry beyond the space of three years, generally reckoned this feast, though without any good reason, a passover. So Irenæus[a] likewise computed 'three passovers' in our Saviour's ministry. Origen too[b] says, 'That Judas was not three years with Jesus.' It is true, he speaks in another place of our Lord's having[c] 'preached only a year and some months:' but he may be reconciled by supposing only that he thought our Saviour's whole ministry was above two, but not quite three years, whilst the most public part of it did not consist of more than a year and some months; which indeed I have long taken to be the truth, so far as I am able to learn it from a careful reading the gospels. In St. John's gospel are three passovers, and our Saviour's ministry has two years and a part; but the former part of his ministry there related, was not so public as that after John's imprisonment. In the other three evangelists, who relate chiefly our Lord's most public preaching[d] after John the Baptist's imprisonment, is the history of only somewhat more than the space of one year: how much more, is not very easy to say. All which is much confirmed by comparing them with St. John.

Since therefore the author of this harmony does not compute three years complete, or more, in our Lord's ministry, the objection of Valesius, before mentioned, is invalidated. And here is one mark of the antiquity of this Harmony: it having been in the fourth century, and afterwards, a common opinion, that our Lord's ministry consisted of three years and a half; though indeed even then that opinion did not obtain universally.

6. But notwithstanding this author's just notion of the duration of our Lord's ministry, it must be owned he makes many mistakes, and places divers actions and discourses of our Lord at a wrong time. However, it becomes us not to be too severe in our censures of this kind: there is a respect due to the first attempts in any part of knowledge. Nor are modern harmonists free from prejudged opinions; and I am apprehensive that most of their Harmonies likewise had need to be read with indulgence and caution, as well as those of the ancients.

7. Possibly some may be so curious as to enquire, at what time of the year did this author begin our Lord's ministry? and how much longer than two years did he suppose it to last? In answer to such enquiries I would observe, that[e] the first thing mentioned by him, in his account of the third year of Christ's ministry, is his presence at Jerusalem at the feast of the dedication (John x. 22, 23.....); which feast was kept in the Jewish month Cisleu, or Casleu, and usually happens some time in our month of December, and may fall out in November. Which affords some ground for thinking that this author reckoned our Lord's ministry commenced about that time of the year, and lasted therefore about two years and a half, he having been crucified at the feast of the passover.

And according to this notion of things, we may digest the history of John the Baptist's and our Lord's ministry in this manner. Near the end of the summer season, harvest and vintage being over, or near over, which was a time of general leisure, John began to preach and baptize. There was soon a great resort to him, and multitudes of people were baptized by him in Jordan. And, as St. Luke says, iii. 21, 22, "Now when all the people were baptized, it came to pass that Jesus also being baptized, and praying, the heaven was opened, and the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him: That is, at the conclusion of that season of baptizing, in November, or some time in the month of December, or perhaps in the beginning of January, Jesus came and was baptized of John in Jordan: after which he was led of the Spirit into the wilderness, where he fasted forty days and forty nights, and was tempted of the devil; enduring at the same time, beside other inconveniences, all that extremity of cold which is usual in that season of the year. The temptation being ended, Luke iv. 14; John i. 35.....51, "Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee: where he soon found Andrew and his brother Simon, and Philip and Nathanael, who all, upon the testimony of John the Baptist, and some conversation with Jesus, believed in him as the Christ; and were the disciples who had the honour of the most early personal acquaintance with Jesus, after the descent of the Spirit upon him. A few days after was a marriage feast at Cana in Galilee, where Jesus made the water

[a] Quoniam autem tria hæc paschæ tempora non sunt unus annus, quilibet confitebitur. Iren. l. ii. cap. xxii. p. 147. ed. Massuet. [b] Ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας παρὰ τῷ Ἰησοῦ οὐδὲ τρία διετέρψεν ἔτη. Contr. Cels. l. ii. p. 67. Cant. T. i. p. 397. F. Bened. [c] Ἐνιαυτὸν γὰρ ὡς καὶ μῆνας ὀλίγους ἐδίδαξε. De Princip. l. v. p. 160. Bened. p. 4. Philoc. Cant. [d] See Matth. iv. 12, 13. Mark i. 14. Luke iii. 19, 20. [e] Extremus annus Dominicæ prædicationis, idem illi plane qui et vitæ finis fuit. Deambulabat tum forte Jesus in portico templi Salomonis, in Judæorum encæniis; et cingebant illum Judæi, improbis conatibus ferme urgentes ut palam Christum se esse fateretur. p. 208. A.

wine. This was the 'beginning of his miracles, and he thereby manifested forth his glory.' It follows: "And the Jews passover was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem." John ii. 1—13. This is the first passover in our Lord's ministry. John the Baptist still continued preaching and baptizing [See John iii. 23.....36]. Before the end of this year John was imprisoned, and Jesus had chosen the twelve apostles out of the number of his disciples [a] that believed on him, and his most public ministry was commenced. The second passover of our Lord's ministry is that mentioned John vi. 4. And at the third passover, mentioned by all the evangelists, he was crucified.

Thus had I been wont to digest the history of the public life of John the Baptist and our Saviour, as I collected it out of the gospels (agreeably, as I apprehend, to the sentiments of the most ancient Christian writers,) a good while before I had particularly observed the method of this Harmony, called Tatian's.

8. I would now observe some disputed passages of our gospels. The author appears to have had in [b] his copies the latter part of the sixteenth chapter of St. Mark's gospel.

9. He has likewise the history [c] of our Lord's agony, as we now have it in Luke xxii. 43, 44, which was wanting in some ancient copies, as we learn from [d] Hilary, and [e] Jerom, and [f] Photius; which last intimates that the omission of this text was owing to some Syrians. Mill [g] thinks they must have been of the sect of the Jacobites. And Dr. Asseman [h] has particularly observed, that this text is quoted by Ephrem the Syrian. Epiphanius [i] likewise says, that these two verses were in the ancient copies, before they were corrected and altered by some over nice catholics, who did not well understand them.

10. John v. 4, where is mention made of the descent of the angel who 'troubled the water' at the pool of Bethesda, is another disputed text, wanting in some copies. The angel is not mentioned [k] in this Harmony; but considering the compendious method of it, I suppose it cannot be hence concluded that it was wanting in the author's copy. Kuster's observations relating to the genuineness of this text, in his preface to his edition of Mill's New Testament, deserve to be considered.

11. Here [l] also is the history of the woman taken in adultery. John viii. 1—11. The author does not take any notice of our Lord's 'stooping down, and writing with his finger on 'the ground.' Ver. 6. 8. But it cannot be hence concluded that this was wanting in his copies, for the reason just mentioned.

12. This author often paraphases and explains. It is worth the while to observe some examples.

Our Lord says, Matth. xvi. 28. "Verily I say unto you, There be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom. Compare Mark ix. 1. Luke ix. 27. Our author understands this of Christ's [m] appearing in glory on the mount, soon after, in the presence of three of his disciples. And that appearance may be considered as an emblem of our Lord's future glory, when he shall 'come with the angels to reward every one according to his works:' which is spoken of in the preceding verse, and is not omittted in [n] this Harmony. But Grotius understands those words of Christ's resurrection, ascension to heaven, the mission of the Holy Spirit, and the propagation of the gospel by

[a] "And it came to pass in those days, that he went out into a mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to God. And when it was day, he called unto him his disciples; and of them he chose twelve, whom also he named apostles." Luke vi. 12, 13. [b] P. 212. A. B.

[c] P. 210. D. [d] Nec sane ignorandum a nobis est, et in Græcis et Latinis codicibus complurimis, vel de adveniente angelo, vel de sudore sanguinis, nihil scriptum reperiri. Hilar. De Trin. lib. x. cap. 41. [e] In quibusdam exemplaribus tam Græcis quam Latinis invenitur, scribente Lucâ: 'Apparuit illi angelus de cælo, confortans 'eum.' &c. Hieron. adv. Pelag. l. ii. col. 521. m. Bened.

[f] Και προσευξατο, και ηγωνιασε, και τους παχεις εκεινους και παραπλησιους αἱματος θρομβοις ἱδρωτας εξιδρωσεν. Μηκετι ουν σοι του ευαγγελιου τοδε το χωριον περικεκοφθαι, κἀν τισι των Συρων, ὡς εφης, δοκει ευπρεπες, νομιζε. Phot. ep. 138. ed. Montacut. p. 194. Lond. 1651. [g] Mill, Proleg. n. 1036. [h] In hoc hymno meminit sanctus doctor sanguinei sudoris Christi in horto: 'Locus in quo 'sudavit, coronam ipsi nectat.' Ex quo planum fit, versiculum illum Lucæ, cap. xxii. 44, tamquam genuinam evangelici textûs partem a S. Ephræm agnitum, et in Syriacâ Versione olim expressum fuisse. Asseman. Bibl. Orient. T. i. p. 97. A. M. Vid. et ib. B. infr. M. [i] Epiphan. in Ancoratu, sect. 31. Confer Mill, Prol. n. 797, 798.

[k] P. 206. D. See the words before, p. 508. note [d].

[l] P. 208. H. [m] Sed quid ego, inquit, vos moror, quando ex hoc præsenti cœtu quidam sunt, quibus majestas mea etiamnum vivis palam reddetur conspicua? Et interjectis sex ferme diebus, plane contigit hæc promissio, præsentibus in monte quodam excelso Petro, Joanne, Jacobo, discipulis. p. 206. F. [n] Contemptum autem se in humanâ specie, aliquando in gloriâ Patris inter angelorum agmina visendum ait, quando jus fit redditurus, et præmia cuique pro meritis. Sed quid ego, inquit, vos longius moror? &c. p. 206. F.

mighty signs and wonders; by which, as by most certain and undoubted evidences, Christ's advancement to his kingdom was made known. However, this writer is countenanced in his method of interpretation by the speedy fulfilment of some things spoken of by our Lord in the gospels For example: Our Saviour having said to his disciples, in the two last verses of the ninth chapter of Matthew, "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth labourers into his harvest;" it follows immediately, at the beginning of the next chapter x. 1, "And when he had called unto him his twelve disciples, he gave them power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease." And after the names of the twelve apostles it is said, ver. 5, 6, "These twelve Jesus sent forth, and commanded them, saying, Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not; but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel."

13. In Luke xix. 3. Zacchæus is said to have been 'little of stature.' This author calls [a] him a 'dwarf.'

14. I said just now, that in this Harmony appears the history of our Lord's agony in the garden, as related in Luke xxii. 43, 44. The author calls it [b] a 'bloody sweat;' and explains the 'angel's comforting him,' saying, it was 'an angelic voice from heaven, which gave him 'strength and courage.' This is an honest Christian, whoever he be; he is not ashamed of what he thinks to be the truth.

15. He represents the substance of our Lord's discourse in John vi.; and then says: 'Dis-'coursing [c] of the word of eternal life, and sometimes mentioning bread, and sometimes flesh 'and blood, many, out of a horror of the thing not rightly understood, forsook Christ. But 'Peter, on the other hand, exhorted them [or, 'the disciples'] to persevere, forasmuch as these 'were words of eternal life.' It does not appear, therefore, that he understood those words of Christ in the sense of transubstantiation, nor yet as relating to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper.

16. He represents the institution of the Lord's Supper, and the design of it, as a memorial, in this manner: 'And [d] having taken bread [or, 'a loaf'], and then a cup of wine, and having 'said that they were his body and blood, he commanded them to eat and drink: for it was [or, 'they were] a memorial of his future suffering and death.'

17. He places our Lord's discourses, as also his prayer for the disciples, which are in John xiii. xiv. xv. xvi. xvii. after the just-mentioned institution, and [e] immediately before the 'hymn' mentioned Matth. xxvi. 30. Mark xiv. 26.

18. Simon the Cyrenian's 'bearing the cross,' or 'bearing the cross after Christ,' mentioned Matth. xxvii. 32. Mark xv. 21. Luke xxiii. 26. he understands not of taking off the cross from Jesus, and laying it upon Simon to carry it after him; [f] but of his 'helping to bear it,' as he expresses it; that is, I suppose, bearing the hinder part of the cross after Jesus. And this too is to be understood as being done, after that our Lord had bore it all himself some way. Compare John xix. 17, which is plainly also our author's meaning. So that in a few words he has finely harmonized all the four evangelists.

19. He thus represents the penitent thief's petition, and our Lord's gracious answer: 'And 'afterwards, when the [g] thief prayed that he would not disdain, at least, to remember him in 'his heavenly kingdom; he promised, what he was not asked, that he would take care he should 'be that day in paradise.'

So far of Tatian's Diatessaron, or Gospel of the Four.

[a] Recta autem Hierosolymam petens, delatus Hiericho, inter eundum nano illo Zacchæo, ut se hospitio reciperet, arcessito Cap. 12. p. 208. D. [b] Laborabat autem angore tanto Dominus, ut sudore ejus sanguinolento tellus etiam maderet; quum protinus e cœlo vox angelica auditur, quæ animum ac robur addidit. p. 210. B.

[c] Proinde quum de verbo vitæ æternæ loquens, jam panem nominaret, modo carnem et sanguinem, multi, horrore rei perperam intellectæ concepto, a Christo descivêre. At Petrus contra, quod verba hæc sint vitæ æternæ, perdurandum sua-ebat. p. 206. B. [d] Et mox accepto pane, deinde in calice, corpus esse suum ac sanguinem testatus, manducare illos et bibere jussit, quod ea sit futuræ calamitatis suæ mortisque memoria. p. 210. A. [e] Fixis deinde in cœlum oculis, Patrem orat, ut se clarum mundo reddat; discipulos, et eos quoque qui illorum verbo crediturі sint, a malo servet. . . . . Et e vestigio quum hymnum absolvisset cum discipulis Jesus, urbem egressus, &c. p. 210. C.

[f] Itaque latâ hac sententiâ, eductus inter duos latrones, crucem ipse sibi gestare cogitur Sed et Simonem quemdam Cyrenensem adigunt ad opem in eâ re ferendum. p. 211. B.

[g] Latroni mox oranti, ut in regno cœlesti non gravaretur sui vel meminisse, paradisum eo die se præstiturum, quem non fuerat rogatus, pollicetur. p. 211. B.

IV. Ammonius's Harmony is very different; it is composed out of the four gospels, in the very words of the evangelist.

1. Here [a] are both the genealogies; that is, after St. Matthew's genealogy from Abraham, the author adds that part of St. Luke's genealogy, which ascends from Abraham to Adam and God. This Harmony [b] takes in the latter part of Mark xvi. Here appears [c] our Lord's agony as described in Luke, xxii. 43, 44; and the disputed [d] text of John v. 4, concerning the angel's 'coming down into' the pool of Bethesda, or Bethsaida, as it is here called, and 'troubling the 'water;' as also the history [e] of 'the woman taken in adultery,' related John viii. 1—11. with our Lord's 'stooping down, and writing with his finger on the ground.' This is one of Mill's arguments for [f] the genuineness of this paragraph; that it is found in Ammonius's Harmony, who, he says, lived so early as the year 220, and therefore within a hundred and twenty years after St. John's death. On the other hand, this is one reason why [g] Mr. Wetstein thinks this Harmony spurious; for he says this story was not in the copies used by Ammonius or Eusebius. For my own part, I am unwilling to argue hence, that this Harmony is not genuine in the main; because it may have been interpolated, and very probably has been so, in many places: and for the same reason I should not choose to argue from this Latin Harmony, that the paragraph of the 'woman taken in adultery' was originally in St. John's gospel. They who are desirous to see more of the dispute concerning this paragraph, may do well to consult [h] Mill and others.

2. In this Harmony many of our Lord's discourses and actions are much out of place; as, the history of the miracle of turning [i] water into wine at Cana in Galilee, our Lord's [k] conversation with the woman of Samaria, Nicodemus [l] coming to Jesus by night; and many other things, which may be easily perceived to be so by any man of judgment.

3. The author seems to have supposed that the Lord's prayer was delivered but once. I infer this, because he inserts the occasion of the prayer mentioned Luke xi. 1, into Matth. vi.; and joins it with our Lord's directions concerning almsgiving, fasting, and prayer, recorded in the last-mentioned place, after this manner: "But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do; for they think they shall be heard for their much speaking. Be [m] not ye therefore like unto them; for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him. Then one of his disciples said unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples. And he said unto them, when ye pray, say, Our Father,....."

Herein I take him to have been partly in the right: the prayer which Christ taught his disciples, was not delivered more than once. For I do not suppose that our Lord ever spoke at one time all those discourses, the substance of which is recorded Matth. v. vi. vii. But St. Matthew thought fit to place near the beginning of his gospel a summary of our Lord's doctrine delivered by him at divers times, and in divers places. The particular occasions, times, and places of many things recorded in those three chapters of St. Matthew, may be found in St. Luke's gospel. A large part of our Lord's sermon on the mount, as it is called, recorded by St. Matthew, is the same with that in Luke vi. ver. 20.....49. The occasion of the Lord's Prayer is given in Luke xi. 1.....The time and occasion of our Lord's delivering those arguments against the love of riches, and against solicitude, which are recorded in Matth. vi. 19 .....34, are to be sought in Luke xii. 13.....34, where are the same precepts and arguments, and the occasion of them. The like may be said of some other matters in those three chapters of Matthew. And the finding so many parts of the discourse which we have in that evangelist recorded again in St. Luke's gospel, at several places, greatly confirms the supposition, that all that long discourse, called our Saviour's sermon on the mount, was not delivered at one and the same time. I may not stay to consider every little objection and difficulty attending this observation; it is sufficient for the present to have proposed it to the consideration of the judicious.

[a] Bibl. Patr. Tom. iii. p. 267. G. H. p. 268. A.
[b] P. 290. B. C.
[c] P. 299. A.
[d] P. 297. E.
[e] P. 285. E. F.
[f] Vid. Mill. ad Joh. cap. vii. v. 53.
[g] Prolegomena ad N. T. ed accurat. cap. 6. p. 66, 67.
[h] Mill, ad Johan. cap. vii. v. 53. et Proleg. n. 251. sq. 892. Vid. et. Bez. et Hammond. et Cleric. ad Joh. cap. vii. v. 53. Grot. ad cap. viii. v. 1. Basnag. Ann. 32. num. 1.
[i] P. 273. C.
[k] P. 279. A. B.
[l] P. 285. C. D.
[m] Nolite ergo assimulari eis: scit enim Pater vester quid opus sit vobis, antequam petatis eum. Tunc dixit unus ex discipulis ejus ad eum: Domine, doce nos orare, sicut et Joannes docuit discipulos suos. Et ait illis, Cum oratis, dicite: Pater noster, qui es in cœlis, &c. p. 271. G.

4. In this Harmony is no doxology; it is likely it was wanting in the author's copies both of St. Matthew and St. Luke. The prayer concludes here with that petition: 'And lead us 'not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.'

5. The words of John xi. 7, 8, are thus put [a] in this Harmony: 'Then after that, saith he 'to his disciples, Let us go into Judea again. His disciples say unto him, Rabbi [or master,] 'into Judea! The Jews of late sought to stone thee, and goest thou thither again?'

CHAP. XXXVII.

JULIUS AFRICANUS.

Julius Africanus is placed by Cave at the year 220, who likewise supposes that [b] he died in an advanced age, about the year 232. But I know of no very good reason for thinking that Africanus was then in an advanced age, or that he died so soon. Tillemont, however, [c] thinks it undoubted, that he was older than Origen (who was born, as he says, in 185;) since in a letter to him he calls him [d] 'his son.' Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History (having in the preceding chapter spoken of Origen, particularly of his teaching at Cæsarea, and some of his most celebrated scholars, who had come from distant parts to be instructed by him,) writes of Africanus to this purpose: 'At [e] that time flourished Africanus, author of the work intitled Cesti. There 'is extant a letter of his to Origen, in which he suspects the history of Susanna, in the book of 'Daniel, to be spurious and a forgery, whom Origen answers at large. There [f] are come down 'to us also these other pieces of the same Africanus: A chronological work, in five books, 'accurately written, in which he speaks of his having taken a journey to Alexandria, excited 'by the fame of Heraclas; whom we have before related to have excelled in the knowledge of 'philosophy, and other parts of Greek learning, and to have been appointed bishop of that 'church. There is also another epistle of Africanus to Aristides, concerning the supposed dif-'ferences in the genealogies of Christ, which are in Matthew and Luke, where he evidently 'demonstrates the harmony of the evangelists out of a history he had received.' When Africanus took this journey to Alexandria, Heraclas was only presbyter and catechist: he was not bishop of that city before the year 231.

There is another short account of this great man in St. Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers. 'Julius [g] Africanus, whose five books of Chronology are extant, in the time of the 'emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus, successor of Macrinus, undertook [h] an embassy for the resto-'ration of the city of Emmaus, which was afterwards called Nicopolis. There [i] is an epistle 'of his to Origen concerning the history of Susanna, wherein he says, that history is not to be 'found in Hebrew, nor is it agreeable to the Hebrew etymology, which is there written απο τε 'σχινε σχισαι, και απο τε πρινε πρισαι: in answer to whom Origen wrote a learned epistle. There 'is another letter of his to Aristides, in which he copiously treats of the difference which there 'seems to be in the genealogy of our Saviour in Matthew and Luke.'

This settles the time of Africanus; the emperor whom St. Jerom means being Heliogabalus whose reign began in 218, and ended at 222. The embassy for that city shews the country where he chiefly resided, and affords an argument that he was a man of repute in the world; but whether he was a native of Palestine, or of Africa, is not certain. Suidas says, 'Africanus, [k] 'called Sextus, a philosopher of Libya [or Africa,] wrote the Cesti, in 24 books.' He also gives an account of the design of that work; and says that Origen answered the same author's objec-

[a] Deinde, post hæc, dicit discipulis suis, Eamus in Judæam iterum. Dicunt ei discipuli, Rabbi, in Judæam! nunc quærebant te lapidare Judæi; et iterum vadis illuc? p 288. G.

[b] Provectâ jam ætate mortuus est, circa 232. Cav. H. Lit. P. i. p. 72.

[c] Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. ii. p. 32.

[d] Χαιρε, κυριε με και υιε. African. Ep. ad Orig. in.

[e] Eus. l. vi. cap. 31.

[f] Τε δ' αυτε Αφρικανε και αλλα τον αριθμον πεντε χρονογραφιων ηλθεν εις ἡμας επ' ακριβες πεπονημενα σπεδασματα. Ibid.

[g] De Vir. Ill. cap. 63.

[h] Legationem pro instauratione urbis Emmaüs suscepit, quæ postea Nicopolis appellata est. Ibid.

[i] Hujus est epistola ad Origenem super quæstione Susannæ: eo quod dicat in Hebræo hanc fabulam non haberi, nec convenire cum Hebraïcâ etymologiâ, απο &c. Ibid.

[k] Suid. in V. Αφρικανος.

tions against the history of Susanna. But it may be questioned whether the author of the Cesti was not a different person from our Julius Africanus. However, since the more ancient writers have not particularly informed us that he was of Africa, I think it best not to rely too much on Suidas.

In Eusebius's Chronicle (I mean Jerom's Latin version of that work,) at the fourth year of the forementioned emperor, of Christ 221, the same matter is thus expressed: 'In [a] Pales-'tine the city Nicopolis, which before was called Emmaus, was founded; Julius Africanus, 'author of the Chronology, undertaking an embassy for that purpose.' This Emmaus has been generally supposed by learned men to be the same with that mentioned by St. Luke, ch. xxiv. 13. But Reland [b] argues, that Emmaus, afterwards called Nicopolis, was another place, situated at a greater distance from Jerusalem.

Eusebius mentions four pieces of Africanus; the Cesti, the Chronology, and two letters, one to Origen, the other to Aristides. St. Jerom has omitted the first of these: Photius mentions them all four; he calls the chronological work a history, and gives a great commendation of it, when he says, 'That [c] though Africanus is concise, he omits nothing that is necessary to 'be related.' Photius adds, 'That he begins at the Mosaic creation, and from thence reaches 'down to the nativity of Christ. He likewise succinctly relates things from Christ to the Ro-'man emperor Macrinus.' So Photius. Nevertheless it has been observed by several [d] learned men, from a fragment of Africanus himself, that this work was brought down by him to the year of Christ 221, the third or fourth year of Heliogabalus, successor of Macrinus.

From the passages already transcribed, we are in a good measure able to form a judgment concerning the genuineness of any other books which may be ascribed to Africanus. And whether the Cesti were written by him, is disputed. Valesius,[e] Joseph [f] Scaliger, and [g] Du Pin think the author of that work to have been a different person. They suppose there were two of this name; our Julius of Palestine, author of the Chronology and a Christian; the other an African, called Sextus, author of the Cesti, and a gentile philosopher. Tillemont says,[h] that if this work was composed by Africanus, and the accounts left us of it be right, it was written by him whilst he was a heathen, and before his conversion to Christianity. Cave speaks in the same manner, in the first part of his Historia Literaria; but he mentions it only as a conjecture; and I think it is mere conjecture. Africanus was a Christian; this we know: but we have no ground to say he was originally a heathen, no ancient author having said any such thing; and Cave, in the second part of that work,[i] delivers it as his judgment, that this piece was not written by Africanus. From the same learned writer I learn that the Cesti were published, though not very correctly, at Paris, in 1693; but I have not been so happy as to see them. I think it observable, that Jerom does not mention this among the other works of Africanus; and for that reason, and because the forecited words of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, mentioning the Cesti among the works of Africanus, are wanting in Rufinus's version, Valesius [k] thinks they are an interpolation, and that they ought to be blotted out. However [l] Joh. Ger. Vossius, and J. Rodolph [m] Wetstein, are of opinion, that this piece is rightly ascribed to Africanus; to whom I would refer those who are desirous to know more of this matter: for I do not think fit to swell this article with a particular account of their arguments upon a point which is of no great importance.

There is plainly no regard due to Trithemius, who [n] reckons among the works of Africanus such as these: Of the Trinity, Of Circumcision, and others, which are books ascribed by [o] Jerom, and by [p] Trithemius himself, in another place, to Novatus. It may deserve a little more consideration, whether he wrote any commentaries upon the New Testament. It has been observed by [q] Cave, and [r] Fabricius, that Ebedjesu, who flourished [s] at the end of the thirteenth, and died in the beginning of the following century, in the year 1318, affirms there were then extant

[a] In Palæstinâ Nicopolis, quæ prius Emmaüs vocabatur, urbs condita est, legationis industriam pro eâ suscipiente Africano, scriptore temporum. Eus. Chr. p. 173.

[b] Vid. Adr. Reland. Palæstin. Illustrat. lib. ii. cap. 26. p. 426, 427. [c] Cod. 34 [d] Vid. Scaligeri Animadv. in Eus. Chron. p. 232. Pagi Crit. in Bar. 220. sect. 2. Tillemont, Jule Africain, note 2. [e] Vales. Annot. in Eus. l. vi. cap. 31. [f] Scal. Animadv. in Eus. Chr. p. 232. [g] Pin. Nouv. Bib. Julius Africanus. [h] Till. Mem. Ec. Jule Africain, init. [i] Interim Africani nostri opus esse non videtur; etsi aliter visum veteribus, et recentiorum plurimis. Cav. Hist. Lit. P. ii. p. 50. [k] Vales. ibid. p. 127. [l] De Hist. Gr. l. ii. cap. 2.

[m] Wetst. not. in Ep. Afr. ad Orig. Col. 151... 154. Basil. 1674. [n] Trithem. de Script. Ecc. cap. 38. [o] De Vir. Ill. cap. 70. [p] Trith. ibid. cap. 44. [q] Vid. Cav. H. L. P. i. p. 74. [r] Fab. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 270. [s] Vid. Asseman. Bibl. Orient. T. i. p. 539.

[a] Commentaries of Africanus, bishop of Emmaus, upon the New Testament, and his Chronicle.' One Julius likewise is alleged [b] in the Greek Chains, and sometimes called bishop. Dr. Asseman says, that Moses Bar-Cepha, who flourished in the latter end of the ninth century, quotes the Commentary of one [c] Julius upon St. John's gospel, which has been observed likewise by [d] Fabricius. And Dionysius Bar-Salibi, bishop of Amida in Mesopotamia, at the end of the twelfth century, in his Commentaries upon the gospels, quotes Africanus bishop [e] of Emmaus But, after all, I apprehend here is no sufficient ground to believe that our Julius Africanus wrote upon the New Testament. It is much better to rest satisfied with the accounts left us by Eusebius, and Jerom, and Photius, who take no notice of such a work.

Africanus is reckoned by Jerom, in his letter to Magnus, among other eminent ancient [f] Christian writers. His Chronology is the work which Jerom particularly mentions; which is an argument that this was our author's principal performance: and Socrates has joined him with Clement and Origen, calling them '[g] men skilful in every part of knowledge.' Tillemont [h] says, it appears that Africanus understood Hebrew. He concludes this from an observation [i] in Africanus's letter concerning the history of Susanna. Possibly this would be more apparent, if his Chronology were still extant.

That work is all lost, except some fragments. But it is supposed that Eusebius inserted a large part of it into his own Chronicle; though it is not now easy to say what belongs to Africanus. And other historians have made good use of it. There is a large fragment of his letter to Aristides in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, and his letter to Origen is still extant entire.

I shall now put down what I have observed to our purpose in the remains of this great man.

I. Eusebius, in his Evangelical Preparation,[k] has a long passage out of the third book of the Chronology of Africanus; but I have no occasion to transcribe any thing out of it at present.

II. In Eusebius's Evangelical Demonstration[l] is another passage taken out of the fifth book of the same work. This passage is quoted likewise by St. Jerom, in his Commentaries upon the book of Daniel; where Africanus, speaking of the 70 weeks, after which Christ was to appear, uses this expression: That 'visions[m] and prophecies were until John,' as the words are in Eusebius's Greek; 'the law[n] and the prophets were until John.' as in Jerom's Latin; which are our Lord's words, Luke xvi. 16. Compare Matth. xi. 13. Here it appears that Africanus placed the death of Christ in the[o] 16th year of the reign of Tiberius, as the passage is in Eusebius; in the[p] 15th year of the same reign, as it is in Jerom.

III. In George Syncellus is a fragment of Africanus, said to be taken out of the fifth book of his Chronology; where, speaking of our Lord's[q] passion and resurrection, he says, 'That all 'his works of healing, both of the bodies and souls of men, and the mysteries of his birth and 'resurrection from the dead, were sufficiently made known to his apostles and disciples before 'us. There was a dreadful darkness over the whole world; and the rocks were rent by an 'earthquake; and many buildings were overturned in Judea, and other parts of the earth.' Then he makes remarks upon what Thallus had written concerning an eclipse or darkness about the same time. There can be no question but Africanus here refers to our gospels, particularly to Matth. xxvii. 51, 52. Luke xxiii. 44, 45. I wish we had what preceded these words; and that we had what follows them more exactly than we seem to have at present.

[a] Beatus Africanus, episcopus Emmaüs, habet Commentaria in Novum Testamentum, et Chronicon. Ebedjesu Catalog. Libr. Syror. ap. Assem. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 14.

[b] Et Julius quidam subinde in Catenis allegatur, et in Catenâ Corderiana in Johannem vocatur Julius episcopus. Fabr. ibid. [c] Assem. ib. T. ii. p. 129. [d] Fabric. ib.

[e] Auctores hi ab ipso citantur... Africanus, episcopus Emmaüs, Comment. in Evangel. fol. 33, 37. Asseman, ib. T. ii. cap. 32, p. 158. A. [f] Extant et Julii Africani libri, qui temporum scripsit historias. Hier. ep. 83.

[g] Κλημενία, και Αφρικανον, και Ωριγενην, ανδρας πασης σοφιας επιστημονας. Socrat. Hist. l. ii. cap. 35. p. 130. B.

[h] Till. Jule Africain, p. 31. [i] Εν μεν εν Ἑλληνικαις φωναις τα τοιαυτα ὁμοφωνειν συμβαινει. . .εν δε τη Ἑβραϊδι τω πανλι διεστηκεν. Afric. Ep. ad. Orig. sect. 1.

[k] Pr. Ev. lib. x. p. 487 .. 493. [l] D. Ev. l. viii. p. 389... 391. [m] Ὁρασεις τε και προφηλειαι μεχρις Ιωαννε. Ap. Eus. Dem. Ev. ib. p. 389. C. [n] Et impleta est visio, et prophetia, quia lex et prophetæ usque ad baptistam Joannem. Hieron. Com. in Dan. cap. ix. Col. 1110. Benedict. [o] Κἀκειθεν επι το Τιβεριε Καισαρος ἑκκαιδεκαλον εἰος, εις ἑη ἑξηκονλα. Ap. Eus. ib. p. 390. B

[p] Atque exinde usque ad annum quintum decimum [ἑκκαιδεκαλον] Tiberii Cæsaris, quando passus est Christus, numerantur anni sexaginta. Ap. Hieron. ib. [q] Αφεικανε περι των καλα το σωηριον παθος και την ζωοποιον αναστασιν, εκ τε πεμπλε λογε. Τ῾ δε καθ' ἑκαστον των πραξεων αυλε και θεραπειων σωμαλων και ψυχων, και των της γενεσεως αποκρυφων, αναστασεως τε της εκ των νεκρων, αυλωρκεστατως προ ἡμων μαθηλαις τε και αποστολοις αυλε δεδηλωλαι. Καθ' ὁλε τε κοσμε σκολος επεγενελο φοβερωλαλον· σεισμω δε αἱ πελραι διερρηγνυνλο, και τα πολλα Ιωδαιας και της λοιπης γης καλερριφη. Ap. Geo. Syncoll. Chronog. p. 322. Paris. 1652. et Ευσεβ. Χρονολογος πρωλος, p. 77. ed. Scalig. Amst. 1658.

IV. I proceed to the letter to Aristides, 'concerning the disagreement supposed to be 'between the gospels in the genealogy of Christ.' It is thus introduced by Eusebius: 'But[a] 'forasmuch as Matthew and Luke have differently delivered to us, in their gospels, the genea-'logy of Christ, so that great numbers of the faithful, through ignorance of the truth, have 'been mightily concerned to contrive solutions of that difficulty, let us take the account which 'Africanus gives in his epistle to Aristides, concerning the harmony of the genealogies in the 'gospel, where[b] rejecting the opinions of others, as forced, and even false, he delivers the 'account he had received in these words: "For whereas the descents of families in Israel are 'reckoned either according to nature, or according to law; according to the order of nature, 'when it is by the succession of a natural seed; according to law, when another begetteth a 'son to succeed in the name of a brother deceased without issue:... And whereas, accordingly, 'of them who are reckoned in this genealogy [of Christ] some succeeded in a proper and 'natural order, as sons to their fathers; but some, begotten by one, received the name of 'another; therefore mention is made of both: of those who were truly fathers, and of those 'that were legal only, and as fathers. Thus neither of the gospels is false: one con-'taining the line of nature, the other of law. For the families both of Solomon and Nathan 'were mixed together, partly by second marriages, partly by raising up seed to those who died 'without issue: so that the same persons had divers fathers, whereof some were reputed fathers, 'others really so. Thus both the accounts are true, and exactly meet and agree in Joseph. 'That what has been said may be made plain, I will observe the order of the descents. Reck-'oning the descent from David by Solomon [according to Matthew], Matthan is found to be 'the third from the end, who begat Jacob, the father of Joseph. Reckoning from Nathan, the 'son of David, according to Luke, in like manner the third from the end is Melchi, whose son 'was Eli, the father of Joseph. Joseph therefore being the person we are concerned about, 'it must be shewn how each of these can be called his father; both Jacob, who descended 'from Solomon, and Eli, who comes from Nathan. And in the first place it must be shewn, 'how these two, Jacob and Eli, were brothers; and then how their fathers, Matthan and 'Melchi, can be grandfathers of Joseph. This will be cleared up thus: Matthan and Melchi, 'having married successively one and the same woman, begat children, which were brothers by 'the same mother.....The first therefore, Matthan, descended from Solomon, begat Jacob of 'Estha; for that was the woman's name. After the death of Matthan, Melchi, who descended 'from Nathan, taking the widow to be his wife, had by her Eli. Thus we have found Jacob 'and Eli, though of different families, brothers by the same mother; one of whom, Jacob, 'his brother Eli, having died without issue, took his wife, and begat of her the third 'Joseph, according to nature and reason his own son: wherefore also it is written, "And Jacob 'begat Joseph:" but according to law he was the son of Eli; for Jacob being his brother, raised 'up seed unto him. For which reason[c] neither is that genealogy destitute of authority, which 'the evangelist Matthew rehearses thus: "And Jacob begat Joseph." On the other hand 'Luke: being, as was supposed (for he adds this withal), the son of Joseph, "which was the 'son of Eli, which was the son of Melchi." He could not more[d] plainly and properly express 'that kind of descent which is according to law. And so exact is he, that reciting the genea-'logy of this sort, he entirely omits the word 'begetting,' to the very last, though he carries 'up the line step by step to Adam, "who was the son of God."

We are farther assured by Africanus, that this[e] account was given by some who were kinsmen of our Lord according to the flesh. However, he says, '[f] though it were unsupported by 'any such testimony, yet this account of the matter ought to be reckoned the best and the 'truest. But, be it so or not, the gospel is certainly true.'

Once more[g] Eusebius says, 'And at the end of the same epistle he [Africanus] adds: "Matthan, who descended from Solomon, begat Jacob. Matthan being dead, Melchi, who

[a] Eus. H. E. l. i. cap. 7. in. [b] Τας μεν δη των λοιπων δοξας ὡς αν βιαιȣς και διεψευσμενας αποδειξας· ἡν δ' αυτος παρειληφεν ἱστοριαν, τȣτοις αυτοις εκτιθεμενος τοις ῥημασι. Ibid. p. 20. D. [c] Διοπερ ȣκ ακυροθησεται και ἡ κατ' αυτον γενεαλογια, ἡν Ματθαιος μεν ὁ ευαγγελιστης εξαριθμȣμενος, Ιακωβ δε φησιν εγεννησε τον Ιωσηφ. Ibid. p. 22. B.

[d] Την γαρ κατα νομον γενεσιν επισημοτερον ȣκ ην εξειπειν. Και το εγεννησεν επι τοιας δε παιδοποϊας αχρι τελȣς εσιωπησε, την αναφοραν ποιησαμενος ἑως τȣ Αδαμ και τȣ Θεȣ κατ' αναλυσιν. Ibid. p. 22. B. [e] Τȣ γȣν Σωτηρος οἱ κατα σαρκα συγγενεις, ειτ' ȣν φανητιωντες, ειθ' ὁπλως εκδιδασκοντες, παντως αληθευοντες, παρεδοσαν και ταυτα. p. 22. C. Ὡν ἐτυγχανον οἱ προειρημενοι δεσποσυνοι καλȣμενοι. p. 23. B. [f] Και ἡμιν αυτη μελετω, ει και μη εμμαρτυρος εστι, τῳ μη κρειττονα η αληθεστεραν εχειν ειπειν. Το μεντοι ευαγγελιον παντως αληθευει. p. 23. C. [g] P. 23. D,

'descended from Nathan, begat of the same woman Eli; Eli therefore, and Jacob, were brothers 'by the same mother. Eli dying without issue, Jacob raised up seed to him, having begotten 'Joseph, according to nature indeed to himself, but according to law to Eli. So Joseph was the 'son of both." Thus far Africanus.'

It ought to be observed, that whereas we read in our copies of St. Luke, iii. ver. 24, "which was the son of Matthat, which was the son of Levi, which was the son of Melchi:" Africanus omits the two former descents, and reads only the last. I hope this whole passage is now intelligible.

And that we have here the true reading of Africanus, is confirmed by a passage of Bar-Salibi, transcribed [a] by Dr. Asseman.

St. Augustine, in his [b] Retractations, entirely approves of this method of reconciling the genealogies in St. Matthew and St. Luke; und Dr. Wall [c] says, 'The best hypothesis that has 'been given for reconciling the two catalogues, is the old one of Africanus.' I persuade myself therefore, that it will not be disapproved by any, that I have set it so much at large before my readers. I would add, that Mr. Richardson [d] has a dissertation upon this subject, which well deserves to be read by the curious.

But, whatever becomes of this method of reconciling the two evangelists, here is a very valuable testimony to their gospels, and in particular a cogent argument for the genuineness of the beginning of St. Matthew's. It does not plainly appear that any whom Africanus disputed with, rejected it; though some may be ready to suspect this from those words: 'For 'which reason neither is that genealogy destitute of authority, which the evangelist Matthew 'rehearses;' which words possibly may be thought to imply, that St. Matthew's genealogy was not altogether unquestioned, or reputed of equal authority with St. Luke's. But I do not take that to be the design of those words, Africanus afterwards expressing himself in a like manner [e] also of St. Luke's genealogy; his intention therefore is only to assert the truth and propriety of both. But if there were any whom Africanus argued against, who took this method of solving or evading the difficulty, it must be one of those opinions which, as Eusebius says, 'Africanus rejected as false;' since it is evident that he maintains the truth, authority, and usefulness of both the genealogies.

Considering then the learning and the age of Africanus, and the country in which he resided, and the history he had received from some of the kinsmen of Jesus according to the flesh; and that he made a particular enquiry into this matter, and appears to have been fully satisfied about it; it must be reckoned that we have here all the evidence for the genuineness of this part of St. Matthew's gospel that can be well desired.

V. The letter to Origen concerning the history of Susanna, is generally supposed to have been written about the [f] year 228, though there are some learned men who are rather inclined to [g] the year 240, twelve years after. The occasion of it was this: Origen, in a conference with one Bassus, where Africanus was present, made use of that history. Africanus, thinking it spurious and forged, took an opportunity some while after to write to Origen upon that point. It is a fine letter, learned and critical; and though short, does a great deal of honour to its author.

As the question in dispute relates only to a part of a book of the Old Testament, and the letter is very short, here are no quotations of the New Testament. However, Africanus here observes, 'that [h] all the books of the Old Testament were written in Hebrew, and from thence 'were translated into Greek;' which shews that there was a collection of books, called the New Testament, for which he had the like respect with that paid to the books of the Old Testament, written in Hebrew.

VI. But it will be worth the while to observe what books Origen quotes to Africanus in

[a] Quos Lucas refert Christi progenitores, eos ex Africano, Eusebio, Nazianzeno, Sarugensi, Græcisque et Syriacis codicibus, sic enumerat [Dionys. Bar-Salibi,] fol. 37. 'Africanus, et 'Eusebius tertium numerant Melchi, sicut etiam Mathan 'tertio loco collocant ante Joseph, hoc modo: "Joseph filius 'Heli, filii Melchi." In codicibus vero Syriacis, qui apud nos 'exstant, sancti Lucæ, quinto loco numeratur: "Joseph 'filius Heli, filii Matath, filii Levi, filii Melchi." Asseman, Bib. Or. Tom. ii. cap. 32. p. 161, 162. [b] Retract. l, ii. cap. 7. [c] Brief Critical Notes upon the N. T. p. 65.

[d] Joan. Richardson. Prælect. Ecclesiast. I. de Christi Genealogia. [e] Θυδε μην αναποδειχτον η εσχεδιασμενον εστι τουτο. p. 22. C. [f] Vid Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 236. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. ii. p. 38. Jule Africain; & T. iii. P. iii. p. 263. [g] Vid. Huet. Origenian. l. iii. cap. 4. sect. 1. et Admon. in African. Ep. ed. Bened. T. i. p. 8.

[h] Εξ Εβραιων δε τοις Ελλησι μεταβληθη παντ' οσα της παλαιας διαθηκης φερεται. Africa. Ep. ad Orig. sect. 1.

his answer, which is long. Here then are several quotations of the gospels of [a] St. Matthew and St. Luke. The Acts of the apostles [b] are expressly quoted. Here are words of the epistle to [c] the Romans, and first to the Corinthians; and [d] St. Paul's first epistle to the Thessalonians is expressly quoted at length. The epistle to the Hebrews is cited in this manner: Origen says, 'That the story of Susanna being dishonourable to the Jewish elders, it was suppressed 'by their great men; and that there were many things kept as much as might be from the know-'ledge of the people, some of which nevertheless were preserved in some apocryphal books. 'Of this,' says he, 'I shall give an instance in some things related of Isaiah, and mentioned in 'the epistle to the Hebrews, though not written in any of their open books. For the writer 'of the epistle to the Hebrews, discoursing of the prophets and their sufferings, says, "They 'were stoned, they were sawn asunder, they were slain by the sword." To what person, I 'pray, does that relate, "they were sawn asunder?" according to an ancient custom, not only 'of the Jews but also of the Greeks, expressed indeed in the plural number, but meant of one. It 'is certain that traditions say, Isaiah the prophet was sawn asunder; and it is mentioned in an 'apocryphal [or 'secret'] book, which perhaps some of the Jews have designedly corrupted; 'inserting in that piece some unbecoming things, that the whole might be discredited. But 'possibly some [e] one, pressed with this argument, will take refuge in the opinion of those who 'reject this epistle as not written by Paul. In answer to such a one we design [or, 'had need'] 'to write a distinct discourse, to shew that epistle to be Paul's.'

Hence it appears, that there were some in the eastern part of the world, as well as in the west, who rejected the epistle to the Hebrews: and it may be suspected, at least, that Origen did not know that Africanus received it as the apostle Paul's.

VII. However, we have seen in Africanus an uncommon attestation to the two gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, and especially to their genealogies. Several books of the New Testament are alleged and quoted to him by Origen, as of authority. He plainly had a volume, or collection of books, with the title and denomination of the New Testament, of equal authority with the Jewish sacred and canonical scriptures, written originally in Hebrew. There is therefore no ground to doubt, but sufficient reason to believe, that this great and learned man received as scripture the books generally received by Christians in his time, and particularly by Origen, with whom he was well acquainted. Whether he received the epistle to the Hebrews as the apostle Paul's, we cannot certainly say; nor have we any good ground to suppose he rejected it. The same may be said with regard to the other books of the New Testament, which were doubted of by some at that time. We do not know his opinion concerning them. In these, and some other matters, we should have had fuller satisfaction, if more of his learned and elaborate performances had come down to us.

As it is, we may glory in Africanus as a Christian. For it cannot but be a pleasure to observe, that in those early days there were some within the inclosure of the church of Christ, whose shining abilities rendered them the ornament of the age in which they lived; when they appear also to have been men of unspotted characters, and give evident proofs of honesty and integrity.

[a] Vid Orig. Ep. ad Af. sect. 7. p. 18. D. E. Tom. i. Bened. sect. 9. p. 20. B. C. D. [b] Και εν Πραξεσι δε των Αποστολων ὁ Στεφανος μαρτυρων επι πολλοις και παυλα λεγει. κ. λ. Ib. sect. 9. p. 22. A. [c] Ib. sect. 4. p. 16. C. [d] Και ὁ Παυλος εν τη προτερα της προς Θεσσαλονικεις επιστολης παυλα περι Ιουδαιων μαρτυρων φησιν. Ib. sect. 9 p. 22. B. C. [e] Αλλ' εικος τινα θλιβομενον απο της εις παυλα αποδειξεως, συγχρησασθαι τω βελτιωνι των αθετουντων την επιστολην, ως ο Παυλος γεγραμμενην. Προς ὁν αλλων λογων καὶ ἰδιαν χρηζομεν εις αποδειξιν ειναι Παυλου την επιστολην. Ibid. sect. 9. p. 19, 20.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

ORIGEN.

I. *His history and character.* II. III. *Select passages of Origen.* IV. V. VI. *Three catalogues of the books of the N. T.* VII. *Of the four gospels.* VIII. *Acts of the apostles.* IX. *St. Paul's epistles.* X. *The epistle to the Hebrews.* XI. *The epistle of St. James.* XII. *First and second of St. Peter.* XIII. *St. John's three epistles.* XIV. *St. Jude's epistle.* XV. *The Revelation.* XVI. *Whether Origen says, that from the beginning Christians were divided about the books of scripture.* XVII. *A passage containing a general enumeration of the books of the New Testament.* XVIII. *General titles and divisions of the books of scripture.* XIX. *Respect for them.* XX. *Reading them recommended.* XXI. *Publicly read.* XXII. *The enquiry, whether Origen received as scripture any books not in the present canon, proposed.* XXIII. *Of ecclesiastical writings cited by Origen, St. Barnabas's epistle; St. Clement's; The Recognitions; the Shepherd of Hermas; St. Ignatius.* XXIV. *Spurious and apocryphal writings; apocryphal gospels in general; the gospel according to the Hebrews; the gospel according to Peter; the doctrine and preaching of Peter; Acts of Paul; an anonymous book.* XXV. *Jewish apocryphal books; Tobit, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Susanna, Maccabees; the books of Enoch; the Twelve Patriarchs; the ascension of Moses; anonymous pieces: apocryphal writings said to be referred to in the N. T.* XXVI. *Remarks upon the foregoing citations.* XXVII. *Select various readings.* XXVIII. *Explications of texts.* XXIX. *General observations upon the scriptures of the New Testament.* XXX. *Whether Origen thought that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew.* XXXI. *Sum of his testimony.*

I. ORIGEN was born in Egypt, in the year of our Lord [a] 184, or [b] 185, that is, the fifth or the sixth of the emperor Commodus, and died in the sixty-ninth [c] or seventieth [d] year of his age, in the year of Christ [e] 253. Porphyry [f] affirms, that Origen was born of Gentile parents, and educated in the Gentile religion; but that afterwards, when he was grown up, he embraced the Christian religion. This is flatly contradicted by [g] Eusebius, who was a great admirer of Origen, and wrote his history at large, which [h] he collected partly from Origen's own epistles, and partly from the relations of his scholars, who lived to his time. And I suppose that none have observed in Origen's remaining works any evidences of his having been a heathen; which certainly would have appeared, if Porphyry had spoken truth in this matter.

Eusebius informs us, that Leonides, Origen's father, took great care of his education; and that in his childhood he raised the greatest expectations from his quick improvement in several parts of knowledge, especially of the holy scriptures; so that [i] he often gave his father some trouble by his enquiries into the profound meaning of them. His father seemingly reproved him before his face, bidding him to content himself with the plain obvious sense of the words, and not to aspire to things above his age; but at the same time he was exceedingly pleased: and it is reported that Leonides has stood by his son as he slept, and uncovering his breast kissed it with reverence, as honoured with the indwelling of the divine spirit, accounting himself extremely happy in a child of such attainments.

We have no very particular information who were Origen's masters. It is undoubted,

[a] Pagi Crit. in Baron. 202. n. vi. [b] Basnag. Ann. 203. n. xii. Tillemont, Origene, art. ii.

[c] Vixit usque ad Gallum et Volusianum, id est, usque ad lxix. ætatis suæ annum, et mortuus est Tyri, in quâ urbe et sepultus est. Hieron. de Vir. Ill. cap. 54. vid. et Phot Cod. 118. col. 297. [d] Ωριγενης εν τειῳ [Γαλλῳ] ἑνος δεονλα της ζωης ἑβδομηκονλα αποπλησας εἰη τελευλᾳ. Eus. H. E. l. vii. cap. 1. [e] Pagi, 253. n. 23. Basn. 203. n. xii Tillem. Mem. Origene, art. 25. [f] Ωριγενης δε Ἑλλην εν ελλησι παιδευθεις λογοις, προς το βαρβαρον εξωκειλε τολμημα. Ap. Eus. vi. c. 19. p. 220. B.

[g] Ψευσαμενω δε σαφως. Eus. ib. p. 220. D. [h] L. vi. c. 2. p. 201. C. [i] Vid. Eus. ib. c. 2. p. 202. C. D. 203, A.

however, that Clement,[a] then catechist at Alexandria, was one. He likewise heard for some time, occasionally at least, the celebrated philosopher Ammonius Saccas, as Porphyry [b] relates expressly, and owns that Origen made good proficience in the knowledge of philosophy under that master. Theodoret mentions [c] the same thing as a common report. But it must have been long after this time, when Origen himself had been catechist some while, as may be concluded from what he says in a fragment of a letter preserved [d] in Eusebius, where he defends himself against those who accused him of too great affection for secular literature. Basnage [e] thinks, Origen might be then about 30 years of age.

There was another of this name among the disciples of Ammonius, and one of the most eminent of them. It is certain that [f] he ought to be distinguished from our Origen: he published but two [g] pieces, and the latter of them in the reign of Gallienus, after the death of him whose history we are now writing.

Leonides suffered martyrdom [h] in the year 202, the tenth of Severus, leaving behind him a wife and seven children, of which Origen was the oldest, but not quite seventeen years of age. In the very beginning of this persecution, Origen shewed great zeal for christianity, and was ready to offer himself to martyrdom. Being detained at home by the prudent care of his mother, he sent [i] a letter to his father in prison, earnestly entreating him to be constant. Eusebius has preserved but one line of it; but, as Tillemont justly observes, it is worth many volumes: 'Take heed, father, that you do not change your mind for our sake.'

Upon the death of Leonides, the family was reduced to great straits, the estate being confiscated. Origen however was [k] taken care of by a rich and honourable lady of Alexandria: but in a short time he was able to provide for himself by teaching grammar.

At this time [l] the chair of the catechetical school was empty. Nor was there any one at Alexandria to teach the principles of the Christian religion; the terror of the persecution had caused so many to abscond, or flee out of the city. There came [m] then some heathens to Origen, desiring to be taught by him the Christian doctrine. The first of these, as he writes himself, was Plutarch, who, after having lived well, obtained the honour of martyrdom. The second was Heraclas, Plutarch's brother, who was bishop of Alexandria after the death of Demetrius. Origen was [n] not above eighteen years of age when he was set over the catechetical school by appointment of Demetrius; in which office he was eminently useful, and besides gained the universal esteem of the faithful, by his frequent visits, and other kind offices, to the confessors in prison, whether strangers or of his particular acquaintance.

Having [o] alone the whole care of the school, and the number of his disciples increasing, he left off teaching grammar, and confined himself entirely to religious instructions; in which he continued to be so successful, that there were no less than [p] seven of his scholars who suffered martyrdom, one of which was a woman.

There must have been at that time no stated salary for the president of that school at Alexandria; and Origen was unwilling to receive a gratuity from those whom he instructed in the rudiments of the Christian religion. 'For,' as Eusebius [q] says, 'prudently considering with 'himself how he might be able to stand in no need of assistance from others, he sold all his

[a] Ὡς και τον Ωριγενην των φοιτητων αυτε παιδα ονια γενεσθαι. Eus. l. vi. cap. 6. [b] Ακροατης γαρ ειτος Αμμωνιε τε πλειστην εν τοις καθ' ημας χρονοις επιδοσιν εν φιλοσοφια εσχηκοτος γεγονως· εις μεν την των λογων εμπειριαν, πολλην παρα τε διδασκαλε την ωφελειαν εκτησατο. Porphyr. ap. Eus. l. vi. c. 19. p. 220. A. [c] Theodoret. Gr. Aff. l. vi p. 573. D. [d] Eus. l. vi c. 19. p. 221. B. conf. cap. 18. fin. [e] Ann. 203. n. 15,

[f] Vid. Vales. Annot. p. 120. in Eus. l. vi c 19. Huet. Origenian. l. i. cap. 1. num. vii. et Fabric. Bibl. Gr. T. v. p. 213. et T. iv. p. 97. in not. ad Porphyr. cap. 3. de Vit. Plotini; et Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. ii. p. 86. Ammone Saccas. Vid. et Pagi Crit. Ann. 246. n. ii.

[g] Vid. Porphyr. de Vit. Plotin. cap. 3. et 20.

[h] Ὡς δε ηδη αυτω ο παιης μαρτυριω τελειωτο, και βραχυτερως αδελφοις τον αριθμον εξ, επταικαιδεκαετον ο πληρες αγων ετος καλα ειρηται Eus. l vi. cap. 3. p. 203. B. Vid. et cap. 1. Origenes, qui et Adamantius, decimo Severi Pertinacis anno adversum Christianos persecutione commotâ, a Leonide patre, Christi martyrio coronato, cum sex fratribus, et matre viduâ, pauper relinquitur, annos natus circiter decem et septem: rem enim familiarem, ob confessionem Christi, fiscus occupaverat. Hieron. De V. I. cap. 54. in. [i] Διαπεμπεται τω πατρι φροτρεπτικωταιην περι μαρτυριε συνταξας επιστολην, εν η καλα λεξιν αυτω παραινει, λεγων· Επεχε, μη δι' ημας αλλο τι φρονησης. Eus. ib. c. 2. p. 102. B. C. [k] Eus. ib. p. 203. B. C. [l] Eus. ib. c. 3. p. 204. A.

[m] Ibid. A. B. [n] Ετος δ' ηγεν οκτωκαιδεκατον, καθ' ο τε της καθηγησεως προεστη διδασκαλειε, κ. λ. Eus. ib. 204. B. D. Hic, Alexandriæ dispersâ ecclesiâ, decimo octavo ætatis suæ anno καθηγησεων opus aggressus, postea a Demetrio, ejus urbis episcopo, in locum Clementis presbyteri confirmatus, per multos annos floruit. Hieron. de Vir. Ill. ibid. [o] Επειδη δε εωρα φοιτητας ηδη πλειες προσιοντας αυτω μονω της τε καθηχειν διαλριβης υπο Δημητριε τε της εκκλησιας προεστωτος επιτετραμμενης, κ. λ. Id. cap. 3. 205. B.

[p] Ibid. cap. 4, 5. [q] Cap. 3. p. 205. C.

'volumes of ancient authors, which he had collected with great care, and contented himself 'with four *oboli* [or five pence] to be paid him daily by the purchaser.'

Not long after this, or however whilst he was but young, in the 21st year of his age, as is supposed,[a] of Christ 205 or 206, he was guilty of that[b] rash and indiscreet action so well known. For being in his early youth obliged to teach women as well as men, and being desirous to put himself out of the reach of scandal, and to deliver himself from temptations, he was induced to fulfil upon himself, in a literal sense, the saying of our Saviour, Matth. xix. 12, where he speaks of those who "make themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven." It might be said, by way of apology for him, that those words have been so understood also by others: but, as the action is in itself unjustifiable, so Origen was afterwards convinced of his error, and publicly confuted in his writings the literal interpretation of that text, in such a manner as to shew that he condemned himself; saying, beside other things, 'But[c] we, who once understood Christ 'according to the flesh, and according to the letter, but now knowing him no more in that 'manner, approve not of that interpretation,' which he there mentions.

Notwithstanding his important employment in the school, Origen went[d] to Rome in the time of Zephyrinus, bishop of that city, 'having[e] a desire, as he somewhere writes, to see the 'most ancient church of the Romans.' Having made there a short stay, he returned to Alexandria, and applied himself again with the greatest diligence to his ordinary work of teaching the principles of religion; Demetrius still favouring his endeavours, and even quickening his zeal by earnest exhortations to promote the edification of the church. The exact time of this[f] journey cannot be determined, only it must have been performed before 217; some think[g] about the year 213.

Origen finding that he was not able to apply himself to the study of the scriptures, and the interpretation of them, as he desired, and to satisfy all those who from morning till evening came flocking to the school, took in Heracles before mentioned to be his partner in that work; committing to him the instruction of the younger scholars, and reserving to his own care those who had made some proficience.

The next thing mentioned by[h] Eusebius is Origen's learning the Hebrew tongue: upon which occasion he also speaks of his editions of the Old Testament, in one of which he placed in several columns the original Hebrew text, and the Greek versions of the Seventy, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and some others, the names of which are not known. St. Jerom[i] likewise says, that such was Origen's desire to understand and promote the knowledge of the scriptures, that, contrary to the custom of his time and country, he learned the Hebrew language; nay, he says he was[k] admired by all Greece upon that account. However divers[l] learned moderns have observed, that Origen's skill in Hebrew was not exact.

Eusebius[m] adds, 'About this time Ambrose, who followed the Valentinian heresy, was 'brought over to the orthodox doctrine of the church by the preaching of Origen.' St. Jerom, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, gives[n] this account of Ambrose: 'That he was at 'first a Marcionite; afterwards, having been convinced of his error by Origen, he became a 'deacon of the church, and had the honour of suffering for Christ, as a confessor; to whom, 'and to Protoctetus, Origen inscribed his book of Martyrdom: and that Origen dedicated to 'Ambrose many of his volumes, which were published at his desire, care, and charge. Ambrose 'was a man of a good family, and of no small wit, as his letters to Origen shew. He died 'before Origen, and is blamed by many, that, though he was rich, he did not at his death 'remember his friend; who was not only poor, but likewise in his old age.'

[a] Vid. Basnag. 203. n. xiii. Pagi, 206. n. ii.
[b] Vid. Eus. l. vi. cap. 8. [c] In Matth. Tom. xv. p. 368, 369. Huet. [d] Eus. l. vi. c. 14. p. 216. D.
[e] Ευξαμενος την αρχαιοπατην Ρωμαιων εκκλησιαν ιδειν. Ibid.
[f] Vid. Pagi, Crit. 215. n. iii. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. iii. Origene, art. 8. [g] Vid. Basnag. 203. sect. 14.
[h] L. vi. cap. 16. [i] Quis ignorat et quod tantum in scripturis divinis habuerit studii, ut etiam Hebræam linguam, contra ætatis gentisque suæ naturam, edisceret? De Vir. Ill. c. 54. [k] Vid. Hieron. 3. ep. 22. al. 25. init.
[l] Huet. Origenian. l. ii. c. 1. sect. ii. p. 26. Tillemont, Mem. Ecc. in Origene, art. 2. et note 3. Vid. et Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 224. [m] Ib. c. 18 in.
[n] Ambrosius, primum Marcionites, deinde, ab Origene correctus, ecclesiæ diaconus, et confessionis Dominicæ gloriâ insignis fuit; cui, et Protocteto presbytero, liber Origenis de Martyrio scribitur. Hujus industriâ, et sumptu, et instantiâ, ad hunc infinita Origenes dictavit volumina. Sed et ipse, quippe ut vir nobilis, non inelegantis ingenii fuit; sicut ejus ad Origenem epistolæ indicio sunt. Obiit ante mortem Origenis; et in hoc a plerisque reprehenditur, quod, vir locuples, amici sui senis et pauperis moriens non recordatus sit. Hieron. de Vir. Ill. cap. 56.

So writes Jerom. Epiphanius informs us, that[a] in his time it was said by some that Ambrose was at first a Marcionite, by others that he was a Sabellian; but I suppose Eusebius's account is the most credible, who calls him a Valentinian: his conversion might be made[b] about the year 212. Protoctetus was a presbyter of the church of Cæsarea in Palestine: his and Ambrose's confession for Christ was in the persecution under Maximin, about the year 236. Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History,[c] speaks of their sufferings, as does likewise Origen in several places of his Exhortation to Martyrdom, inscribed to both of them, which is still extant. And there are besides remaining several other works of Origen dedicated to Ambrose: as his Commentaries upon St. John's gospel, the treatise of Prayer, and the eight books against Celsus: which last shews, though Ambrose died before Origen, yet he lived to the year 250, or near it. St. Jerom says that Ambrose was a deacon of the church; at Alexandria, as is generally supposed. But Eusebius says nothing of this: and some[d] are rather inclined to think he was a deacon of the church of Cæsarea, where Protoctetus was presbyter. Origen, in a letter of which we have now only a fragment, calls Ambrose[e] 'a man indeed devoted to God;' and speaks of his earnest desire to understand the scriptures, and his great application in the study of them. Ambrose had a wife named Marcella, by whom he had several children: she is commended by Origen,[f] as a true Christian, and faithful wife.

Eusebius[g] informs us, that Ambrose was the person who excited Origen to write commentaries upon the scriptures, and that not only by words and entreaties, but by supplies of all things necessary: for there were seven notaries or more procured by him to attend Origen when he dictated, who relieved each other by turns: and besides there was a like number of young women, or others, skilful in the art of fair writing, all which were handsomely maintained by[h] Ambrose.

Jerom said just now that Ambrose was blamed by many for leaving nothing at his death to Origen. But Tillemont thinks that Ambrose knew his friend's mind, and that Origen chose to be poor, and to live in a dependence on Providence.

Finally, St. Jerom speaks of Ambrose's epistles: but there is nothing of them remaining. It was fit, however, that we should give the account we have here done of this intimate friend and great admirer of Origen.

In the year of Christ 228, Origen was sent upon some affair of the church by Demetrius into Achaia. When he came to Cæsarea in Palestine, he[i] was ordained presbyter by Theoctistus and Alexander, bishops in that country, being then about forty-three or forty-four years of age. Demetrius, who had before envied Origen's reputation, was now greatly[k] offended at him: so that Origen, after his return from Athens, being very uneasy at Alexandria, left that city, and went to reside at Cæsarea, resigning the chair of the catechetical school to Heraclas,[l] who had been already his partner for near twenty years. This happened in the year[m] 231.

Upon this occasion Demetrius held two councils at Alexandria: in the first of which Origen was expelled that city, and forbid to teach in it; or, if he was retired before, the decree of the council must be understood to deprive him of the office he had enjoyed, and to forbid his return to Alexandria. This was all which that council would consent to, as Photius[n] relates from Pamphilus. In the second he was deposed from being presbyter; and Jerom seems to say that he[o] was excommunicated. Demetrius likewise sent letters to the bishops of the several

[a] Τινες δε τȣτον τον Αμβροσιον εφασαν οἱ μεν Μαρκιωνιςην, οἱ δε Σαβελλιανον. Epiph. Hær. 64. p. 526. 4. [b] See Tillemont, T. iii. P. ii. p. 59. [c] Ibid. cap. 28.

[d] Ambrosium 'ecclesiæ diaconum fuisse scimus ex Hieronymo; cujus vero ignoramus: eo tamen inclinat conjectura, ut in Cæsariensi diaconum egerit. Origeni comes erat, qui plurimum Cæsareæ versatus est. Protocteto quoque Cæsariensi conjungit Ambrosium, dum ambobus librum de martyrio suum nuncupat. Basnag. Ann. 203. n. 22.

[e] Vid. Orig. Op. T. i. p. 3. edit. Bened.

[f] Ασπαζεται δε σε και ἡ πιςοτατη συμβιος αυτȣ Μαρκελλα αμα τοις τεκνοις. Orig. Ep. ad African. sub fin.

[g] L. vi. cap. 23. [h] Ambrosius, quo chartas, sumtus, notarios ministrante, tam innumerabiles libros vere Adamantius et Chalcenterus noster explicavit. Hieron. ad Marcel. ep. 45. al. 18. p. 552. Conf. eund. de Vir. Ill. cap. 56 et 61.

[i] Et cum jam mediæ esset ætatis, et propter ecclesias Achaiæ, quæ pluribus hæresibus vexabantur, sub testimonio ecclesiasticæ epistolæ Athenas per Palæstinam pergeret, a Theoctisto et Alexandro, Cæsareæ et Hierosolymorum episcopis, presbyter ordinatus, Demetrii offendit animum, qui tantâ in eum debacchatus est insaniâ, ut per totum mundum super nomen ejus scriberet. Hieron. de Vir. Ill. c. 54.

[k] Vid. Eus. ib. c. 8. p. 209. C. D. et cap. 23. p. 224. C. D. [l] Eus. ib. cap. 26. [m] See Tillemont, Mem. Origene, art. 19. and note 21. [n] Phot. Cod. 118. n. 297. [o] Contra sacerdotes ergo ecclesiæ generaliter disputans, a quibus indignus communione ejus fuerat judicatus. Hieron. Apol. adv. Ruf. l. ii. col. 411. T. iv. P. ii. Bened.

parts of the world against Origen, who, as Jerom says, was thereupon condemned by the [a] bishop of Rome, and generally by all others, except the bishops of Palestine, Arabia, Phœnicia, and Achaia, by whom he was still honoured.

Soon after this, in the [b] very same year, as is supposed, Demetrius died, who was succeeded by Heraclas, and he by Dionysius, in the catechetical school; who [c] was also one of Origen's scholars, and succeeded Heraclas in the bishopric of Alexandria: which, as Tillemont [d] argues, may afford reason to conclude, that the animosity against Origen abated after the death of Demetrius.

Origen was well received at Cæsarea, where Theoctistus the bishop of that city, and Alexander bishop of Jerusalem, heard him as if he had been their master, and [e] committed to him alone the interpretation of the scriptures, and other ecclesiastical instructions. Here there was a great resort to Origen, not only of the people of that country, but also of distant parts; the most noted of which were Gregory, afterwards called Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neocœsarea in Pontus, and his brother Athenodorus, afterwards also bishop in Pontus: these [f] resided with Origen under his tuition for the space of five years. Firmilianus, at this time bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, invited Origen into his own country; and [g] likewise made him several visits at Cæsarea in Palestine, and made a stay with him for the sake of farther improvement in divine knowledge. St. Jerom says [h] moreover, that Firmilianus, and all Cappadocia, pressed Origen to come to them; and that he actually accepted the invitation and resided with them a good while. Tillemont [i] thinks it probable that he lived there privately during the time of the persecution under Maximin; where also, as he supposes, he wrote his Exhortation to Martyrdom. Africanus was another of Origen's friends, with whom he had at least an epistolary correspondence. He wrote letters likewise to Fabian, bishop of Rome, and to divers other eminent bishops of the Christian church; as Eusebius assures us, who [k] made a collection of Origen's epistles, to the number of a hundred and more.

We may observe here, as proofs of the uncommon abilities and suitable reputation of Origen, without concerning ourselves about the exact time of those events, which cannot be easily settled, if at all; that [l] Mamæa, mother of the emperor Alexander, sent for Origen to come to her at Antioch, that she might have discourse with him upon things of religion; at the same time, for his greater safety, appointing him a military guard to attend him in his journey: and [m] that he had the honour to write a letter to the emperor Philip, and another to his wife Severa. These things are mentioned to the advantage of Origen by [n] Jerom and others, as well as by Eusebius. But Jerom, instead of Philip's wife, says his mother.

And whilst Origen yet dwelt at Alexandria, as Eusebius [o] says, there came a soldier who delivered letters to Demetrius bishop of that city, and to the præfect of Egypt, from the governor of Arabia, desiring them to send Origen to him with all speed, that he might have some discourse with him. Being therefore sent by them, he went into Arabia; and having in a short time finished the affair for which he was sent, he returned to Alexandria. Tillemont [p] thinks this must have been before the year 217, when Origen was not more than thirty-one or thirty-two years of age.

Origen made another journey to Athens, beside that before mentioned by order of Demetrius. Eusebius, though he mentions this journey, does not inform us of the time of it; it is supposed, however, to have been about the year 240. Origen must have made some stay at Athens at this time; for he there [q] finished his Commentaries upon Ezekiel, and began his Exposition of the Canticles.

[a] Porro hoc sudore quid accepit pretii? Damnatus a Demetrio episcopo, exceptis Palæstinæ, et Arabiæ, et Phœnices, atque Achaiæ sacerdotibus. In damnationem ejus consentit urbs Romana: ipsa contra hunc cogit senatum, non propter dogmatum novitatem, non propter hæresim, . . . sed quia gloriam eloquentiæ ejus et scientiæ ferre non poterant; et illo dicente omnes muti putabantur. Hieron. ep. 29.

[b] Ουκ εις μακρον δε και Δημητριος τελευτα. Eus. ibid. c. 26.

[c] Ibid. c. 29. p. 229. D. [d] Mem. Ec. Origene, art. 20. near the end. [e] Μονῳ τα της των θειων γραφων ἑρμηνειας και τα λοιπα τῳ εκκλησιαστικῳ λογου παρατειειν συνεχωρων. Eus. ib. c. 27. [f] Ib. c. 30.

[g] Ib. c. 26, 27. [h] Quantæ autem gloriæ fuerit, hinc apparet, quod Firmilianus Cæsareæ episcopus, cum omni Cappadociâ, eum invitavit, et diu tenuit; et postea sub occasione sanctorum locorum Palæstinam veniens, diu Cæsareæ in sanctis scripturis ab eo eruditus est. De Vir. Ill. c. 54.

[i] Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. iii. Origene, art. 22. et note 24.

[k] H. E. l. vi. cap. 36. [l] Ibid. cap. 21.

[m] Ibid. c. 36. [n] Sed et illud, quod ad Mammæam, matrem Alexandri imperatoris, religiosam feminam, rogatus venit Antiochiam, et summo honore habitus est: quodque ad Philippum imperatorem, ... et ad matrem ejus literas fecit. De Vir. Ill. cap. 54. [o] L. vi. cap. 19. p. 221. D.

[p] Till. Origene, art. 13, at the beginning.

[q] Eus. cap. 32. p. 231. A.

At this time lived Beryllus, bishop of Bostra in Arabia. He was accused of saying,[a] 'that 'our Lord and Saviour, before his coming to dwell among men, had no proper distinct subsist-'ence; and that he had no godhead of his own, but only that of the Father residing in him.' There was a synod of bishops convened upon this occasion, at which Origen was present; and it is to his arguments chiefly that Eusebius ascribes the conviction of Beryllus. In another place our ecclesiastical historian says, that [b] Beryllus left behind him divers epistles, and other writings, of an elegant composition. Beryllus is supposed by Cave to have flourished about the year 230.

Jerom's account of this bishop is, 'That [c] after he had for a considerable time presided in 'the church with great reputation, at length falling into that heresy which denies Christ to 'have subsisted before his incarnation, he was convinced by Origen. He wrote several pieces, 'particularly epistles, in which he thanks Origen: there are also letters of Origen to him. 'There is, besides, a conference of Origen and Beryllus, in which his heresy is confuted. He 'flourished in the time of Alexander, son of Mamæa, and Maximin, and Gordian who succeeded 'him.' Of these writings there is now nothing extant: they must have been very curious.

Eusebius [d] informs us, that after this another dispute arose in Arabia; some there asserting, 'that the human soul died with the body, and turned to corruption, but at the time of the 'resurrection it should be revived together with it.' For thi sreason a numerous synod was called, and Origen was desired to be present; where he discoursed publickly upon this question with such strength of reason, that they who had asserted the forementioned doctrine were convinced, and altered their minds.

Eusebius adds,[e] that at this time a new error arose, called the heresy of the Helcesaites, which was soon extinct. He transcribes there a passage of Origen concerning them, which we have no reason to insist upon at present.

When Origen was sixty years of age, and not before, as Eusebius [f] informs us, about the year 244, he permitted his discourses which he made to the people to be taken down by short-hand writers; having by long use and exercise gained a perfect habit of speaking. Of these homilies there were [g] above a thousand, for he preached then almost every [h] day. And about this time, as Eusebius proceeds to observe, Origen wrote his eight books against Celsus, and five-and-twenty tomes upon St. Matthew, and expositions of the twelve prophets.

In the Decian persecution, in 250, Origen [i] was a great sufferer. He was imprisoned, and chained with an iron chain. He was put in the stocks, and for several days had his feet stretched to the distance of four holes; and suffered the threatenings of fire, and many other torments; the judge at the same time taking a great deal of care not to kill him outright. 'Of all these 'things,' as Eusebius says, 'Origen had written in his own epistles, full of piety, and thoughts 'proper to comfort the afflicted.' It is a great pity these epistles are all lost. They would have been very edifying, as all may perceive from the short passage already mentioned in Origen's letter to his father, and from some other things we shall take notice of by and by.

Eusebius has nothing more of Origen after this, except that [k] he says he died in the time of Gallus, in the 70th year of his age. And we know from Jerom and Photius that he died and was buried at Tyre, as was before mentioned.

Origen's works were extremely voluminous: but, though some catalogues of them were composed, none of them are remaining. Eusebius says he had inserted [l] an exact catalogue of them in his life of Pamphilus; but that life is not come down to us. St. Jerom says, in his book of Illustrious Men, that he forebore to give there a [m] particular account of Origen's works,

[a] Τον Σωτηρα και Κυριον ἡμων λεγειν τολμων μη προϋφεσταναι καθ' ιδιαν ȣσιας περιγραφην, προ της εις ανθρωπȣς επιδημιας· μη δε μην θεοτητα ιδιαν εχειν, αλλ' εμπολιτευομενην αυτῳ μονην την πατρικην. Ib. c. 33. p. 231. C. [b] ... τȣτων Βηρυλλος συν επιστολαις και συγγραμμασι διαφορους φιλοκαλιας καταλελοιπεν. Ib. c. 20. [c] Beryllus, Arabiæ Bostrorum episcopus, cum aliquanto tempore gloriose rexisset ecclesiam, ad extremum lapsus in hæresim, quæ Christum ante incarnationem negat; ab Origene correctus, scripsit varia opuscula; et maxime epistolas, in quibus Origeni gratias agit. Sed et Origenis ad eum litteræ sunt. Exstat dialogus Origenis et Berylli, in quo hæreseos coarguitur, &c. De Vir. Ill. cap. 60. [d] L. vi. c. 37. [e] Cap. 38.

[f] Τας επι τȣ κοινȣ λεγομενας αυτῳ διαλεξεις, ταχυγραφοις μεταλαβειν επιτρεψαι· ȣ προτερον ποτε τȣτο γενεσθαι συγκεχωρηκοτα. Cap. 36. [g] Mille et eo amplius tractatus, quos in ecclesiâ loquutus est, edidit. Hieron. ep. 41. al. 65.

[h] Præcipue vero per eos tractatus, quos pene quotidie in ecclesiâ habebat ex tempore; quos et describentes notarii, ad monimentum posteritatis tradebant. Apologia Pamph. pro Orig. col. 221. ap. Hieron. T. v. Benedict. [i] C. 39.

[k] L. vii. cap. 1. [l] L. vi. cap. 32. [m] Et quia indicem operum ejus in voluminibus epistolarum, quas ad Paulam scripsimus, in quâdam epistolâ contra Varronis opera conferens posui, nunc omitto. De V. I. cap. 54.

because he had already done it in one of his letters to Paula; but of that letter we have only a small fragment remaining.

It was long ago said of Origen, that [a] he had written six thousand volumes. Jerom [b] however is pleased to say, that, from the catalogue composed by Eusebius, it appears they did not amount to one third part of that number: but Eusebius's catalogue might not be complete; and, according to different ways of computing books or volumes, the number may be very different. Pliny [c] calls the several books of his Natural History volumes. St. Jerom says, Origen [d] wrote three volumes upon the epistle to the Ephesians, and five volumes [e] upon the epistle to the Galatians. According to that way of reckoning, what a vast number of volumes must Origen have written upon the scriptures! especially if he wrote, as [f] Epiphanius says, upon all the books of scripture: and, as [g] Jerom informs us, three sorts of works; Scholia, or brief notes; Tomes, or commentaries; and Tracts, or homilies to the people. Origen wrote, as Jerom says, thirty [h] volumes upon only a part of Isaiah; and upon [i] St. Matthew's gospel five-and-twenty volumes, beside as many homilies, and notes or scholia. His epistles [k] made several books or volumes. St. Jerom speaks [l] of the volumes of his own letters to Paula only, and [m] calls the several books of Eusebius's life of Pamphilus so many volumes. Origen's homilies, all composed and published after he was sixty years of age, amounted to above a thousand. Accounting each one of these, and each book, or tome, or division of his other works, for a volume, and there might be six thousand volumes, some larger, some smaller; which perhaps was the method by which some computed. Montfaucon [n] thinks that Origen's Hexapla alone made at least fifty volumes of a very large size. Jerom himself owns, in another place, that [o] Origen had written more than any other man could read: and in the fragment of the letter to Paula, where he gave a catalogue of Origen's works, he [p] sets him against Varro, and all the Greek and Latin authors that ever were, as having exceeded the most laborious of them all. And it is from his unwearied pains in reading and writing that some think [q] he had the name Adamantius; though others say it was given him [r] because of the strength of his reasons, and the firm connection of his arguments. Eusebius, who [s] says this was a common name of Origen, assigns no reason for it,

But though those two large and particular catalogues above mentioned are not now extant, there are accounts to be found of a good number of Origen's works in ancient writers, particularly in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, who has [t] several chapters concerning them; and observes of divers of them, that they were written before Origen left Alexandria.

I have no occasion to give here a distinct account of Origen's works now extant: this has been already done so fully [u] by divers learned men, that it is altogether superfluous in this

[a] Ει γαρ εστιν αληθες ὁ περι σε αδεται, ὁτι εξακισχιλιας βιβλους συνεγραψω, κ. λ. Epiph. Hær. 64. sect. 63. p. 591. D.

[b] Numera indices librorum ejus, qui in tertio volumine Eusebii, in quo scripsit vitam Pamphili, continentur: et non dico sex millia, sed tertiam partem non reperies. Hieron. Apol. adv. Ruf. l. i. T. iv. col. 419. Bened.

[c] Viginta millia rerum dignarum curâ .... inclusimus triginta sex voluminibus. Plin. Præf. [d] In epistolam Pauli ad Ephesios tria Origenes scripsit volumina. Hieron. adv. Ruf. ibid. col. 373. in. Vid. & ejusdem Prol. in Ep. ad Ephes. [e] ... Origenis commentarios sum sequutus. Scripsit enim ille vir in epistolam Pauli ad Galatas quinque propria volumina. Id. in Prol. in Comm. in. Ep. ad Galat.

[f] Vid. Epiph. Hær. 64. n. iii. p. 526. D. et n. v. p. 529. A.

[g] Et illud breviter admonens, ut scias Origenis opuscula in omnem scripturam esse triplicia. Primum ejus opus excerpta, quæ Græce σχολια nuncupantur, in quibus ea quæ sibi videbantur obscura, atque habere aliquid difficultatis, summatim breviterque perstrinxit. Secundum ὁμιλητικον genus, de quo et præsens ejus interpretatio est. Tertium, quod ipse inscripsit τομους, nos volumina possumus nuncupare, in quo opere tota ingenii sui vela spirantibus ventis dedit, et recedens a terrâ in medium pelagus aufugit. Hieron. in Proleg. in Interpret. Ezech. [h] Scripsit enim in hunc prophetam, juxta editiones quatuor ad visionem quadrupedum in deserto Origenes triginta volumina, &c. Prol. in Is. T. iii.

[i] Legisse me fateor ante annos plurimos in Matthæum Origenis viginti quinque volumina, et totidem ejus homilias, commaticumque interpretationis genus. Prol. in Matt. T. iv.

[k] Ne quis vero censeat sex illa librorum millia, si modo totidem ab Origene scripti sunt, ingentia quædam volumina fuisse... Epistolæ singulæ, singuli tomi, singulæ homiliæ, suo quæque titulo et nomine in hunc censum venerunt. Huet. Origeniam. l. iii. cap. 1. n. v. p. 235. [l] See before, note [m]. [m] See before, note [b]. [n] Vid. Præliminaria in Hexapla Origenis, cap. xi. sect. 1.

[o] Quis nostrûm tanta potest legere, quanta ille conscripsit? Ep. 41. al. 65. [p] Videtisne et Græcos pariter et Latinos unius labore superatos? Quis enim unquam tanta legere potuit, quanta ipse conscripsit? Ep. 29. col. 68. ed Bened.

[q] Quorsum Varronis et Chalcenterii mentio facta sit, quæritis? Videlicet, ut ad Adamantium nostrumque Chalcenterum veniamus; qui tanto studio in sanctarum scripturarum labore sudavit, ut juste Adamantii nomen acceperit, &c. Id. ibid. [r] Τεθον τοινυν τον Ωριγενην, ὁν και Αδαμαντιον επονομαζεσθαι φασιν, ὁτι αδαμαντινοις δεσμοις εωκεσαν ους αν δησειε λογος. Phot. Cod. 118. c. 297. M. [s] Ὁ γε τοι Αδαμαντιος, και τεθο γαρ ην τω Ωριγενει ονομα. Eus. l. vi. c. 14. p. 216. D. [t] Vid. l. vi. cap. 16. 24, 25. 31, 32, 33. 36. [u] Vid. Huet. Origenian. l. iii. cap. 3, 4. Cav. Hist. Lit. I. A. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. l. v. cap. i. sect. 26. Basnag. Ann. 203. n. xxii. xxiii. Du Pin, Bibl. Tillem. Mem. Ec. Origene, art. 27. et seqq. et notes 29—41.

place. It will be sufficient for the readers of this work, after the general history just given of this great man, to observe, that a large part of his works are entirely lost; and that of those which remain the greatest part consist only of Latin translations, made by Jerom or Rufinus, chiefly by the latter: but that nevertheless we still have, in the original Greek, Origen's Treatise of Prayer: his Exhortation to Martyrdom, addressed to Ambrose and Protoctetus, written in the persecution under Maximin, in the year 235 or 236: his Apology for the Christian Religion, in eight books against Celsus the Epicurean, composed, as some think, in the year 246, or, as others, not before 249; an excellent performance, greatly esteemed and celebrated, not only by [a] [b] Eusebius and Jerom, but likewise by many judicious men of late times, particularly by Du Pin: who says [c] 'that it is polite, just, and methodical: not only the best work of Origen, but the 'completest and best written apology for the Christian Religion which the ancients have left us.' Beside this, we still have in Greek an Epistle of Origen to Africanus, by some supposed to have been written in 228, by others in 240: another to Gregory Thaumaturgus: and fragments of a few other epistles: a part of his Commentaries upon divers books of the Old and New Testament published by Huet: and we have reason to hope that the Benedictine editors of Origen's works will make some new additions from manuscripts of commentaries which have not yet seen the light, especially upon the New Testament: Philocalia, containing extracts out of Origen's works, made by Gregory Nazianzen and Basil the Great. These extracts are taken out of Origen's tomes and homilies upon divers books of the Old and New Testament, and out of his books of Principles, and those against Celsus: and here is entire the Epistle to Gregory Thaumaturgus before mentioned. There are likewise in the collections out of the Fathers upon books of scripture, called Chains, many notes or scholia, supposed to be Origen's: some of which are undoubtedly his, others [d] are admitted by learned men not without hesitation.

The Latin translations of Origen's works, especially those made by Rufinus, have been often complained of as not faithful: and some learned [e] men suspect that the pieces still extant in Greek have been interpolated, or otherwise altered, to make this great man speak more agreeably to the modern orthodoxy upon original sin, and some other controvorted points, than he really thought or wrote.

There are some writings which have been ascribed to Origen without ground: as, two different works upon the book of Job, a Dialogue against the Marcionites, Philosophumena, and some other pieces, which I shall not cite as Origen's: but, if I make use of them at all, I shall speak of them distinctly about the time when they are supposed by the best critics to have been written.

It would be too tedious for me to enter into the particular consideration of Origen's sentiments about which the world sometimes has been divided: and this argument has been treated at large by Huet and others, to whom the curious may have recourse when they think fit.

On account of the different opinions of men concerning him, it has been often said, that he is a remarkable example of one who has passed through good and through ill report. It is probable that some of his sentiments were disliked by some in his life time: since Eusebius, speaking of his letters written to Fabian and other bishops, says, that therein [f] he wrote of his own orthodoxy. The apology written for him jointly by Pamphilus and Eusebius, at the beginning of the fourth century, is a proof of the charges brought against him and his writings before that time; and indeed it must be owned that Origen, in his books of Principles, and some other works, gives a vast scope to his fancy. It is however observable, that the treatise of the Resurrection, the books of Principles, and the Stromata, the works which afterwards gave the most offence, were written before Origen left Alexandria, as Eusebius [g] particularly observes: which seems to shew that there was nothing in them that was reputed heretical at that time. They gave no offence till afterwards: for Origen was not expelled Alexandria for

[a] Eus. contr. Hierocl. p. 511. [b] Scripserunt contra nos Celsus atque Porphyrius; priori Origenes, alteri Methodius, Eusebius, et Apollinaris, fortissime responderunt. Hieron. ep. 83. al. 84. [c] Du Pin, Bibl Origenes, p. 142. Amst. [d] Vid. Monitum in Psalmos, ed. Benedict. T. ii. p. 512. [e] Verum in hodiernis Origenis scriptis nihil non sanum et orthodoxum de peccato originali traditur —unde forte dicatur quæ in hodiernis ejus scriptis pro peccato originali comparent, aliena manu invecta fuisse. Nam opera Origenis in scripturam variis in locis interpolata, aut vitiata, vel truncata fuere: neque in promptu est dicere, quænam in scriptis ejus corrupta, quænam germana, et Græculorum ausibus intacta sunt. Rufini quoque versio vulgo suspecta habetur. Bern. Montfaucon, Prælim. in Euseb. Comm. in Psalmos. cap. vii. sect. 2. Vid. et Huet. Origen. l. ii. cap. 1 sect. 3.

[f] Γραφει δε και Φαβιανῳ τῳ καλα Ῥωμην επισκοπῳ, ἑλεροις τε πλειστοις αρχουσιν εκκλησιων, περι της κατ' αυτον ορθοδοξιας. Eus. l. vi. cap. 36. p. 233. B.

[g] Ib. cap. 24.

heresy, but for envy. It is probable, therefore, that he began to be censured as heterodox soon after his removal from Alexandria: for he mentions this in his [a] letter to his friends in that city: but he treats it as a malicious calumny.

But though I forbear enlarging upon that matter, it is fit I should take notice of some of the testimonies of the ancient writers to his great merit and uncommon fame. Eusebius [b] assures us, that there was honourable mention made of Origen in the works of divers Gentile philosophers of that time, some of which dedicated books to him; others sent their books to be revised and examined by him. Eusebius also transcribes a [c] passage of Porphyry, in his books against the Christian religion, where he certainly bears witness to his learning, how much soever he may affect to depreciate his judgment; for he says that Origen not only read Plato, but likewise divers Stoic and Pythagorean philosophers, whom he mentions by name.

St. Jerom's characters of Origen deserve some especial notice. 'In [d] his book of Illustrious 'Men he calls him a man of immortal wit, and ascribes to him the knowledge of logic, geome-'try, arithmetic, music, grammar, and rhetoric, and of the opinions of all sects of philosophers; 'so that there was a great resort of persons to him for the sake of instruction in these parts of 'polite literature; whom likewise Origen received chiefly with this view, that he might 'thereby the better lead them to the Christian faith.' The account which Jerom [e] gives of the Stromata, is another proof of Origen's acquaintance with the Greek philosophers and their writings, and confirms what Porphyry says of the same matter.

St. Jerom sometimes [f] styles Origen the greatest doctor of the churches since the apostles: the same thing had been said before by [g] Didymus, Jerom's master, who was a favourer of our Origen. In another place Jerom [h] says he would willingly undergo all the hatred Origen had met with, if he had but also his knowledge of the scriptures. In a letter written when he was not in the humour to bestow excessive commendations upon Origen, he says: 'That [i] he was 'a great man from his childhood, and the true son of a martyr; that he trampled the world 'under foot, vanquishing both the love of pleasure and of riches; and that he had the scrip-'tures by heart, and laboured day and night in studying and explaining them.' To conclude, in another place he says, 'He thinks [k] Origen ought to be read sometimes, because of his 'learning; just as we read Tertullian, Novatus, Arnobius, Apollinarius, and some other eccle-'siastical writers both Greek and Latin, taking what is good in them, and leaving what is 'otherwise; according to the rule of the apostle, who says, "Prove all things, hold fast that "which is good." This may be reckoned a good rule to be observed, not only in reading these writers here mentioned, but all the rest of the Fathers; and all books in general, except the holy scriptures.

Sulpicius Severus, beside other things concerning Origen, says, 'He [l] wonders how one 'and the same man could be so different from himself: that where he is in the right, he had

[a] Quidam eorum qui libenter contentiones reperiunt, adscribunt nobis et nostræ doctrinæ blasphemiam, super quâ ipsi viderint quomodo illud audiant: 'Neque ebriosi neque 'maledici regnum Dei possidebunt.' Orig. T. i. p. 5. B. ed. Bened. [b] Euseb. l. vi. cap. 19. in.

[c] Euseb. ib. p. 220. [d] Illud de immortali ejus ingenio non tacens, quod dialecticam quoque et geometriam, arithmeticam, musicam, grammaticam, et rhetoricam, omniumque philosophorum sectas, ita didicit, ut studiosos quoque sæcularium literarum sectatores haberet, et interpretaretur quotidie; concursusque ad eum mirifici fierent, quos ille propterea recipiebat, ut sub occasione sæcularis literaturæ in fide Christi eos institueret. De V. I. cap. 54. Vid. et Euseb. H. E. l. vi. cap. 18. [e] Hunc [Clement. Alex.] imitatus Origenes, decem scripsit stromateas, Christianorum et philosophorum inter se sententias comparans; et omnia nostræ religionis dogmata de Platone et Aristotele, Numenio, Cornutoque confirmans. Hier. ep. 83. al. 84. [f] Imitari volens Origenem, quem post apostolos ecclesiarum magistrum nemo nisi imperitus negabit. Hieron. Præf. in libr. de Nom. Hebr. Non mihi nocebit, si dixero; Origenes, quum in cæteris libris omnes vicerit, in Cantico Canticorum ipse se vicit. Nec formidabo sententiam, quâ illum Doctorem ecclesiarum quondam adolescentulus nominavi. Id. in ep. 41. al. 65.

[g] Magnum est quidem, amice, quod postulas, ut Origenem faciam Latinum, et hominem, juxta Didymi videntis sententiam, alterum post apostolum ecclesiarum magistrum, etiam Romanis auribus donem. Hier. Præf. in Translationem Homiliarum Orig. in Jerem. et Ezek. [h] Hoc unum dico, quod vellem cum invidiâ nominis ejus habere etiam scientiam scripturarum, flocci pendens imagines umbrasque larvarum, &c. Præf. in libr. Heb. Quæst. in Genesim. [i] Vult aliquis laudare Originem? Laudet ut laudo. Magnus vir ab infantiâ et vere martyris filius. . voluptates in tantum fugit, ut zelo Dei, sed tamen non secundum scientiam, ferro truncaret genitalia: calcavit avaritiam; scripturas memoriter tenuit; et in studio explanationis earum diebus desudavit et noctibus. Ep. 41. al. 65. [k] Et quia meæ parvitatis quæris sententiam, utrum secundum fratrem Faustinum penitus respuendus sit, an secundum quosdam legendus ex parte? ego Origenem propter eruditionem sic interdum legendum arbitror, quomodo Tertullianum, Novatum, Arnobium, Apollinarium, et nonnullos ecclesiasticos scriptores Græcos pariter et Latinos; ut bona eorum eligamus, vitemusque contraria, &c. Ep. 56. al. 76. [l] Ego miror unum eundemque hominem tam diversum a se esse potuisse, ut in eâ parte, quâ probatur, neminem post apostolos habeat æqualem; in eâ vero, quâ jure reprehenditur, nemo deformius doceatur errâsse. Sulp. Sev. Dial. i. cap. 6.

'not an equal since the apostles; and where he is in the wrong, no man ever erred more shame-'fully.' Vincentius Lirinensis, who was far from being favourable to Origen's sentiments, celebrates his virtue, fine[a] genius, vast learning, eloquence, fame, and many other advantages, in a character so long, that I can only refer to it.

To sum up Origen's character:—He had a capacious mind, and a large compass of knowledge; and throughout his whole life was a man of unwearied application in studying and composing works of various sorts, some of them extremely tedious and laborious; and in teaching by word of mouth, in the way of catechetical instruction, public discourse to the people, and conference. He had the happiness of uniting different accomplishments, being at once the greatest preacher, and the most learned and voluminous writer of the age; nor is it easy to say which is most admirable, his learning or his virtue. In a word, it must be owned that Origen, though not perfect nor infallible, was a bright light in the Church of Christ, and one of those rare personages that have done honour to the human nature.

II. As Origen's virtue is one of those things by which he is most distinguished; and one design of this work is, to promote true piety by giving my readers some idea of the spirit of the Christians of the first ages; I hope it will be allowed me to transcribe some passages conducive to that end from a writer whose works were so numerous, before I proceed to his testimony to the scriptures.

1. There are in Origen many marks of unaffected modesty and true humility. In a homily, which we now have only in Latin, he has a thought, that angels may offer first-fruits to God, which they collect out of the fields of this world: 'The[b] fields of the angels,' says he, 'are 'our hearts; each one of them, therefore, out of the field which he cultivates, offers first-'fruits to God. If I should be able to produce to-day some choice interpretation, worthy to 'be presented to the supreme High Priest; so that out of all those things which we speak 'and teach, there should be somewhat considerable, which may please the great High Priest; 'it might possibly happen that the angel who presides over the church, out of all our words, 'might chuse something, and offer it as a kind of first-fruits to the Lord, out of the small field 'of my heart. But I know I do not deserve it; nor am I conscious to myself that any inter-'pretation is discovered by me, which the angel who cultivates us should judge worthy to offer 'to the Lord, as first-fruits, or first-born. And I[c] wish that what we speak and teach may be 'such, that we may not deserve to be condemned for our words: that will be favour enough 'for us.'

2. In a Homily upon Ezekiel he says, 'The[d] devil has many snares. He often lays snares 'for me, who preach in the church, that he may shake the whole church by my conversation. 'And therefore they who are in public stations are attacked by the enemy, that by the fall 'of one man, which cannot be hid, all may be offended, and the faith be obstructed by the 'wicked life of a few clergymen.' How modest, says a commentator upon this place, is Origen! of whom nevertheless Eusebius[e] says, that he was such in his conversation as he was in his doctrine; and that he did not so much recommend the faith by his preaching, as by his life.

3. In another[f] Homily, recommending the hearing of the word of God with an honest heart and good disposition of the mind, and censuring some faults of hearers, which he fears are in some of the catechumens, and perhaps also in some that have received baptism, he says, 'For all are not Israel, who are of Israel.' Rom. ix. 6. 'Nor[g] are all who have been baptized 'with water, baptized also with the Holy Spirit; as, on the contrary, not all who are cate-'chumens are strangers, or destitute of the Holy Spirit. For I find in the divine scriptures 'some catechumens accounted worthy of the Holy Spirit, and others after baptism unworthy 'of the gifts of the Spirit. Cornelius was a catechumen, and before he came to the water 'deserved to receive the Holy Spirit. Simon had been baptised, but because he asked hypo-

[a] .....sed tanta etiam vis ingenii, tam profundi, tam acris, tam elegantis, ut omnes pene multum longeque superaret. Vincent. Lir. Commonit. [b] In Num. Hom. xi. T. ii. p. 308. B. C. Benedict. [c] Atque utinam tale sit quod loquimur et docemus, ut non pro verbis nostris condemnari mereamur: sufficeret nobis hæc gratia. Ibid. [d] Mihi ipsi, qui in ecclesiâ prædico, laqueos sæpe tendit, ut totam ecclesiam ex meâ conversatione confundat. Et ideo plus hi, qui sunt in medio, oppugnantur ab inimico, ut per ruinam unius hominis, quæ celari non potest, omnibus scandalum fiat, et impediatur fides per pessimam conversationem clericorum. In Ezech. Hom. vii. T. ii. p. 642. Basil. 1571. [e] Οἷον γὰρ τὸν λόγον, τοιοῦδε φάσι τὸν τρόπον· καὶ οἷον τὸν τρόπον, τοιοῦδε καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐπεδείκνυτο. Διὸ δὴ μᾶλιστα, συναιρομένης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως θείας, μυρίες ἐνήγεν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐλὸν ζήλον. Eus. l. vi. cap. 3. p. 205. A. [f] In num. Hom. iii. T. ii. p. 280. A. B. C. Bened. [g] Neque omnes qui loti sunt aquâ, continuo etiam Sancto Spiritu loti sunt. Ib. A.

'critically, he was refused the gift of the Holy Spirit. And I would not that you should 'doubt that there are now some Corneliuses among the catechumens, to whom it may be said, "Thy alms and thy prayers are come up to heaven." Acts x. 4. And again, among the people 'of the faithful, there are some Simons, to whom it may be said, "O full of all subtilty, thou 'child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness." Acts xiii. 10. These things I speak by 'way of reproof of myself, and not of the hearers only; for I also am one of them that hear 'the word of God.'

4. Origen, in his books of Principles, where he gives himself a liberty to discourse of abstruse and difficult points, and advances propositions justly disputable, often uses expressions [a] of caution and diffidence. And in his Homilies likewise to the people it is very common with him to desire his hearers [b] to judge and examine what he says, whether it be just or not, and not to take things upon trust. This is polite, as well as modest.

5. He tells Ambrose [c] in one of his prefaces, that to write commentaries upon the scriptures, and publish them to the world, was a thing above his strength; but out of his goodness he was pleased to think him fit for such a work. Since he had been one great means of his writing so much, he tells him that he must bear witness to God for him, when he shall be called to account for his life and writings, with what purpose and disposition of mind he had acted. And earnestly entreats him to pray to God for him, that he may seek the truth in a right manner, and may be able to discover it.

6. Pamphilus, in his apology for Origen, mentioning several of his virtues, says, that his [d] humility was the most amiable of them all. Indeed I do not remember to have observed one proud or conceited thought or expression in all his writings. It should be owned, however, that after his removal from Alexandria, he wrote a letter to his friends in that city, in which he complains of injustice done him on several accounts. But as we have not that letter in Greek, nor entire in Latin, it is not very easy to form a judgment upon it: and even here he leaves his enemies to the mercy of God, and [e] professes his obligation rather to pity than hate them; and to pray for them, rather than wish them ill. Moreover, in his Commentaries upon St. John's gospel, [f] he speaks of the Alexandrian storm, and compares his escape to God's deliverance of the children of Israel out of Egypt. But I do not know that these things cast any reflection upon Origen's good temper, which is conspicuous in so many places. There is a remarkable passage taken notice [g] of by Tillemont, where Origen speaks of the excesses and dangers of love, as well as hatred; which may serve to shew, that he knew how to defend himself without pride or passion. Origen speaks of the different sentiments which men form of others, as [h] a common case, relating to those who have any eminent station in the church: but it is likely there is a particular reference to his own case; though out of his prevailing modesty he brings in others to share with him, and speaks in the plural number. 'Some there are,' says he, 'who love us more than we deserve, and speak more advantageously of us and our 'performances than we approve of. On the other hand, some defame our discourses, by ac-'cusing us of sentiments we never held. Neither the one nor the other of these keep to the 'rule of justice; but they both deviate from the truth, one through hatred, the other through 'excessive love.' I suppose Tillemont's remark upon this passage will be allowed to be well founded, that these complaints are made with as much humility as justice.

[a] Quæ quidem a nobis etiam cum magno metu et cautelâ dicuntur, discutientibus magis et pertractantibus quam pro certo ac definito statuentibus..... Nunc autem disputandi specie magis quam definiendi, prout possumus, exercemur. De Princip. l. i. c. 6. T. i. p. 69. B. C. Bened.

[b] Et vos facite quod scriptum est, ut uno dicente omnes examinent [1 Cor. xiv. 29.] Me ergo dicente quod sentio, vos discernite et examinate, si quid rectum est, aut minus rectum. In libr. Jesu. Hom. xxi. T. ii p. 448. ed. Benedict.

[c] Ταυτα δε υμιν εν προοιμιῳ λελεκται, εις μεγιστον αγωνα, και ὁμολογουμενως ὑπερ ἡμας,.. ..αναγκαζομενοις ὑπο της πολλης σε φιλομαθειας, και δυσωπουμενοις ὑπο της χρηστοτητος, και της μεγιστοτητος σε, ἱερε Αμβροσιε, καλεσθειν..... Μαρτυς εστω μοι προς Θεον, μεθ' ὁλε τε βιε, και περι των ὑπηγορευμενων εξεταζομενον, ποια τε προθεσει τελο γεγενηται..... αξιωμεν τοινυν.... ὑπως.... αιτησεις δοθηναι ὑμιν προτον καλως ζητειν, κ. λ. Orig. in Ps. i. T. ii. p. 526. C. D. E.

[d] .....non humilitatis, quæ supra cæteras omnes virtutes ejus maximam gratiam continet. Pamph. pro Or. Apol. p. 757. Basil.

[e] Quorum magis misereri quam eos odisse debemus; et orare pro illis, quam eis maledicere. Ep. ad Amicos Alex. T. i. p. 5. A. Bened.

[f] Ει και ὁ καλα την Αλεξανδρειαν χειμων ανεπειρατευεν εδοκει. κ. λ. Comm. in Joh. Huet. T. ii. p. 94. A. B. C.

[g] Tillemont, Mem Ec. T. iii. P. iii. p. 266. Origene, art 37.

[h] Quod quidem in ecclesiâ patimur: plerique enim, dum plus diligunt quam meremur, hæc jactant et loquuntur, sermones nostros doctrinamque laudantes, quæ conscientia nostra non recipit. Alii vero tractatus nostros calumniantes, ea sentire nos criminantur, quæ nunquam sensisse nos novimus. Sed neque hi qui plus diligunt, neque illi qui oderunt, veritatis regulam tenent; et alii per dilectionem, alii per odium, mentiuntur. Unde oportet caritati frena imponere, &c. In Lucam Hom. xxv. p. 236. Basil.

7. In the next place I would take a few passages out of Origen's Exhortation to Martyrdom. Having quoted Matth. xix. 27, 28, 29, he says to Ambrose, 'For [a] the sake of these 'sayings I could wish to be as rich as you, or richer, and then to be a martyr for Christ; that 'I may receive "manifold," or, as in Mark x. 30, "an hundred fold." Afterwards, having quoted Luke xiv. 26—'But [b] do you so hate your life, as that by hating it you may keep it "to life eternal;" being persuaded that it is a good and profitable hatred which Jesus teaches. 'John xii. 25. And as life must be hated, that it may be kept to eternal life; so do you, who 'have them, hate also wife and children, and brethren and sisters, that you may be profitable 'to those you hate.....And [c] as it was said to those who were of the seed of Abraham, John 'viii. 37. 39. "I know that ye are Abraham's seed;" again, "If ye were Abraham's children, 'ye would do his works;" so it will be said to your children, I know that ye are the children 'of Ambrose; and, if ye were the seed of Ambrose, ye would do his works. And per-'haps they will do so, you helping them more after your departure than if you had continued 'with them.'

8. Still, in the same work: 'Christ [d] has laid down his life for us. Let us therefore also 'lay down our life, I will not say for him, but for ourselves, and for those who may be edified 'by our martyrdom.' Once more: 'And [e] perhaps, as we are redeemed by the blood of Christ, 'Jesus having received a name above every name; so some will be redeemed by the blood of 'martyrs.'

9. It is glorious to write in this manner to a beloved and excellent friend, upon whom too a man has his chief dependence, as Origen had upon Ambrose. This is true friendship; this is to esteem heaven above the world, and to prefer religion to our own private interest. Such exhortations as these may be reckoned next to suffering for Christ ourselves; some of the best proofs of our integrity, and of our true love both of Christ and our friends.

10. The conclusion of that work is admirable. Says Origen, 'These [f] things I have written 'unto you according to my ability, praying likewise that they may be of some use to you in 'the present combat. But if the abundant knowledge of the mysteries of religion, with which 'you are favoured, especially in your present honourable condition, affords you better counsel, 'and more effectual to the purpose, insomuch that you cannot but look upon what I have 'offered as childish and contemptible, it is no more than I could wish. My aim is not that 'you should obtain the crown by my assistance, but by any means whatever. And may it be 'obtained by what is most divine and excellent, and surpassing all human capacity, the words 'and wisdom of God.'

11. Origen impartially teaches the duties of the pastors, as well as of the people, of Christ's church. He [g] mightily recommends humility and condescension to bishops and presbyters. He complains [h] of the pride and haughtiness of some bishops in his time, especially in great cities. He says it is not to be thought that [i] the clergy will be universally saved; for many presbyters will perish, and many of the laity will be found among the blessed. He [k] earnestly dissuades from committing the care of churches to covetous, tyrannical, ignorant, and irreligious bishops, or presbyters, or deacons, which he compares to selling doves in the temple: and

[a] Τῶν δε ἑνεκεν των ῥηῶν, ηυξαμην αν τοσαυτα κλησαμενος επι γης, ὁποσα εχεις, η και τειων πλειονα, γενεσθαι μαρτυς εν Χριστῳ τῳ Θεῳ, ἱνα πολλαπλασιονα λαβω, η, ὡς ὁ Ματθαιος φησιν, ἑκατονταπλασιονα. Exh. ad Mart. sect. 14. T. i. p. 283. D. Bened. [b] Ibid. sect. 37. p. 299. C.

[c] Ibid. sect. 38. p. 299. E. [d] Ὑπερ ἡμων εθηκεν Ιησους την ψυχην· και ἡμεις ὀφειλομεν αυτην, ὀυκ ερω ὑπερ αυτου, αλλ' ὑπερ ἑαυτων· οιμαι δ' ὁτι καν ὑπερ των εν τῳ μαρτυριῳ ἡμων οικοδομηθησομενων. sect. 41. p. 301. D. [e] Ταχα δε και ὡσπερ τιμιῳ αἱματι τε Ιησε ηγορασθημεν, Ιησε λαβοντος το ονομα το ὑπερ πᾶν ονομα· ουτως τῳ τιμιῳ αἱματι των μαρτυρων αγορασθησονται τινες. sect. 50. p. 309. C. [f] Exh. ad Martyr. p. 310. [g] Qui vocatur ergo ad episcopatum, non ad principatum vocatur, sed ad servitutem totius ecclesiæ. In Esaiam, Hom. vi. p. 563. init. Tom. i. Basil. Quanti presbyteri constituti obliti sunt humilitatis! quasi idcirco fuerint ordinati, ut humiles esse desisterent. Quin potius humilitatem sequi debuerant, quia dignitatem fuerant consecuti. In Ezech. Hom. ix. p. 647. fin. Hæc autem diximus, volentes ostendere, quod ecclesiarum principes principum mundialium imitatores esse non debent, sed imitari debent Christum, accessibilem, et mulieribus loquentem, & pueris manus imponentem, &c. In Matth. Tr. xi. p. 87. Tom. ii. Basil.

[h] Nos autem tales sumus, ut etiam malorum principum mundi excedere superbiam videamur: et non solum quærimus sicut reges acies præcedentes, et terribiles nos et accessu difficiles maxime pauperibus exhibemus.... Et est videre in quibusdam ecclesiis, præcipue civitatum maximarum, principes populi Christiani nullam affabilitatem habentes, vel adire ad se permittentes. In Matth. Tr. xi. p. 86. fin.

[i] Ισε δε ὁτι ε πανλως ὁ κληρος σωζει· πολλοι γαρ και πρεσβυτεροι απολουνται· πολλοι και λαϊκοι μακαριοι αποδειχθησονται. In Jerem. Hom. xi. p. 113. E. Tom. i. Huet.

[k] Και νομιζω ἁρμοζειν τον περι των πωλουντων τας περιστερας λογον τοις παραδιδοσι τας εκκλησιας αισχροκερδεσι, και τυραννικοις, και ανεπιστημοσι, και ανευλαβεσιν επισκοποις, η πρεσβυτεροις, η διακονοις. Com. in Matth. p. 442. B. Huet.

elsewhere [a] declares, that for the most part the government of the churches was bestowed upon men qualified to teach, and of a good life; not upon such as were ambitious of authority, but upon those who out of modesty were unwilling to accept so great a charge. And he says, more [b] will be expected of him, as a presbyter, than of a deacon; more of a deacon than of a layman; but from a bishop most of all. Whence it appears that Origen preached to himself, as well as to others.

III. To these passages, shewing the pious disposition of Origen's mind, and, as I apprehend, strongly recommending the like to others, I would add a few miscellaneous observations worthy of our notice.

1. Origen was of opinion that the light of nature, duly cultivated, is of use to bring men to embrace the Christian religion. For having quoted Rom. ii. 15, he [c] says, 'That God gave 'the law of nature to mankind, and wrote it in the minds of all. This affords seeds and prin-'ciples of truth: and if we rightly cultivate those seeds, they will bring forth the fruit of life, 'through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

2. Origen affirms, 'That [d] they are the wisest Christians, who have most carefully examined 'the several sects of Judaism and Christianity.'

3. Origen was a man of generous sentiments, and he represents the moderation of Christians toward men of different opinions as very remarkable. Celsus had said that the several sects of Christians were very rigid, and full of enmity toward each other. Origen answers: 'Such [e] 'of us as follow the doctrine of Jesus, and endeavour to be conformed to his precepts, in our 'thoughts, words, and actions, "being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it; being 'defamed, we entreat." Nor do [f] we say injurious things of those who think differently from 'us. We labour indeed all that is in our power to convert men to the service of the only true 'God, the creator of the world, and to engage them to act in all respects as they that shall be 'judged.....But they who consider the words of our Lord, "Blessed are the peaceable," and "blessed are the meek," will not hate those [g] who corrupt the Christian religion, nor give 'opprobious names to those whose are in error.'

4. Origen believes there will be different degrees of glory and happiness in the future state, according to men's works in the present world. Having quoted 1 Thess. iv. 15, 16, 17, he says, 'A [h] diversity of translation, and a different glory undoubtedly will be given to every 'one, according to the merits of his actions; and every one will be in that order which the 'merits of his works have procured for him.'

5. He has a fine observation in his books against Celsus: 'That when God designed 'true religion should obtain among the Gentiles, he had so ordered things by his providence, 'that they should be under the one empire of the Romans; lest, if there had been many king-'doms and nations, the apostles of Jesus should have been obstructed in fulfilling the com-'mand he gave them, saying, Go and teach all nations.....It would,' says [i] he, 'have been a 'great impediment to the spreading of the doctrine of Christ all over the world, if there had 'been many kingdoms. For, not to mention other things, these might have been at war with 'each other; and then men would have been obliged to be every where in arms, and fight for 'the defence of their country.'

6. I shall add here but one passage more, concerning the success of the Christian doctrine; which, considering the age of our author, is very valuable. When Origen wrote his books

[a] Τȣς δυνατȣς λογῳ και βιῳ ὑγιει χρωμενȣς επι το αρχειν εκκλησιων παρακαλȣμεν. κ. λ. Contr. Cels. l. viii. p. 798. C. Tom. i. Bened.

[b] Πλειον εγω απαιτȣμαι παρα τον διακονον, πλειον ὁ διακονος παρα τον λαϊκον· ὁ δε την παντων ἡμων εγκεχειρισμενος αρχην αυτην την εκκλησιαςικην επι πλειον απαιτειται. In Jerem. et Hom. xi. p. 114. A. Huet.

[c] Quis autem scripsit in cordibus eorum, nisi Deus digito suo? Legem utique naturalem, quam dedit Deus humano generi, et in cunctorum mentibus scripsit: unde et initia sumimus, ac semina quædam ad perscrutandam capimus veritatem: quæ semina, si bene excolamus, fructum vitæ afferent in nobis in Christo Jesu Domino nostro. In Numeros Hom. x. T. ii. p. 303. C. Bened.

[d] Οὑτως ειποιμ' αν και τον επιμελως ενιδοντα ταις Ιȣδαϊσμȣ και Χριςιανισμȣ αἱρεσεσι, σοφωτατον Χριςιανον γενεσθαι. Contr. Cels. l. iii. p. 119. Cant. p 455. C. Bened.

[e] Contr. Cels. l. v. p. 273. Cant. p. 627. B. C. D. Bened.

[f] Και ȣκ αν ῥητα και αρῥητα λεγοιμεν τȣς αλλα δοξαζοντας. Ibid.

[g] Ουκ αν αποςυγησαιεν τȣς παραχαρατοντας τα Χριςιανισμȣ, ȣδε Κιρκας και κυκηθρα αἱμυλα λεγοιεν τȣς πεπλανημενȣς. Ibid.

[h] Diversitas autem translationis et gloriæ ex meritis sine dubio et actibus uniuscujusque præstabitur, et erit unusquisque in eo ordine quem sibi gestorum merita contulerint. In Num. Hom. i. T. ii. p. 277. Bened.

[i] Ην δε αν εμποδιον τȣ νεμηθηναι την Ιησȣ διδασκαλιαν εις πασαν την οικȣμενην το, πολλας ειναι βασιλειας· ȣ μονον δια τα προειρημενα, αλλα και δια το αναγκαζεσθαι ςρατευεσθαι και ὑπερ των πατριδων πολεμειν τȣς πανταχȣ. Contr. Cels. l. ii. T. i. p. 412. D. E. Bened.

against Celsus, the church had peace. 'By the good providence of God,' says he, 'the Christian religion has so flourished, and continually increased, that it is now preached freely, without molestation, although there were a thousand obstacles to the spreading the doctrine of Jesus in the world. But as it was the will of God that the Gentiles should have the benefit of it, all the counsels of men against the Christians were defeated. And by [a] how much the more emperors, and governors of provinces, and the people, every where strove to depress them; so much the more have they increased, and prevailed exceedingly.'

IV. I now proceed to Origen's testimony to the books of the New Testament.

In Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History is a chapter with this title: 'How [b] Origen mentions the scriptures of both Testaments.' The former part of that chapter contains a catalogue of the books of the Old Testament, in a passage of Origen taken from his exposition of the first Psalm; the latter part of the chapter concerns the books of the New Testament. I shall transcribe this part now at length, though it relates to several parts of the New Testament, and is taken from several pieces of Origen; that so we may have the benefit of Eusebius's connection, if indeed there is any benefit in it.

Having then recited Origen's catalogue of the scriptures of the Old Testament, Eusebius proceeds: 'But in the [c] first book of his Commentaries upon the gospel of Matthew, [Origen] observing the ecclesiastical canon, declares that he knew only four gospels, expressing himself thus: "As I have learned by tradition concerning the four gospels, which alone are received without dispute by the whole church of God under heaven. The first was written by Matthew, once a publican, afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ; who delivered it to the Jewish believers, composed in the Hebrew language. The second is that according to Mark, who wrote it as Peter dictated it to him; who therefore also calls him his son in his catholic epistle, 1 Pet. v. 13, saying, "The church which is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you, and so doth Mark my son." The third is that according to Luke, the gospel commended by Paul, published for the sake of the Gentile converts. Rom. xvi. 25; 2 Tim. ii. 8. Lastly, that according to John." And in the first book of his expositions upon the gospel according to John, the same author speaks thus of the epistles of the apostles: "Paul,[d] who was made" an able minister of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the spirit; who fully preached the gospel from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum, "did not write to all the churches he had taught; and to those, to which he did write, he sent only a few lines. 2 Cor. iii. 6; Rom. xv. 19. Peter, on whom the church of Christ is built," against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, "has left one epistle [universally] acknowledged. Matth. xvi. 18. But let it be granted likewise that he wrote a second; for it is doubted of. But what need I speak of John, who leaned upon the breast of Jesus, who has left us one gospel; professing, at the same time, that he was able to write more than even the world itself could contain? John xxi. 20. 5. He wrote also the Revelation, in which he is commanded to be silent, and not to write the voices of the seven thunders, Rev. x. 4. He has also left an epistle of a very few lines. Grant also a second, and a third; for all do not allow these to be genuine: however, they do not both together make a hundred lines." Finally, of the epistle to the Hebrews, in his Homilies upon it, he gives his opinion in this manner: "That the style of the epistle to the Hebrews has not the apostle's rudeness of speech, who has confessed himself rude in speech, that is, in language. 2 Cor. xi. 6. But this epistle, as to the texture of the style, is elegant Greek; as every one will allow, who is able to judge of the differences of styles." Again, he says, "The sentiments of the epistle are admirable, and not inferior to the acknowledged writings of the apostle. This will be assented to by every one who reads the writings of the apostle with attention." Afterwards he adds: "If I was to speak my opinion, I should say that the sentiments are the apostle's, but the language and composition of some one who committed to writing the apostle's sense, and as it were reduced

[a] Ὁσῳ γαρ αυτȣς εταπεινȣν βασιλεις, και εθνων ἡγȣμενοι, και δημοι πανταχȣ, τοσȣτω πλειȣς εγινοντο, και κατισχυον σφοδρα. . . . Cont. Cels. l. vii. p. 349. Cant. p. 713. A. Bened.

[b] Ὁπως των ενδιαθηκων γραφων εμνημονευσεν. H. E. lib. vi. cap. 25.

[c] Εν δε τῳ πρωτῳ των εις το κατα Ματθαιον ευαγγελιον, τον εκκλησιαστικον φυλαττων κανονα, μονα τεσσαρα ειδεναι ευαγγελια μαρτυρεται, ὡδε πως γραφων· ὡς εν παραδοσει μαθων περι των τεσσαρων ευαγγελιων, ἁ και μονα αναντιρρητα εστιν εν τῃ ὑπο τον ουρανον εκκλησιᾳ τȣ Θεȣ· ὅτι πρωτον μεν γεγραπται το κατα τον ποτε τελωνην, ὑστερον δε αποστολον Ιησȣ Χριστȣ Ματθαιον, εκδεδωκοτα αυτο τοις απο Ιȣδαϊσμȣ πιστευσασι, γραμμασιν Ἑβραϊκοις συντεταγμενον· δευτερον δε το κατα Μαρκον, ὡς Πετρος ὑφηγησατο αυτῳ ποιησαντα· ὁν και υἱον εν τῃ καθολικῃ επιστολῃ δια τȣτων ὡμολογησε φασκων. . . και τριτον το κατα Λȣκαν, το ὑπο Παυλȣ επαινȣμενον ευαγγελιον, τοις απο των εθνων πεποιηκοτα· επι πασι το κατα Ιωαννην. Ibid. p. 226. B. C.

[d] Ibid. p. 226. D. 227.

'into commentaries the things spoken by his master. If therefore any church receives this 'epistle as Paul's, it is to be commended even upon that account; for it is not without reason 'that the ancients have handed it down as Paul's: but who wrote this epistle, God only knows 'certainly. But the account come down to us is various; some saying that Clement, who 'was bishop of Rome, wrote this epistle; others, that it was Luke, who wrote the Gospel and 'the Acts."'

Thus writes Eusebius. Upon this chapter of his we may make two remarks: First, that it is defective. Eusebius has taken here no notice at all of Origen's opinion about the epistles of James and Jude. But perhaps he supposed his readers would understand this omission as an intimation that these epistles were not received by this writer. However, I wish he had been more express, that we might have been in no suspense about his meaning. Secondly, it seems that Eusebius is to be blamed for curtailing the last passage of Origen, taken out of his Homilies upon the epistle to the Hebrews. We should have been pleased to see Origen's whole argument relating to that epistle, and the author of it; whereas Eusebius makes a break, and when he had transcribed a part, he says, 'And afterwards Origen adds;' or, 'after some other 'intervening words, he adds.'

These two general remarks upon this long passage from Eusebius may suffice for the present. We shall have occasion hereafter to add divers other particular observations upon some parts of it, concerning several books of the New Testament.

V. In the next place I shall take some other passages of Origen, which seem to contain complete catalogues of the books of the New Testament.

One of them is in the thirteenth Homily upon Genesis, where Origen descanting particularly upon Gen. xxvi. 18...22, says: 'Thus[a] Isaac digged again the wells of water which the 'servants of his father had digged. One servant of his father was Moses, who dug the well 'of the law; other servants of his father were David and Solomon, and the prophets, and all 'they who wrote the books of the Old Testament.....Isaac therefore again digged new wells; 'yea the servants of Isaac digged. The servants of Isaac are Matthew, Mark, Luke, and 'John: his servants also are Peter, James, and Jude, as likewise the apostle Paul; who all dig 'the wells of the New Testament.'

VI. In his seventh Homily upon the book of Joshua, Origen speaks to this purpose: 'But[b] 'when our Lord Jesus Christ came, of whom Joshua the son of Nun was but a type, he sent 'forth the priests, his apostles, [c] bearing well-beaten trumpets, sounding the glorious heavenly 'doctrine. Matthew sounds first with his priestly trumpet in his gospel; Mark also, and Luke 'and John, sounded with their priestly trumpets. Peter likewise sounds aloud with the two 'trumpets of his epistles; James also and Jude. And John sounds again with his trumpet in 'his epistles and the Revelation; and Luke also once more, relating the actions of the apostles. 'Last of all comes he who said, 1 Cor. iv. 9, "For I think that God has set forth us the apostles 'last:" and sounding with the trumpets of his fourteen epistles, he threw down to the founda-'tions the walls of Jericho, and all the engines of idolatry, and the schemes of the philosophers.'

These two passages are taken out of the remaining Latin versions of those works of Origen,

[a] Hoc ergo modo fodit puteos Isaac, quos foderant pueri patris sui. Puer patris sui erat Möyses, qui foderat puteum legis.. Pueri patris sui erant David et Salomon, et prophetæ, et si qui alii sunt, qui libros scripserunt Veteris Testamenti.... Fodit ergo Isaac et novos puteos, imo pueri Isaac fodiunt. Pueri sunt Isaac, Matthæus, Marcus, Lucas, et Joannes; pueri ejus sunt Petrus, Jacobus, et Judas; puer ejus est et apostolus Paulus; qui omnes Novi Testamenti puteos fodiunt. Orig. Hom. in Gen. xiii. p. 95. A. Tom. ii. ed. Bened.

[b] Veniens ergo Dominus noster Jesus Christus, cujus ille prior filius Nave designabat adventum, mittit sacerdotes apostolos suos portantes tubas ductiles, prædicationis magnificam cœlestemque doctrinam. Sacerdotali tubâ primâ in evangelio suo Matthæus increpuit. Marcus quoque, Lucas, et Joannes, suis singulis tubis sacerdotalibus cecinerunt. Petrus etiam duabus epistolarum suarum personat tubis; Jacobus quoque et Judas. Addit nihilominus adhuc et Joannes tubâ canere per epistolas suas, et Apocalypsim; et Lucas, apostolorum gesta describens. Novissime autem ille veniens, qui dixit, 'Puto autem nos Deus novissimos apostolos ostendit;' et in quatuordecim epistolarum suarum fulminans tubis, muros Jericho, et omnes idololatriæ machinas, et philosophorum dogmata, usque ad fundamenta dejecit. Orig. Hom. in libr. Jes. vii. ib. p. 412. A. B.

[c] Bearing well-beaten trumpets.] 'Portantes tubas ductiles.' I suppose Origen may allude to Numb. x. 2, 3. And, as some argument of this, I shall transcribe a part of another passage of Origen, to which the learned reader is referred. Ne forte ergo argenteæ tubæ, quoniam argentum in multis locis pro verbo suscipitur, magna vox verbi intelligitur tuba argentea congregans unumquemque in ordine. ...Voces autem argentearum et productilium tubarum in diebus lætitiæ Israël, quæ assumuntur in neomeniis ipsorum, erant umbræ futurarum neomeniarum, de quibus dicit apostolus, &c. In Matth. Tract. xxx. p. 151. Tom. ii. Basil.

I may also add a passage of Jerom, confirming this interpretation. De hac tuba et apostolus loquitur [1 Cor. xv. 1 Thess. iv.;] et in Apocalypsi Joannis legimus [viii]; et in Veteri Testamento tubæ ductiles ex auro, et ære, argentoque, fieri præcipiuntur.... In Matth. xxiv. 31. T. iv. p. 117.

made by [a] Rufinus; I am of opinion therefore that these catalogues are not to be relied upon. These passages run well enough in the style of Origen: but it was very easy for a translator to thrust in a name or two, or alter a few words, and thereby render the whole agreeable to the sentiments of the time in which he wrote, without making any very remarkable alteration in the style of his author. This last is one of the catalogues given by [b] Hody. And indeed Rufinus professes to have made an exact translation of Origen's Homilies upon the book of Joshua; but his word is hardly to be taken in that matter: nor is it impossible that some alterations may have been made in the copies of Rufinus's version since his time. It is somewhat remarkable, that in the forecited passage there is a various reading, where [c] Peter's two epistles are mentioned. And soon after, in the same Homily, when Origen quotes St. John's first epistle, it is in this manner: 'This [d] is what John sounds in the trumpet of his epistle, saying, "Love 'not the world, neither the things that are in the world."' 1 John ii. 15.

It is very fit we should be at the pains of examining things more particularly. I shall endeavour therefore to set Origen's opinion of the several books of the New Testament in a full light. Some prolixity, in considering the works of so great a man in the third century, will not be disagreeable.

VII. We transcribed [e] just now a passage from Eusebius concerning the four gospels, taken out of the first book or tome of Origen's Commentaries upon St. Matthew's gospel.

1. Again, in the sixteenth tome of his Commentaries upon the same gospel, he expressly mentions [f] 'four evangelists.'

2. In his Commentaries upon St. John he says, 'That [g] as he is one whom many preach, so 'it is one gospel in virtue which is written by several; for indeed what is written by four is 'one gospel.' I put down in the margin a few more [h] passages where Origen expressly mentions 'four evangelists' or 'gospels.' Perhaps this may be of use to us hereafter.

3. In his Commentaries upon some of the four gospels he often compares the several accounts of the other evangelists. Thus, speaking of John the Baptist's imprisonment and death, he says, 'Therefore [i] Matthew now gave this account, and Mark much after the same manner 'with him; but Luke has omitted a good part of the history which is in them.' A little after: 'It is [k] observable,' says he, 'that in Matthew, Mark, and Luke, the disciples say, they have 'five loaves and two fishes, without signifying whether they were wheaten or barley loaves: John only has said they were barley loaves.' Matth. xiv. 17; Mark vi. 38; Luke ix. 13; John vi. 9. So with relation to the history of Christ's bearing his cross, and its being borne also by Simon the Cyrenian, he compares [l] our four evangelists by name.

4. In another place says he, 'There [m] being then these like expressions in all four, let us, as 'we are able, explain the meaning, and observe the lesser differences between them; beginning 'with Matthew, who likewise, as tradition says, wrote first, and delivered his gospel to the 'Hebrews, that is, the believers who were of the circumcision.'

VIII. The Acts of the apostles are often expressly quoted by Origen, and ascribed to Luke,

[a] Vid. Huet. Origenian. l. iii. cap. 2. sect. 3. n. i. et v. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. iii. Origene, art. 29, 30.

[b] Hody de Biblior. Text. Origen. p. 646. col. 29.

[c] Duabus.] Gemeticensis: 'ex tribus.' Vid. T. ii. p. 412. Bened.

[d] Hoc est, quod et Joannes epistolæ suæ personat tubâ, dicens: 'Nolite diligere mundum, neque ea 'quæ in mundo sunt.' Ibid. p. 413. D.

[e] See Numb. iv.

[f] Τα δε καλα τον τοπον και οι λοιποι τρεις ευαγγελισται εξεθεντο, ων την προς αλληλας διαφοραν τα προκειμενα καιρε εστι διηγησασθαι, . . . των τεσσαρων ευαγγελιστων αναγραψαντων τα καλα τον τοπον. κ. λ. Comm. in Matth. T. i. p. 439. D. E. Huet. ed.

[g] Ου συνιεντες, ὁτι ὡς εἰς εστιν ὁν ευαγγελιζονται πλειονες, οὑτως ἑν εστι τη δυναμει το ὑπο των πολλων ευαγγελιον αναγεγραμμενον. και το αληθως δια τεσσαρων ἑν εστιν ευαγγελιον. Comm. in Joh. p. 91 C D. Huet. Tom. ii.

[h] Παραληρηθεον δε ὁτι των τεσσαρων ειρηκοτων το, εν ὑδατι ὁμολογειν Ιωαννην εληλυθεναι βαπτιζειν, μονος Ματθαιος τεθεωρηκε το, εις μετανοιαν. Comm. in Joh. p. 124. C. D. Huet. Vid. et p. 127. E. Λεγεσθωσαν γαρ ἡμιν οι παραδεχομενοι τα τεσσαρα ευαγγελια. Ib. p. 150. E. Vid. et p. 151. E. ὡς πανται των Ιησουν απο των τεσσαρων ευαγγελιστων μαθειν. Ib. p. 156. A. ουτω νοητεον και επι των τεσσαρων εχειν ευαγγελιστων. p. 153. A. ἡγεμαι δε ειναι φιλοτιμον, και πρεπον τω εν Χριστω φιλομαθει συναγειν απο των τεσσαρων ευαγγελιων πανται τα περι της Καφαρναουμ αναγεγραμμενα. p. 159. D.

[i] Δια τουτο νυν και τουτο ανεγραψεν ὁ Ματθαιος, και ὁ Μαρκος δε αυτω παραπλησιως· ὁ δε Λουκας τα πολλα της παρα τουτοις παρεσιωπησεν ἱστοριας. Comm. in Matth. T. i. p. 439. D. E.

[k] Παραληρηθεον μενοι ὁτι της πεντε αρτους και της δυο ιχθυας οι μαθηται λεγουσιν εχειν παρα τω Ματθαιω, και τω Μαρκω, και τω Λουκα, αθ' ὁτι πυρινοι, αθ' ὁτι κριθινοι ησαν ὑποσημειωσαμενοι· ὁ δε Ιωαννης μονος κριθινους ειπεν ειναι τους αρτους. Ibid. p. 235. C. D.

[l] Αλλ' ὁ μεν, ἱν' ὁτως ονομασω, καλα τον Ιωαννην Ιησους, ἑαυτω βασταζει τον σταυρον, και βασταζων αυτον εξηλθεν, ὁ δε καλα τον Ματθαιον, και Μαρκον, και Λουκαν, ου ἑαυτω αυτον αιρει, Σιμων γαρ ὁ Κυρηναιος αυτον βασταζει. [Conf. Joh. xix. 17. Matth. xxvii. 32. Marc. xv. 21. Luc. xxiii. 26.] Comm. in Matth. T. i. p. 287. E. 288. A.

[m] Εχοντες τουτου τας ὁμοιας λεξεις των τεσσαρων φερε καλα το δυνατον· ιδωμεν ιδια τον νουν ἑκαστης και τας διαφορας, αρξαμενοι απο του Ματθαιου, ὁς και παραδεδοται πρωτος λοιπον τοις Ἑβραιοις εκδεδωκεναι το ευαγγελιον, τοις εκ περιτομης πιστευουσιν. In. Joh. p. 123. C.

as[a] we have seen already. However I put down in the margin[b] a passage or two more. Origen wrote Commentaries upon this book, or at least published Homilies upon it. A[c] fragment of his fourth Homily upon the Acts is still extant in Greek. Origen speaks of the Acts of the apostles as an uncontested book: 'But,' says[d] he, 'suppose some one would reject the epistle to 'the Hebrews, as not being Paul's; what will he say to Stephen's discourses concerning the 'prophets slain by the Jewish people? or to what Paul writes to the Thessalonians? or to words 'of our Lord himself to the like purpose?' I have transcribed this from a piece in Latin; but there is exactly the same argument in Origen's[e] Greek epistle to Africanus: where having quoted the epistle to the Hebrews, and observed that some might dispute the authority of that epistle, he proceeds to quote, as undoubted books of scripture, the gospel of St. Matthew, the Acts, and Paul's first epistle to the Thessalonians.

IX. It is needless to refer to particular places of Origen's works for St. Paul's epistles, they having been most of them so often quoted by him. Besides, it is well known that St. Paul's epistles were all along generally received in the church, except that to the Hebrews. However, I shall observe a few things relating to some of them.

1. In his books against Celsus, in answer to some things objected by that Epicurean, Origen says; 'Do[f] you first of all explain the epistles of him who says these things: and having 'diligently read and attended to the sense of the words there used, particularly in those to the 'Ephesians, the Colossians, the Thessalonians, the Philippians, the Romans; demonstrate these 'two things—both that you have understood the words of Paul, and that you have observed 'some of them to be absurd and silly. For if any man reads him with attention, I am positive 'that he will admire his ability in expressing great things in vulgar words: or, if he does not 'admire him, he himself will appear ridiculous.'

2. The epistle to the Ephesians is quoted elsewhere[g] by Origen with that title.

3. In his books against Celsus, having quoted 1 Thess. iv. 13, he says 'he[h] had explained 'that passage in his Commentaries upon the first epistle to the Thessalonians.'

4. The epistle to Philemon is but once quoted in Origen's Greek works published by Huet; but it is very expressly, in this manner: 'Which[i] Paul knowing, in his epistle to Philemon, 'he says to Philemon, ver. 14, concerning Onesimus, 'That thy benefit should not be of neces-'sity, but willingly.'

X. I have already transcribed a long passage from Origen's letter to Africanus;[k] where having quoted the epistle to the Hebrews, and argued from it, he says: 'But possibly some 'one, pressed with this argument, will take refuge in the opinion of those who reject this epistle 'as not written by Paul. In answer to such an one, we intend to write a distinct discourse, to 'shew that epistle to be Paul's.' Which passage, as we observed, shews that Origen knew very well that there were some who did not receive the epistle to the Hebrews as Paul's. It may be suspected, likewise, that he had some doubts whether it was received by Africanus as of authority. He elsewhere also makes a supposal of this epistle's being rejected by some: we cited the passage just now, speaking of the Acts of the Apostles. Origen himself however shews his good will to it, and expresses his readiness to write a distinct discourse, to prove it to be an epistle of the apostle Paul.

1. Accordingly we find frequent quotations of this epistle in Origen's works, beside those already referred to. 'To the[l] same purpose says the apostle, "When for the time ye ought

[a] See num. iv. [b] Και εν ταις πραξεσιν ὁ Λεκας. Comm. in. Joh. T. ii. p. 23. D. ὡς ὁ Λεκας εν ταις Πραξεσι των αποστολων εγραψεν. Contr. Cels. l. vi: p. 282. Cant. p. 638. C. Benedict. [c] Και παλιν εκ της εις τας Πραξεις ὁμιλιας δ. Philoca. cap. 7. p. 32. Cant. et apud Huet. T. ii. p. 422. [d] Sed pone aliquem abdicare epistolam ad Hebræos, quasi non Pauli, nec non et secretum abjicere Esaiæ: sed quid faciat in sermones Stephani, vel Pauli ad Thessalonicenses de prophetis interfectis prolatos, vel ipsius Domini nostri? In Matth. Tract. xxvi. Tom. ii. p. 128. fin. Basil. 1571. [e] Ad Afric. sect. 9.

[f] Πρωτον σαφηνισον τα ταυτα λεγοντος τας επιστολας· και εναντενισας τω βαλλοντι εκαστης εν αυταις λεξεως (φερ' ειπειν τη προς Εφεσιους, και προς Κολοσσαεις, και τη προς Θεσσαλονικεις, και Φιλιππησιους, και προς Ρωμαιους) αμφοτερα δειξον, και ὁτι νενοηκας τους Παυλου λογους, και παρασησαι ευηθεις τινας η, ηλιθιους. Εαν γαρ επιδω εαυτον τη μελετη του προσεχειν αναγνωσει, ευ οιδ' ὁτι η θαυμασεται τον νουν του ανδρος, εν ιδιωτικη λεξει μεγαλα περινοουντος, η, μη θαυμασας, αυτος καταγελαστος φανειται. Contr. Cels. l. iii. p. 122. Cant. p. 458. T. i. Bened.

[g] Εν τη προς Εφεσιους αναγεγραπται. De Orat. p. 205. C. T. i. Bened. Vid. ibid. p. 250. E. [h] Την δε φανεισαν ἡμιν εις τους τοπους διηγησιν εξεθεμεθα εν οις υπηγορευσαμεν εξηγητικοις της προς Θεσσαλονικεις προτερας επιστολης. Contr. Cels. l. ii. p. 437. A. B. Bened. [i] Ὁπερ και ὁ Παυλος επιστασμενος, ελεγεν εν τη προς Φιλημονα επιστολη τω Φιλημονι περι Ονησιμου· ινα μη κατ' αναγκην το αγαθον σου ἡ, αλλα κατ' εκουσιον. In Jerem. Hom. xix p. 185. C. T. i. Huet.

[k] See chap xxxvii. num. vi. [l] Κατα τουτο φησιν ὁ αποστολος· ὁτι οφειλονται εισαι διδασκαλοι. κ. λ. Comm. in Joh. T. ii. p. 18. B. Huet.

'to be teachers of others." In the [a] epistle to the Hebrews, 'the same Paul says.' Again, 'Paul,[b] in the epistle to the Hebrews.' These citations are taken out of Origen's remaining Greek Commentaries upon St. John's gospel. In his books against Celsus he quotes it expressly as [c] Paul's, the same who wrote to the Corinthians. In his treatise [d] of prayer he quotes it as the apostle's, the same who wrote the epistle to the Ephesians. In a Latin Homily, 'Paul [e] himself, the greatest of the apostles, writing to the Hebrews, says: "For ye are not 'come unto the mount that might be touched," and what follows.' Heb. xii. 18, 22, 23. He [f] also proves things from this epistle, as a writing of authority.

2. But the most considerable passage of Origen relating to this epistle, is that preserved [g] by Eusebius, upon which we may make several observations.

1.) This passage is taken out of Homilies upon the epistle to the Hebrews; which is an argument of the authority of this epistle in the place where Origen then resided. It was publicly read in the assemblies of the church, and then expounded and preached upon.

2.) As Origen's Homilies that were published were preached in the latter part of his life, after he was sixty years of age, this passage must be reckoned to contain his last judgment concerning this epistle.

3.) What Origen says here was delivered in a Homily to the people. It may be hence inferred, that what he says in this place, though with great freedom, as it may seem to us, could be said at that time without danger of offence.

4.) There were different opinions concerning the writer, and probably also concerning the authority of this epistle. This difference of sentiment was well known: 'If any church,' he says [or whatever church,] 'receives it as Paul's, it is to be commended even upon that account.' Origen would not have expressed himself after this manner in a Homily, if it had not been generally known that there were doubts about the author of this epistle. However, it may be argued from these expressions, that it was more popular in Origen's audience to call it Paul's, than to deny it. And it is very probable it was received as the apostle's in the place where Origen then resided.

5.) Origen assures us that there were ancient writers before him who had spoken of this epistle as Paul's. His words, which follow those just transcribed, are these: 'For it is not 'without reason that the ancients have handed it down as Paul's.' This argument for the genuineness of this epistle, is represented to great advantage by Mr. Hallet; for which reason I here put down his words: 'The [h] traditions which Origen mentions are more to be regarded 'than his own private opinion and reasonings: and as he positively says, the "ancients 'did" in fact "hand it down as Paul's epistle;" so it is plain he laid vast stress upon this 'tradition, since he would not give it up, though he had strong temptations so to do. For he 'was very hard put to it, to reconcile this tradition with the style of the epistle, and with 'other traditions, which named Clement or Luke as the writers of it; but, rather than give up 'the former tradition, "that it was Paul's epistle," he would form such an odd hypothesis as 'that just now mentioned (that the thoughts only are Paul's, while some other person by 'memory committed them to writing.) It is very certain, then, that the churches and writers, 'who were ancient with respect to Origen, had one common tradition, that St. Paul was the 'author of the epistle to the Hebrews. And their testimony cannot but be of great weight; 'since those Christians, who were ancients with respect to Origen, must have conversed with 'the apostles, or at least with their immediate successors.'

Thus far Mr. Hallet. But my good friend cannot suppose the tradition, that this was one of Paul's epistles, to have been constant and universal till Origen's [i] time; or that he was the

[a] Και εν τη προς Εβραιους, ὁ αυτος Παυλος φησιν. Ibid. p. 56. A. [b] Ὁ δε Παυλος εν τη προς Εβραιους. Ibid. p. 162. D. [c] Γεγραπται γαρ παρα τω Παυλω, ἡμων Κορινθιοις επιστελλοντι.... ὁ δ' αυτος ... φησι. Και γεγονατε χρειαν εχοντες γαλακτος. [Hebr. v. 12.] Contr Cels. l. iii. p. 143. Cant. p. 482. D. Bened. [d] De Oratione, p. 250. E. T. i. Bened. [e] Ipse ergo apostolorum maximus ... Paulus .. dicit, ad Hebræos scribens. In Num. Hom. iii. p. 231. C. D. T. ii. Bened. [f] Ει δε εν τελω προσκοπτει το λεγειν ηλαττωσθαι παρα το Αγιον Πνευμα τον Σωτηρα ενανθρωπησαντα, προακτεον αυτον απο των εν τη προς Εβραιους λεγομενων επιστολη, και αγγελων ελαττονα δια το παθημα του θανατου αποφηναμενου τον Παυλον γεγονεναι τον Ιησουν· φησι γαρ. [Hebr. ii. 9.] Comm. in Joh. T. ii. p. 57. E. 58. A. Huet. [g] See before, numb. iv. [h] See Mr. Hallett's Introduction to his Paraphrase and Notes on the three last chapters of the Ep. to the Hebrews, p. 8. [i] After the first edition of this volume, I received a letter from Mr. Hallet, in which he assures me that I have mistaken his meaning. He does not intend by 'ancients' such as were before Origen; but he spoke of such as were 'ancients with respect 'to Origen,' that is, at least such as were dead before the year 184, in which he was born; who therefore must have conversed with the apostles, or at least with their immediate

first person in the Christian world who made a question whether this epistle was written by Paul. This Homily gives ground to think, that doubts about the author of this epistle were very common even in the east. It may be suspected from what Origen says here, that not only particular persons, but some whole churches, rejected this epistle; that is, did not receive it as Paul's. When Origen wrote his letter to Africanus, he argued from the epistle to the Hebrews; but then he starts an objection, that some would say it was not Paul's. It is not reasonable to think that Origen would weaken his own argument by a supposition of his own invention, and entirely without foundation. There were, therefore, a good while before Origen delivered this Homily upon the epistle to the Hebrews, Christians who did not allow it to be Paul's.

Though Origen says that the ancients had handed it down as one of Paul's epistles, he cannot be understood to mean all ancient Christians before his time, but only some. Undoubtedly Origen speaks truth, according to his knowledge; there were ancients who had spoken of this epistle as Paul's: in particular, Clement of Alexandria, Origen's master, and predecessor in the catechetical school of that place, received this epistle as Paul's, and was acquainted [a] with a presbyter who gave him a reason why the apostle did not put his name to that epistle. But to suppose Origen to mean all ancients in general, is to charge him with great ignorance. We know very well that there were Christians before Origen, as well as others about his time, who did not consider this as one of Paul's epistles. It is not easy to prove that any Christians of the first two centuries, or somewhat lower, who lived in that part of the Roman empire where the Latin tongue was chiefly used, received this as an epistle of Paul. Mr. Hallett [b] is one of those who did not think it a clear point, that Clement of Rome alluded to the epistle to the Hebrews, or borrowed any thing from it. I apprehend it to be very probable that Irenæus [c] did not receive this epistle as Paul's; and his opinion is very considerable in this case. Though he lived in Gaul, he wrote in Greek, and came from Asia. Caius also wrote in Greek; and yet when he enumerated thirteen epistles of Paul, he omitted that to the Hebrews, saying nothing about it. It appears to me probable, that Caius had never heard that epistle called Paul's; which I am apt to think was Irenæus's case, as well as his. And, to add nothing more at present, Tertullian, though an African, was a man of extensive knowledge, a great master of Greek as well as Latin, and had no prejudices against this epistle; but with all his heart would have quoted it as Paul's, if he had had any ground for so doing. Nevertheless with a great deal of formality, he quotes it as written by [d] Barnabas, a 'companion of apostles; a fit person,' as he says, 'to shew, at the 'next remove, what was the sentiment of the masters.' It is therefore highly probable, that in all the information which Tertullian had received concerning this epistle, he had never once heard it ascribed to the apostle Paul. These things, if I mistake not, are sufficient to make us think that the tradition, that the epistle to the Hebrews is Paul's is not of the utmost antiquity; or that, if it is, it must have lain for some time in a very few hands. Dr. Mill, [e] remarking upon this passage of Origen, says, among all the fathers of the first and second centuries whose writings are come down to us, he hardly knows any one who has expressly cited this epistle, except Clement of Alexandria, who certainly has done so in a very ample manner. But to proceed in our observations.

6. There is an ambiguity in some of Origen's expressions in this passage. His words are: 'If therefore any church receives this epistle as Paul's, it is to be commended even upon that 'account. For it is not without reason that the ancients have handed it down as Paul's: but 'who wrote this epistle God only knows. The account come down to us is various; some 'saying that Clement, who was bishop of Rome, wrote this epistle; others, that it was Luke,

successors. What Origen says, seems to him to be this: 'There are traditions, that ascribe the epistle to the Hebrews 'to Clement or Luke; but the ancients, who lived before the 'said traditions, speak of the epistle as Paul's. Those ancients, as Mr. Hallett argues, should be believed before modern traditions. As Origen speaks in general of "the ancients," he seems to mean, that they had one common universal tradition, that it was Paul's epistle. The other traditions began among those that were modern with respect to 'Origen; and then the ancient tradition ceased to be universal.' So Mr. Hallet: and certainly he has a right to explain his own terms For my own part, I am still of opinion, that by 'ancients' Origen means some only, or many, of the ancients, not all: and I rely upon what I have said already, without adding more.

[a] See before, ch. xxii. p. 394. 402. [b] See his Introduction, as before, p. 2, 3. [c] See before, ch. xvii. p. 369, 370. [d] See ch. xxvii. p. 426. [e] Quamquam autem ex dictis constet, plurimis in ecclesiis, et quidem a viris magni nominis, epistolam hanc Paulo haud fuisse adscriptam; certum tamen esse, quod ipsi αρχαιοι, seu primi apostolorum successores, eam tamquam Pauli receperint, teste ipso Origene, Hom in Ep. ad Hebræos, apud Eusebium. Utinam vero αρχαιους istos nominâsset; si quidem ex patribus primi et secundi seculi, quorum scripta ad nos pervenere, haud quempiam norim qui hanc epistolam expresse citaverit, præter Clementem Alexandrinum. Mill. Prol. n. 218.

'who wrote the gospel and the Acts.' It is difficult to say what is meant by the word 'write,' when used of this epistle; whether Origen intends writing as an author, or only penning or writing down the sense of another. When Origen says, 'But who wrote this epistle God only 'knows,' one is disposed to understand him of writing as an author, for the sake of the opposition to what precedes. Moreover, he plainly uses the word in that sense, when he says, 'Luke wrote the gospel and the Acts.' On the other hand it is argued, that when Origen says, 'God only knows who wrote this epistle,' he means only, 'who penned it,' or 'to whom the 'language and composition are owing;' otherwise Origen is inconsistent with himself. For to say, first, that 'the ancients have handed it down as Paul's;' and presently after, that 'the 'account come down to us is various,' some ascribing the epistle to Clement, others to Luke, 'as authors,' would be a contradiction. Therefore, when he says that 'God only knows who 'wrote' the epistle; and that some say 'Clement wrote it, others Luke;' he must be supposed to speak only of 'penning' what had been heard from Paul: and in this latter sense the words are understood by two learned writers in our own language,[a] Mr. Hallett and[b] Mr. Twells, who have both lately examined this matter with care and exactness.

7. Origen did not suppose this epistle to have been written originally in Hebrew or Syriac, but in Greek: for he says it has not the 'apostle's rudeness of speech,' or homely style; but, as to the texture of the words, has a good deal of the elegance of the Greek language. This, he says, is very plain, and will be owned by every one who is able to judge of styles; whence he concludes that the sense being admirable, and worthy of the apostle, but the style very different from that of all his other writings, the sentiments are and must be Paul's, but the composition is that of some other person, whose he cannot say: God only knows: but some say it was written by Clement, others by Luke.—Here is not one word of a translation, nor any thing founded upon that supposition: on the contrary, the whole, or a main part of the argument at least, is founded upon a supposition that the epistle was written in Greek. It is true, Eusebius has omitted a part of Origen's argument relating to this epistle, which I heartily wish he had rather inserted at length; but I think we may be well satisfied there could be nothing here said of this epistle having been written in Hebrew, at least in Origen's opinion.

Indeed Eusebius does say, in a passage[c] which we formerly cited, 'that whereas Paul wrote 'to the Hebrews in their own tongue, some think the evangelist Luke, others that Clement, 'translated it into Greek; which last,' Eusebius says, 'is the most likely, since there is a great 'resemblance between the style of Clement's epistle and that to the Hebrews, as well as 'between the sentiments of these writings.' But it seems that Origen was not able to form any notion of this epistle having been written in Hebrew; therefore he does not say that some thought it was translated by Clement, others by Luke; but some said that Clement, others that Luke wrote it: and, to speak freely, all present appearances are in favour of its having been written in Greek, the language in which we now have it, and in which it was read by the most ancient Christians, so far as we know. As for Eusebius's opinion, 'that Clement translated it out of Hebrew, certainly it must be without all good ground; there being no reason to suppose that Clement understood Hebrew or Syriac, though perhaps Luke might.

8. We ought to consider on what account, or in what respect, Origen quotes this epistle so often in his works as Paul's. It must be, I think, either out of deference to the commonly received, and more generally prevailing, opinion of the Christians with whom he lived; or perhaps rather, on account of what he says in his Homilies upon this epistle, he quotes it as delivering and containing the real sentiments of the apostle Paul; which he supposed to be here truly represented, though the phrase and composition were not Paul's, but of some one else; probably one of his most intimate friends and constant companions, but which of them he did not certainly know. However, as there was a tradition in the church that the epistle was Paul's, so likewise there were accounts handed down to his time concerning the writer of it; some saying that it was written by Clement, others by Luke. This then was Origen's opinion of this epistle, in which[d] Dr. Mill supposes him to have been singular. And thus we may reckon Origen to have performed at last, in this Homily, what he had intimated in his letter

[a] See Mr. Hallet, as before, p. 7. [b] Mr. Twell's Critical Examination, &c, P. ii. p. 58—61. [c] See before, ch. ii. p. 291. [d] Denique Origenis sententia hac in re peculiaris fuisse videtur. Adjudicat epistolam hanc Paulo, quoad ipsa νοημαῖα ex quibus constat; abjudicat autem ei, quoad stylum ac verborum compositionem, eo quod majorem Græci sermonis elegantiam præferre ipsi videntur hæc quam reliquæ Paulinæ. Mill. Prol. n. 217.

to Africanus he intended to do, and there was occasion for, considering the different sentiments about this epistle.

XI. The epistle of James we find thus cited by Origen in one of his tomes, upon St. John's gospel: 'For[a] though it be called faith, "if it be without works, it is dead," as we read in the 'epistle ascribed to James.' This seems to shew that there were doubts about this epistle; if there is not likewise an intimation of some doubt about it in his own mind. Nor do I know of any other place where this epistle is quoted in Origen's Greek works, published by Huet: excepting only one more, in another tome of his Commentaries upon John, where the[b] same words are mentioned again—'faith without works is dead,'—without saying whence they are taken; intimating, however, that the sentiment itself, or the writing where it is found, was not admitted by all as of authority. Mill[c] therefore says, that Origen cites this epistle as of doubtful authority with some: though in his works, translated into Latin by Rufinus, it is alleged as the 'epistle of James, apostle and brother of the Lord,' and 'divine scripture.'

In the books against Celsus Origen says, 'It is[d] very usual for the divine scriptures to call 'the evils that befal men in this life, temptations, by which, as gold in the fire, the soul of 'man is tried:' and, in the Benedictine edition, over against these words are placed 'James i. 2. 1 Pet. i. 7.' And to the text in Peter there does appear to be a reference; but I perceive no sign of a reference to James, since afflictions are very often spoken of in scripture as temptations.

XII. In Origen's passages before cited from Eusebius, we saw a sufficient attestation to St. Peter's two epistles; that one is without all question genuine, and the other doubted of. However, I shall here observe farther, that the first epistle of this apostle is often quoted by Origen expressly. Thus in his well-known books against Celsus: 'As[e] it is said by Peter, "Ye, as 'lively stones, are built up a spiritual house.' 1 Pet. ii. 5. And in his Greek Commentaries upon St. John's gospel: 'Peter,[f] in his catholic epistle, "Being put to death," says he, "in the 'flesh, but quickened in the spirit."' 1 Pet. iii. 18, 19, 20.

I do not remember any quotation of the second epistle of Peter in the books against Celsus, nor in any of Origen's Greek works published by Huet; nor has Huet any reference to this epistle in his Index of Scriptures. There is, however, a passage in Origen's Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew, that may not be overlooked. 'But,' says[g] Origen, 'when I have 'alleged words to this purpose out of the first epistle of Peter, and the former of Paul to the 'Corinthians, you will assent to what has been said. For Peter says, "In whom, though now 'ye see him not," namely, Jesus Christ, "yet believing ye rejoice;" and what follows to those 'words, "which things the angels desire to look into."' 1 Pet. i. 8—12. And Paul, 1 Cor. vi. '3, "Know ye not that we shall judge angels? how much more things that pertain to this 'life?"' So Huet would give us this passage. But from his notes upon this place, if I understand them, it appears that he had not in his manuscript copy the word 'first;' but[h] only four letters, which I think we may be positive mean Peter, written in an abbreviated manner: and then this passage will stand thus; 'When I have alleged some words to this purpose out of 'the epistle of Peter, and out of the former of Paul to the Corinthians, you will assent to what 'has been said.' So then here is no mention made of two epistles of Peter, or of a first epistle

[a] Εαν δε λεγηται μεν πιστις, χωρις δε εργων τυγχανη, νεκρα εστιν ἡ τοιαυτη, ὡς εν τη φερομενη Ιακωβε ανεγνωμεν. Com. in Johan. Tom. xix. T. ii. p. 284. D. [b] ... ε συγχωρηθεν αν ὑπο των παραδεχομενων το· Πιστις χωρις εργων νεκρα εστιν. In Joh. T. xxi. p. 294. E. [c] Imo vero ut in ipsius Origenis operibus, a Rufino Latinis factis, allegetur hæc epistola tamquam 'Jacobi apostoli fratris Domini,' et 'scriptura divina;' [Hom. xiii. in Gen. iii. et viii. in Exod. et Hom. ii. in Levit. et Comm. in cap. v. ep. ad Rom.], in Commentariis tamen in Joannem Græcis, ab omni interpolatione liberis, ceu dubiæ apud quosdam auctoritatis citatur. [P. 284 et 294. Edit. Huetianæ.] Mill. Prol. 203. [d] ... ὡς πειρασμων της ψυχης· ἑτως γαρ εθος τοις Θειοις ονομαζειν λογοις τα συμβαινοντα εν ανθρωποις· εν οις, ὡς χρυσος εν πυρι, ἡ τε ανθρωπε βασανιζομενη ψυχη ἡτοι ελεγχεται, η Θαυμαζη ειναι αναφαινεται. Contr. Cels. l. viii. p. 415. Cant. p. 783. F. Tom. i. Bened. [e] Καθο ὑπο μεν τε Πετρε λεγεται· Ὑμεις δε οικοδομεισθε λιθοι ζωντες. κ. λ. Contr. Cels. l. viii. p. 393. Cant. T. i. p. 757. Ben. [f] Και περι της εν φυλακη πορειας μετα πνευματος παρα τω Πετρω εν τη καθολικη επιστολη· Θανατωθεις γαρ, φησι, σαρκι, ζωοποιηθεις δε πνευματι. κ. λ. In Johan. p. 126. A. B. T. ii. Huet. [g] Παραλαβων δε εις τετο απο τε της πρωτης επιστολης, και απο της Παυλε προς Κορινθιους προτερας ρητα, προαχθηση ὡς ὑγιως ειρημενω τω λογω· λεγει γαρ ὁ μεν Πετρος. Εις ὁν αρτι μη ὁρωντες, ὁτι λογοι Ιησεν Χριστον, και τα εξης, εως τε. Εις ἁ επιθυμεσιν αγγελοι παρακυψαι. Ὁ δε Παυλος, κ. λ. Comm. in Matth. p. 390. D. [h] Παραλαβων δε εις τετο απο τε της πρωτης επιστολης.] Legendum videtur, της Πετρε πρωτης επιστολης. Scripserat librarius Πρε, quod cum syllabâ priore sequentis vocabuli propter soni similitudinem facile coaluit. Huet. notis, p. 70. 'Sed 'meo judicio legendum Πρε, ut scripserat librarius, id est, 'Πετρε; sic, απο τε της Πετρε επιστολης.

of Peter; but only Peter's epistle is expressly quoted by name, for what Origen there takes out of it. I suppose this may be reckoned a clear and certain emendation: I wonder Huet did not perceive the right reading. This observation is so easy, that there is no merit in it.

Nor have I observed the first epistle of Peter any where quoted in Origen's Greek works in that manner. But the usual forms of quotation are such as those already mentioned, [a] 'Peter 'says,' Peter teaches,' [b] 'Peter in his catholic epistle;' which forms [c] appear also in the Latin translations, though indeed we do find also in them expressly, 'in [d] the first epistle of Peter;' but in the original it may have been only, 'and Peter in his epistle.'

The second epistle is not often quoted in Origen's Latin works. In a Homily upon the book of Numbers, speaking of Balaam: 'And [e] as the scripture says in a certain place, "The dumb ass speaking with human voice, forbad the madness of the prophet." 2 Pet. ii. 16. And in another Latin Homily: 'For [f] I know it is written, that 'of whom a man is overcome, of 'the same is he brought in bondage.' Ver. 19. Thus this epistle is quoted in a general way, without giving it any authority, so far as appears. In a Latin translation of a Homily: 'And '[g] again Peter says, 2 Pet. i. 4, "Ye are made partakers," says he, "of the divine nature." In that place are several texts to the like purpose quoted from St. Paul and St. John. Perhaps the translator thought fit to add this also from St. Peter's second epistle; and I think it looks somewhat suspicious, as if it were an addition. It is certain that Rufinus took a great liberty [h] of adding, in his translations of some of Origen's Homilies, particularly those upon Leviticus (whence this quotation is taken), according to his own acknowledgment.

XIII. In Origen's passages cited from Eusebius, when we first entered upon the consideration of this writer's testimony to the books of the New Testament, St. John's first epistle is expressly owned to be his; and it is frequently cited elsewhere. In his Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew: 'As [i] in the epistle of John, 1 John ii. 18, It is the last time.' He quotes it often by the title of 'John's catholic epistle,' in his [k] Greek Commentaries still extant, and [l] in the treatise of Prayer; he quotes it likewise [m] as the epistle of the same John who wrote the gospel. A like form of quotation, such as [n] 'John the apostle, in his epistle,' appears not seldom in the Homilies which we now have in Latin only.

In the passage cited from Eusebius, Origen informed us, there were doubts about the second and third epistles of John, for 'all did not allow' them to be genuine: 'but,' says he, 'let 'them also be granted to be his.' However, I do not know of any one quotation of either of these in Origen's remaining works.

XIV. We must be somewhat particular in our observations upon St. Jude's epistle. In the Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew, immediately after what was cited just now, relating to St. Peter's second epistle, Origen goes on: 'Consider, [o] therefore, whether they were not 'more excellent, and superior to men [or perhaps rather, governors or lords of men], so long

[a] Πεῖρος ἡμας διδασκει, λεγων. In Jerem. Hom. v. p. 87. D. T. i. Huet. ὡς ὁ Πεῖρος ονομασε. Com. in Matth. p. 292. A. παρα δε τῳ Πεῖρῳ ειρῆται. Ib. p. 422. C. ισε ὰτι, καὶα τον Πεῖρον. Exh. ad Martyr. p. 300. B. T. i. Bened.

[b] Καὶκ λεγομενα εν τῃ καθολικῃ επιστολῃ παρα τῳ Πεῖρῳ. In Psalm iii. p. 553. D. Bened. [c] Quomodo dicit Petrus. De Prin. l. ii. p. 95. A. T. i. Ben. Sicut ait Petrus apostolus. Ib. l. iii. p. 145. F. [d] De quâ spe Petrus ipse in primâ epistolâ suâ ita ait. De Princip. l. ii. c. 5. p. 88. D. T. i. Bened. [e] Et ut ait quodam in loco scriptura: Mutum animal, humanâ voce respondens, arguit prophetæ dementiam. In Num. Hom. xiii. T. i. p. 321. C. Bened. [f] Scio enim scriptum esse, Quia unusquisque, a quo vincitur, huic et servus addicitur. In Exod. Hom. xii. p. 174. D. [g] Et iterum Petrus dicit, 'Consortes,' inquit, 'facti estis divinæ naturæ.' In Lev. Hom. iv. p. 200. B. Bened. [h] .....dum supplere cupimus ea quæ ab Origene in auditorio ecclesiæ ex tempore, non tam explicationis quam ædificationis intentione, perorata sunt: sicut in Homiliis, sive in oratiunculis, in Genesin et in Exodum fecimus, et præcipue in his quæ in librum Levitici, ab illo quidem perorandi stylo dictata, a nobis vero explanandi specie translata sunt, &c. Rufin. laudat. Huet. Origenian. l. iii. sect. 3. p. 245. C.

[i] Καθ' ὸν ἐστιν ευκαιρως ειπειν το· εσχαλη ὡρα ἐστιν, εν τῃ Ιωαννε επιστολῃ κειμενον. Comm. in Matth p. 234. B. Huet.

[k] Οπερ παραστησομεν και απο της Ιωαννε καθολικης. In Jerem. Hom. ix. T. i. p. 106. B. Huet. Απο της Ιωαννε καθολικης επιστολης. Comm. in Matth. p. 476. E. ib. Εν τῃ καθολικῃ επιστολῃ Ιωαννης. κ. λ. Com. in Joan. p. 22. C. Ὁμως καἰανοητεον και το εν τῃ καθολικῃ επιστολῃ ὑπο Ιωαννε ειρημενον περι υἱων Θεῳ. κ. λ. Com. in Jo. p. 299. E.

[l] Δηλον ὁἰ ὁ ποιων ἁμαρτιαν, ὡς φησιν εν τῃ καθολικῃ ὁ Ιωαννης, εκ τε διαβολε εστιν. De Orat. p 233. B. Bened. Εν τῃ καθολικῃ τε Ιωαννε επιστολῃ. Ib. p. 232. A. [m] Εν δε τῃ καθολικῃ τε αὐτε Ιωαννε επιστολῃ λεγεἰαι. Com. in Jo. p. 70. A. Vid. et p. 261. C ib. [n] Unde credo et Joannes apostolus in epistolâ suâ dicit, quædam esse peccata ad mortem, quædam non esse ad mortem In Exod. Hom. x. p. 176. B. Tom. ii. Bened. Annon et apostolus Joannes in epistolâ suâ eadem sentit? In Num. Hom. ix. p. 297. E. Quas apostolus Joannes in epistolâ suâ distinctione comprehendit: ait enim, 'Scribo vobis, pueri; et scribo vobis, 'adolescentes; et scribo vobis, patres. Ib. p. 300. F.

[o] Ὁρα αν, ει μη ὅἰοι μεν ὁσον εἰηρεν την ἑαὐτων αρχην, και εκ απελιπον το ἰδιον οικητηριον, πολλε ανθρωπων διεφερον, και ησαν αὐτων κρειττοι. Com. in Matth. p. 396. E. Vid. et p. 397. A.

'as they "kept their first estate, and left not their own habitation;" which are words of Jude, ver. 6. And presently after he has likewise the following words of the same verse: "Reserved [a] in everlasting chains, under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day."

In the same Commentaries, having taken notice of these words, Matth. xiii. 55, 56: "Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary, and his brethren James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas?" beside other remarks, he says that James is the same whom Paul, in his epistle to the Galatians, speaks of, as having been seen by him. Gal. i. 19. He also observes a passage in the Antiquities of Josephus, relating to the same James; and then adds: 'And [b] Jude wrote an epistle, of a few lines indeed, but full of powerful words of the heavenly 'grace; who at the beginning says, "Jude, the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James." This passage is of use to shew us whom Origen took to be the author of this epistle; and I would farther observe, that it is somewhat strange that in this place nothing should be said by Origen concerning the epistle of James, if he supposed it to be written by the James before mentioned.

Again, in the same Commentaries: 'And [c] in the epistle of Jude, To "them that are 'beloved in God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, and called." Hence it appears that instead of 'sanctified,' in our present copies, Origen read beloved.'

Once more, in the same Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew's gospel, having cited 1 Pet. i. 12, he says: 'But [d] if any one receives also the epistle of Jude, let him consider what 'will follow from what is there said, ver. 6. "And the angels which kept not their first estate, 'but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains, under darkness, unto the 'judgment of the great day." This shews that there were some at that time who doubted of, or denied, the authority of this epistle.

These are quotations of this epistle in Origen's remaining Greek works. We find it also quoted in his Latin works, particularly in his books of Principles, in Rufinus's translation: 'Of which, in the [e] Ascension of Moses, which book the apostle Jude quotes in his epistle, 'Michael the archangel, disputing with the devil about the body of Moses, says, the serpent, 'moved by the devil, was the cause of the sin of Adam and Eve.' This epistle is [f] quoted several times in a Latin epistle of Origen. We likewise saw Jude mentioned in the Latin catalogues [g] transcribed above.

XV. The Revelation is mentioned, as we saw before, in Origen's Greek passages transcribed from Eusebius, among the other writings of St. John, the apostle of Christ, and allowed to be his. Origen seems to have had no doubt about it; and it is often cited by him. He speaks of it in this manner, in his Commentaries upon St. John's gospel: 'Therefore [h] John, 'the son of Zebedee, says in the Revelation, "I saw an angel fly in the midst of heaven." Rev. xiv. 6.

In another [i] place he says, 'The sons of Zebedee drank of that cup, and were baptized with 'that baptism; forasmuch as "Herod killed James, the brother of John, with the sword." 'Acts xii. 2: and [k] a Roman emperor, as tradition informs us, banished John to the island of 'Patmos, for the testimony of the word of truth. Of his testimony John himself speaks, 'though he does not inform us by whom that sentence was passed upon him, saying thus in the 'Revelation i. 9: "I John, your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom 'and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle which is called Patmos, for the word of God;" 'and what follows: and [l] it seems that he saw the Revelation in that island.' Perhaps it will be thought remarkable by some, that Origen does not name the emperor who pronounced this sentence against St. John.

[a] Εις κοισιν μεγαλης ἡμερας δεσμοις αΐδιοις εν ζοφῳ τηρεμενοι. p. 97. B.

[b] Και Ιεδας εγραψεν επιςολην, ολιγοςιχον μεν, πεπληρωμενην δε των της θρανιε χαριτος ερρωμενων λογων, ὁςις εν τῳ προοιμιῳ ειρηκεν· Ιεδας, Ιησε Χριςε δελος, αδελφος δε Ιακωβε. Ibid. p. 223 D. E.

[c] Και εν τη Ιεδα επιςολη· Τοις εν Θεῳ Πατρι ηγαπημενοις, και Ιησε Χριςῳ τεθηρημενοις και κλητοις Ib. p. 332. A.

[d] Ει δε και την Ιεδα προσδεχοιτο τις επιςολην, ὁρατεον τι επεται τῳ λογῳ δια το· Αγγελες τε μη τηρησαντας την εαυτων αρχην, κ. τ. λ. Ib. p. 488. E.

[e] De quo in Ascensione Möysi, cujus libelli meminit in epistolâ suâ apostolus Judas, Michaël archangelus cum Diabolo disputans de corpore Möysi, ait, a Diabolo inspiratum serpentem, causam extitisse prævaricationis Adæ et Evæ. De Prin. lib. iii. cap. 2. in. T i. p. 138. A.

[f] Vid. Orig. p. 5. T. i Bened.

[g] See Numb. v. vi.

[h] Φησιν εν εν τη αποκαλυψει ὁ τε Ζεβεδαιε Ιωαννης. Com. in Joh. p. 14. E.

[i] Com. in Matth. p. 417. B. C.

[k] Ὁ δε Ῥωμαιων βασιλευς. Ib. B.

[l] Και εοικε την αποκαλυψιν εν τη νησῳ τεθεωρηκεναι. Ibid. C.

Again, he calls the writer of the [a] Revelation 'apostle and evangelist; and, on account of 'the Revelation, prophet.'

In his books against Celsus he mentions John's [b] Revelation, and divers other books of scripture, particularly of the Old Testament; and soon after adds: 'But [c] let Celsus and they 'that read his book know, that no where, in any of the scriptures that are genuine, and believed 'to be divine, is there any mention of seven heavens. Nor have any of our prophets, or the 'apostles of Jesus, or he himself the Son of God, borrowed any thing from the Persians or the 'Cabirians.' The Revelation therefore was among those books which were reputed genuine and divine scriptures.

And finally, [d] Origen intended to write a commentary upon the Revelation, though we do not certainly know that he did so.

XVI. There is a place in Origen where he has been supposed to say, that from the beginning Christians had been divided about the books that ought to be received as scripture. It is in his books against Celsus, who had said of the Christians, that at first, and so long as they were few, they were all of one mind; but afterwards, when they were increased into a great number, they were miserably divided. In answer to what is said in the first part of this objection, Origen observes, 'That Celsus [e] was so ignorant as not to know, that from the very 'beginning there were differences among the believers about the books that should be received 'as divine scripture.' So Origen has been understood to say; and so Spencer [f] had translated this passage. But the Benedictine editor of Origen has translated it thus: 'That Celsus [g] was 'so ignorant as not to know, that from the beginning there were differences among the 'believers about the sense [interpretation, or meaning] of the books believed to be divine.' And that this is what Origen means, appears very evident from what he says presently afterwards in support of his assertion: 'That [h] there were in the times of the apostle disputes 'among the Jewish believers, whether the converts from among the Gentiles should observe 'the rites of the Mosaic law, or not.' He insists also upon the question about the resurrection, 1. Cor. xv. 12, and some other matters mentioned in the New Testament. And, as he proceeds, he several times speaks of 'misunderstandings of doctrines,' and of the [k] writings and 'words of Moses and the prophets:' and says that [l] 'from different interpretations of words 'believed by all to be divine, arose various sects:' using all along phrases that confirm De la Rue's version of the foregoing passage.

XVII. Origen has a long argument concerning the books of the New Testament, in the first tome of his commentaries upon St. John's gospel. It may be of use to us to take a large part of it. 'We [m] may then be bold to say, the gospel is the first-fruit of all the scriptures..... 'It may be therefore not unfitly said, that [n] of all the scriptures commonly received, and 'believed to be divine, in all the churches of God the law of Moses is the first-begotten, the 'gospel the first-fruit.....If [o] any object to this, that beside the gospels there are the Acts and

[a] Καλως μενΐοιγε διαγραφων τα περι τȣ λογȣ τȣ Θεȣ εν τῃ Αποκαλυψει ὁ αποστολος και ευαγγελιστης, ηδῃ δε και δια της αποκαλυψεως και προφητης, φησι, κ. λ. Com. in Jo. p. 51. D.

[b] Αναγνωΐω δε και εκ της Ιωαννȣ Αποκαλυψεως τα περι της πολεως. κ. λ. Contr. Cels. l. vi. T. i. p. 647. E. Bened.

[c] Ισω δε Κελσος, και οἱ ενΐυγχανοντες αυΐȣ τῳ βιβλιῳ, ὁΐι ȣδαμȣ των γνησιων και θειων πεπιστευμενων γραφων ἑπτα εισηνΐαι ȣρανοι. Οὐΐ απο Περσων η Καβειρων λαβοντες ἡμων οἱ προφηΐαι λεγȣσι τινα, ȣδ' οἱ τȣ Ιησȣ αποστολοι, ȣδ' αυΐος ὁ Υἱος τȣ Θεȣ. Ibid. p. 648. B. [d] Omnia hæc exponere singillatim, de capitibus septem draconis [Rev. xii. 3.], non est temporis hujus; exponentur autem tempore suo in Revelatione Joannis. In Matth. Tr. 30. p. 147. in Tom. ii. Basil. [e] Φησι δε και ὁΐι εν εφρονȣν παντες· ȣδ' εν τȣΐῳ ὁρων, ὁΐι αρχηθεν περι την εν τοις πεπιστευμενοις θειοις ειναι βιβλιοις εκδοχην γεγονασι διαφωνιαι των πιστευοντων. Com. Cels. l. iii. p. 117. Cant. p. 453. F. Tom. i. Bened.

[f] Ne hic quidem videns, quod mox ab initio non conveniebat inter credentes de delectu divinorum sacræ scripturæ voluminum. Vers. Spencer. [g] Neque hic novit jam tum ab initio fuisse de sensu librorum, qui divini esse credebantur, inter fideles dissidia. Vers. Bened.

[h] Ετι γȣν των αποστολων κηρυσσοντων,..... ζητησις εκ ολιγη προς αλληλȣς γεγενησθαι παρα τοις απο Ιȣδαιων πιστευȣσι περι των εξ εθνων επερχομενων τῳ λογῳ, ποτερον δει τα Ιȣδαϊκα τηρειν εθη. κ. λ. p. 454. A. [i] Ὁτι απ' αρχης γεγονασι τινες παρεκδοχαι, εὐεπω (ὡς οιεται Κελσος) πολλων των πιστευοντων γεγενημενων. p. 454. B. [k] Αλλα και Ιȣδαϊσμος προφασιν εσχε γενεσεως αιρεσεων, την διαφορον εκδοχην των Μωϋσεως γραμματων και των προφητικων λογων. Ib. E. [l] Τȣΐῳ δ' ηκολȣθησε, διαφορως εκδεχαμενων τȣς ἁπαντας πιστευθεντας ειναι θειȣς λογȣς, το, γενεσθαι αιρεσεις, κ. λ. p. 455. A. [m] Και γαρ τολμηΐεον εἰπειν, πασων των γραφων ειναι απαρχην το ευαγγελιον. Com. in Johan. p. 3. E. [n] Των τȣνυν φερομενων γραφων και εν πασαις εκκλησιαις Θεȣ πεπιστευμενων ειναι θειων, εκ αν ἁμαρτοι τις λεγων πρωτογεννημα μεν των Μωϋσεως νομον, απαρχην δε τ ευαγγελιον. Ib. p. 4. A.

[o] Εαν δε τις ανθυποφερη δια την εννοιαν της αναπτυξεως των απαρχων φασκων μειζα τα ευαγγελια τας πραξεις και τας επιστολας φερεσθαι των αποστολων, και καΐα τȣΐο μη αν εὐ σωζεσθαι το προαποδεδομενον περι απαρχης, το απαρχην πασης γραφης ειναι το ευαγγελιον. Ibid. B.

'the epistles of the apostles,.....we need[a] not scruple to say that the writings also of the 'apostles are in some sense gospel; forasmuch as it belongs to the office of an evangelist by 'exhortations to recommend a belief of the things concerning Jesus. And whereas it may be 'still objected, that we do not rightly call the whole New Testament gospel, because the 'epistles do not bear the inscription of gospel; it may be allowed that, since it is not uncom-'mon for several scriptures to have two or more names, one name may be, strictly speaking, 'more proper than the other. So the scripture called by the name of epistles, is not gospel, 'when compared with the history of the actions, and sufferings, and words of Jesus: never-'theless the gospel is the first-fruit of the whole scripture.....And[b] I think that, there being 'four gospels, which are as it were the elements of the faith of the church, of which elements 'the whole world reconciled to God by Christ consists,.....the gospel of John, which you 'have desired me to explain, is the first-fruit of the gospels. This I say with regard to him 'who writes the genealogy, and him who begins with him who had no genealogy. For Mat-'thew writing for the Hebrews, who expected him who was to descend from Abraham and 'David, says, "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abra-'ham."', Mark writes, [Here some things are wanting, and it seems very plain that Luke also 'was mentioned in this place].....But he reserves the greater and more perfect discourse con-'cerning Jesus for him who lay in the bosom of Jesus. For none of them have so distinctly 'declared his Deity as John, who introduces him saying, "I am the light of the world; I am 'the way, and the truth, and the life; I am the resurrection; I am the door; I am the good 'shepherd:" and in the Revelation, "I am alpha and omega, the beginning and the end, the 'first and the last." We may be bold to say, then, that the gospels are the first-fruits of all 'the scriptures, and the gospel according to John the first-fruit of the gospels.'

This passage is observable upon divers accounts; particularly, we see that Origen received four gospels, and no more. He owns without scruple the genealogy in St. Matthew: and we perceive what were the several scriptures of the New Testament generally received by Chris-tians—the gospels, Acts, epistles of apostles, and St. John's Revelation.

XVIII. This leads us to what comes next in order to be considered, the several titles and divisions of the books of sacred scripture.

1. The most general division is that of[c] the Old and the New Testament, between both which Origen says there is a perfect harmony. There are other places where Origen speaks[d] of the 'ancient' and the 'new' scriptures: in the former part he reckons the law and the pro-phets; in the latter the gospels and apostles, and asserts their complete harmony throughout.

2. Accordingly such titles and divisions as these are very frequent: 'The law[e] and the 'prophets, the gospels and apostles; prophets,[f] gospels, and apostles; The[g] scriptures of the 'prophets of God, and of the apostles of Jesus.'

3. 'They[h] who mind earthly things...suffer a famine of the word of God. They hear not 'the commands of the law, they know not the reproofs of the prophets, they are ignorant of 'the consolations of the apostles, they receive not the medicine of the Gospel.'

4. 'That we may be able to bring forth out of our treasure things new and old, and may 'be scribes instructed unto the kingdom of heaven,' he says, 'we[i] must give diligent attend-

[a] Ουκ οκνησομεν, χαρακτηριζομενα τα ευαγγελιστα, και εν προλεπτικω λογω τω εις πιστοποιησιν των περι Ιησα ευαγγελιον πως ειπειν τα υπο των αποστολων γεγραμμενα. κ. λ. Ibid. p. 4. E. 5. A. [b] Εγω δ' οιμαι δη και δ' ονων των ευαγγελιων οιονει στοιχειων της πιστεως της εκκλησιας, εξ ων στοιχειων ὁ πας συνεστηκε κοσμος, εν Χριστω καταλλαγεις τω Θεω,.... απαρχην των ευαγγελιων ειναι το προστεταγμενον ημιν υπο σα και δυνα-μιν ερευνησαι το κατα Ιωαννην· τον γενεαλογουμενον ειπων, και απο αγενεαλογητα αρχομενον. Ματθαιος μεν γαρ τοις προσδο-κωσι τον εξ Αβρααμ και Δαβιδ Εβραιοις γραφων, Βιβλος, φησι, γενεσεως Ιησα Χριστα, υια Δαβιδ, υια Αβρααμ· και Μαρκος.... αλλα γε τηρει τω επι το σηθος αναπεσοντι τα Ιησα τας μειζονας και τελειοτερας περι Ιησα λογας· ωδεις γαρ εκεινων ακραιως εφανε-ρωσεν αυτα την θεοτητα, ως Ιωαννης, παρασησας αυτον λεγοντα· Εγω ειμι ... τολμητεον τοινυν ειπειν απαρχην μεν πασων γραφων ειναι τα ευαγγελια, των δε ευαγγελιων απαρχην το κατα Ιωαννην. Ibid. p. 5. C. D. E. p. 6. A. [c] Πεπληρωμεθα συμφωνιας δογματων κοινων τη καλουμενη παλαια προς την ονομα-ζομενην καινην διαθηκην. Com. in Joh. p. 92. A. Huet.

[d] Γινεται δε και τριτος ειρηνοποιος, ὁ παυσας την συμφωνιαν και την εις εχθραν τελων, ητοι παλαιων προς καινας, η νομικων προς προφητικας, η ευαγγελικων προς αποστολικας. κ. λ. E secundo tomo in Matth. Philoc. cap. vi. p. 30, 31. Cant. p. 204. Huet.

[e] Quæ recitata sunt nobis, puteus est, et omnis simul scriptura Legis et Prophetarum: Evangelica quoque et Apostolica, scripta simul omnia, unus est puteus, &c In Num. Hom. xii. T. ii. p 314. C. Bened. [f] Εστι δε και παρα τοις ευαγ-γελιοις, και παρα τοις αποστολοις, και δια των προφητων μυριας οσας προστηγοριας συναγαγειν. κ. λ. In Joh. p. 22. A.

[g] Και οσα αλλα λεγουσι περι αυτα αι των προφητων τα Θεα και των αποστολων τα Ιησα γραφαι. Contr. Cels. l. v. T. i. p. 580. C. Bened. [h] Qui enim de terrâ sunt, et terrena sapiunt .. famem verbi Dei patiuntur, legis mandata non audiunt, correptiones prophetarum nesciunt, apostolicas con-solationes ignorant, non sentiunt Evangelii medicinam. In Gen. Hom. xvi. T. ii. p. 104. D. [i] Και εν τω νομω Κυριε μελεταν ημερας και νυκτος, α μονον τα καινα των ευαγ-γελιων, και των αποστολων, και της αποκαλυψεως αυτων λογια, αλλα και παλαια. κ. λ. Com. in Matth. p. 220. C. D.

'ance to reading,...and meditate in the law of the Lord day and night; not only the new 'oracles of the gospels and the apostles, and their revelation, but likewise the ancient oracles of 'the law and the prophets.'

5. Origen professes his own resolution[a] to improve the talent he had received, whether of the gospel, or the apostle, or the prophet, or the law.'

6. These several titles and divisions of scripture, I think, must be of use to satisfy us that Origen received no books as sacred scripture, and of authority, beside those which we so receive at this time. More instances of these, or the like divisions, will appear in the article of the respect shewed to the scriptures, to which we now proceed.

XIX. There are in Origen many evidences, not only of his own great respect for the scriptures, but also of the high esteem they were in with Christians in general.

1. Discoursing of a seeming difference between the evangelists, he speaks of it as the common opinion of Christians, 'That[b] the gospels were written exactly according to truth, with 'the assistance of the Holy Spirit, and that the writers had made no mistakes.' And afterwards, in the same discourse, 'After this Mark says, x. 50: "And he, casting away his gar-'ment, leaped and came to Jesus." Shall we say that[c] the evangelist wrote without thought, 'when he related the man's casting away his garment, and leaping, and coming to Jesus? and 'shall we dare to say that these things were inserted in the gospels in vain? For my part, I 'believe that not one jot or title of the divine instructions is in vain.'

2. In another place he argues: 'We[d] are never to say that there is any thing impertinent 'or superfluous in the scriptures of the Holy Spirit, though to some they may seem obscure: 'but we are to turn the eyes of our mind to Him who commanded these things to be written, 'and seek of Him the interpretation of them: that, if our soul is distempered, He may heal us 'who healeth all its sicknesses: or, if we be yet children in understanding, the Lord that re-'ceiveth little children may train us up, and bring us to the perfection of mature age.'

3. Again, he speaks of it as a common opinion, 'That[e] the sacred books are not the writings 'of men, but have been written and delivered to us from the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, by 'the will of the Father of all, through Jesus Christ.'

4. In answer to some objections of Celsus, Origen[f] says, 'With his good leave he will 'venture to affirm, that the disciples of Jesus, after their understandings were enlightened by 'the grace of God, knew better than Plato what to write, and how to write, and what things 'were fit to be published to the world, either by writing, or discourse, and what not.'

5. In a Latin Homily upon Jeremiah: 'The[g] sacred scriptures come from the fulness of the 'Spirit: so that there is nothing in the prophets, or the law, or the gospel, or the apostle, which 'descends not from the fulness of the divine majesty.'

6. In a Homily upon the same prophet, still extant in Greek: 'If[h] the oracles of God are 'contained in the law and the prophets, and in the gospels and the apostles, it becomes him, 'who is instructed in the divine oracles, to own God for his teacher.'

7. In his Commentaries upon St. Matthew: 'These things,' says[i] he, 'we must understand 'in a manner worthy of the wisdom of God, by which the gospels were written.'

[a] Εχομαι την μναν εἰτε ευαγγελιε, εἰτε αποστολε, εἰτε προφητε, εἰτε νομε ποιησαι πολλαπλασιονα. In Jerem. Hom. xix. p. 186. D. Huet. [b] Ειπερ γαρ ακριβως πιστευομεν αναγεγραφθαι, συνεργουντος και τε Αγιε Πνευματος, τα ευαγγελια, και μη εσφαλησαν εν τω απομνημονευειν οι γραψαντες αυτα, κ. λ. Com. in Matth. p. 227. B Huet. [c] Αρ' αν οὑτω ἐννοησας ανεγραψε περι τε αποβαλοντα αυτον το ἱματιον αναπεπηδηκοτα ελθειν προς τον Ιησουν, και τολμησομεν φησαι μαλην ταυτα προστεθηναι τω ευαγγελιω; εγω μεν ιωτα ἑν η μιαν κεραιαν ε πιστευω κενην ειναι θειων μαθηματων. In Matth. p. 428. E. [d] Sed non possumus hoc dicere de Sancti Spiritûs literis, quod aliquid in eis otiosum sit aut superfluum, etiamsi aliquibus videntur obscura. Sed hoc potius facere debemus, ut oculos mentis nostræ convertamus ad eum qui hæc scribi jussit, et ab ipso horum intelligentiam postulemus: ut, sive infirmitas est in animâ nostrâ, sanet nos ille qui sanat omnes languores ejus; sive parvi sensûs sumus, adsit nobis custodiens parvulos Dominus, et enutriat nos, atque in mensuram ætatis adducat. In Num. Hom. xxvii. T. ii. p. 375. B. Bened. [e] Διοτερ τοις πειθομενοις μη ανθρωπων ειναι συγγραμματα τας ιερας βιβλους, αλλ' εξ επιπνοιας τε Αγιε Πνευματος βουλημαλι τε Πατρος των ὁλων δια Ιησου Χριστου ταυτας αναγεγραφθαι και εις ἡμας ελθειν, τας φαινομενας ὁδος αποδεικτεον. Philoc. c. i. p. 7. Cant. De Prin. l. iv T. i. p. 166 in Bened. [f] Και, ει μη φορτικον ειπειν περι των τηλικουτων ανδρων το αληθες, φημι, ὁτι μαλλον Πλατωνος ἡτοι ἐρων, αφ' ὡν ελαμβανον χαριτι Θεου νοηματων, τινα μεν τα γραπτεα, και πως γραπτεα, τινα δε ε εδαμως γραπτεα εις τους πολλους, και τινα μεν ρητα, τινα δε ε τοιαυτα. Contr. Cels. l. vi. p. 634. A. Bened. [g] Et idcirco sacra volumina Spiritûs plenitudine spirant; nihilque est, sive in prophetis, sive in lege, sive in evangelio, sive in apostolo, quod non a plenitudine divinæ majestatis descendat. In Jerem. L. Hom. ii. p. 577 Basil. 1571. [h] Ει Θεου λογια εστιν εν νομω, και προφηταις, ευαγγελιοις τε και αποστολοις, δεησει τον μαθητευομενον Θεου λογιοις διδασκαλον επιγραφεσθαι Θεον. In Jerem. Hom. x. p. 107. A Huet. [i] Επει δε πραγματα λαμβανειν δει απο των λεγομενων αξιως σοφιας Θεου, αφ' ης τα ευαγγελια γεγραπται. Com. in Matth. p. 447. E. Huet.

8. Speaking of some doctrines he says, 'That[a] one and the same Spirit, proceeding from 'the one God, teaches the like things in the scriptures written before the coming of Christ, 'and in the gospels and apostles.'

9. All these observations afford abundant proofs of the peculiar authority and esteem of the holy scriptures. It will be easy to add a few passages, where it is asserted that the proofs of doctrines ought to be taken from them.

10. 'We must[b] seek,' says Origen, 'for a good proof of this truth. This must be fetched 'from the scriptures; for our assertions and discourses are unworthy of credit. In the mouth 'of two or three witnesses shall every word be established...In order to establish this interpre- 'tation, I shall bring two witnesses out of the New and the Old Testament. Yea I shall bring 'three witnesses; from the gospel, from the prophet, from the apostle.'

11. In another place and work he speaks[c] of the 'scriptures believed to be divine, both 'those of the Old and New Testament,' which were generally used for confirming any doctrine.

12. Discoursing of the duty of prayer: 'But[d] what we have said may be proved from the 'divine scriptures in this manner.'

13. 'It would[e] be tedious,' says he, 'to insist upon all the texts of the gospels, wherein it 'is taught that one and the same God is the God of the law and the gospel. I shall neverthe- 'less touch upon a place or two of the Acts of the apostles, where Stephen and the apostles 'direct their prayers to that God who is the maker of the heaven and the earth, and who spoke 'by the mouth of the holy prophets.'

14. He[f] says, 'Christians believe Jesus to be the son of God, in a sense not to be explained 'and made known to men by any but by that scripture alone which is inspired by the Holy 'Ghost; that is, the evangelic and apostolic scripture, as also that of the law and the pro- 'phets.'

15. In his books against Celsus: 'But[g] that our religion teaches us to seek after wisdom, 'shall be shewn both out of the ancient Jewish scriptures, which we also use; and out of 'those written since Jesus, and which are believed in the churches to be divine.'

XX. The respect for the scriptures appears farther in frequent and earnest exhortations to read and study them, taken from the consideration of the benefit of such a practice.

1. Origen does mightily recommend the reading of the scriptures. He[h] says, 'that if 'the Lord Jesus find us employed in such studies, he will come and partake with us; yea, if 'he sees such a feast prepared by us, he will bring his Father with him.'

2. He says likewise, 'that[i] the greatest torment of dæmons, and above all the other pains 'they endure, is to see men reading the word of God, and studying and labouring to under- 'stand the divine law, and the mysteries of the scriptures; and that for this reason, because 'hereby men are delivered from that darkness and ignorance of God and religion, which they 'had brought into the world, and on which all the interests of their kingdom depend.'

[a] Ου μονον δε περι των προ της παρεσιας ταυτα το Πνευμα ωκονομησεν, αλλ' αλε το αυτο τυγχανον και απο ενος Θεε, το ομοιον και επι των ευαγγελιων, και επι των αποστολων. Philoc. p. 12 fin. De Prin. l. iv. p. 174. n. 16. Bened.

[b] Μαρτυρας δει λαβειν τας γραφας· αμαρτυροι γαρ αι επιβολαι ημων και αι εξηγησεις απιστοι εισιν. Επι στοματι δυο και τριων μαρτυρων σταθησεται παν ρημα ..ινα στησω τα ρηματα της ερμηνειας, λαβων μαρτυρας δυο απο καινης και παλαιας διαθηκης· λαβων μαρτυρας τρεις απο ευαγγελιε, απο προφητε, απο αποστολε, εως σταθησεται παν ρημα. In Jerem. Hom. i. p. 55. H. Huet.

[c] Vid. Philoc. p. 1. Cant. De Prin. l. iv. sect. 1. p. 156. Bened.

[d] Καλασκευασεον δε απο των θειων γραφων τα ειρημενα, τελον τον τροπον. De Orat. p. 210. F. Bened.

[e] Longum erit, si ex omnibus evangeliorum locis testimonia congregemus.... Contingemus tamen brevitur etiam de Actibus apostolorum, ubi Stephanus et apostoli preces suas dirigunt ad eum Deum, qui fecit cælum et terram, &c. De Prin. l. ii. cap. iv. p. 85. C. Bened.

[f] ....eminemiorem divinioremque rationem de Filio Dei, nullius alterius possibilitatis esse credimus exponere, atque in hominum cognitionem proferre, nisi ejus solius scripturæ, quæ a Spiritu Sancto inspirata est, id est, evangelicæ, et apostolicæ, necnon legis et prophetarum, sicut ipse Christus asserit. De Prin. l. i. cap. iii. p. 60. A.

[g] Οτι δε βελειαι ημας ειναι σοφες, δειχθεον και απο των παλαιων και Ιουδαικων γραμματων, οις και ημεις χρωμεθα, εχ ητον δε και απο των μετα Ιησεν γραφεντων, και εν ταις εκκλησιαις θειων ειναι πεπιστευμενων. Con. Cels. l. iii. p. 138. Cant. T. i. p. 476. C. Bened.

[h] Ipse Dominus noster Jesus Christus, si nos inveniat his vacantes, et hujuscemodi studiis & exercitiis operam dantes, non solum pasci et refici dignatur in nobis, verum etiam, si has epulas apud nos viderit apparatas, Patrem secum dignatur adducere. In lib. Jesu Hom. xx. p. 44. A. Bened.

[i] Super omnia vero eis tormentorum genera, et super omnes pœnas, si quem videant verbo Dei operam dare, scientiam divinæ legis et mysteria scripturarum intentis studiis perquirentem, in hoc eorum omnis flamma est, in isto urantur incendio, quoniam quidem ignorantiæ tenebris humanas obscuraverant mentes, et hæc obtinuerant, ut Deus quidem ignoraretur, ad ipsos vero divini cultûs studia transferrentur. In Num. Hom. xxvii. p. 378. D. E.

3. Origen is for studying carefully all the scriptures, and every part of them. In a Greek fragment of a Homily upon Ezekiel, particularly upon chap. xxxiv. 17, 18, 19, he[a] says, 'there 'are some who receive the New and reject the Old Testament.....But,' says he, 'never let us 'tread down the prophetical pasture, nor foul the water of the law. And whereas there are 'some likewise who offend against the evangelical pasture, and the apostolical water, insomuch 'that they tread down some parts of the gospels [or 'some of the gospels,'] and feed on 'other parts as good pasture; and some either reject the apostles entirely, or take only a part 'of them; let[b] us feed on all the gospels entire, and tread down no part of them; and drink-'ing of all the writings of the apostles, as much as in us lies let us preserve the water pure that 'is set before us, and not foul any part thereof with unbelief, which disturbs those who are not 'able to understand them.'

4. To the like purpose in another place: 'Let[c] us read the scriptures of the Old Testa-'ment, and imitate the virtues for which any are commended, and carefully avoid the things 'for which they are blamed. Let us[d] also read the books of the New Testament, the words 'of the apostles; and having read them, let it be our care that they be written in the table of 'our hearts, that a bill of divorce may not be given unto us, but we may enter into the holy 'inheritance.'

5. He is for reading the scriptures, though we there find some things which we do not understand: 'Food,' he[e] says, 'is eaten, physic is taken: though the good effect is not pre-'sently perceived, a benefit is expected in time, and may be obtained. So,' he says, 'it is 'with the holy scriptures: though at the very time of reading them there be no sensible advan-'tage, yet in the end they will be found profitable for strengthening virtuous dispositions, and 'weakening the habits of vice.' This seems to be said particularly for the encouragement of meaner persons; that, though they should not understand every thing, and there be no interpreter at hand to explain a difficulty; nevertheless they should read the scriptures with good hopes of more advantage in the end than is perceived at first, and that by continual reading they may improve.

6. Mr. Lowth, in a book[f] designed for the use of meaner people, says, 'The primitive 'church cannot be accused of encouraging ignorance in the people; and yet Origen[g] informs 'us that there was a distinction made then between books of scripture which lay open to every 'body's use, and such as were read only by persons of better understandings: a distinction 'which, if it had been observed in these latter days, would have not a little contributed to the 'peace of the church.'

But I am apt to think, that learned writer mistook the meaning of Origen's passage, to which he refers. Celsus had put into the mouth of Christians some words, which Origen says were never spoken by any Christian, learned or unlearned. 'However,' as Origen[h] adds, 'it 'is not in any private books, or such as are read by a few only, and those studious per-'sons, but in books read by every body, that it is written: "The invisible things of God, from 'the creation of the word are clearly seen, being understood by things that are made."' Rom. i. 20: so that the epistle to the Romans was a writing open to all sorts of people. And yet from thence disputes have been raised, which have sometimes given no small disturbance to the church; and Christians of[i] ancient as well as later times have been sensible it is a part of

[a] Τοιȣτοι δη εισιν ὁιτε την μεν καινην εγκρινοντες, την δε παλαιαν αποδοκιμαζοντες διαθηκην. xx. Tom. Com. in Ez. p. 200. C. Huet.

[b] Ἡμεις και ὁλα ευαγγελια νεμεθωμεν, και μηδεν αυτων πατησωμεν, και παντα τα αποςολικα πινοντες, το ὁσον εφ' ἡμιν καθεςηκος ὑδωρ, αυτα τηρησωμεν, και μηδεν των εν αυτοις απιςια ταρασσȣσῃ τȣς ȣκ ειδοτας συνιεναι των λεγομενων ταραξωμεν. Ib. p. 201. G.

[c] In Jerem. Hom. iv. p. 74. B. Huet.

[d] ... αναγνωναι τα βιβλια της καινης διαθηκης, των αποςολων τȣς λογȣς. κ. λ. Ibid.

[e] Solent medici præbere interdum cibum aliquem, interdum etiam potum dare, verbi gratiâ ad discutiendam caliginem visûs: nec tamen in edendo ipso cibo, vel in potando, sentimus quia utilis est, et prodest oculis.... Hoc ergo modo credendum est etiam de scripturâ sanctâ, quia utilis est, et animæ prodest, etiam si sensus noster ad præsens intelligentiam non capit: quoniam, ut diximus, et bonæ virtutes, quæ nobis adsunt, reficiuntur in his sermonibus et pascuntur; et contrariæ torpescunt his meditationibus et effugantur.... Non istâ de causâ hæc diximus, nec excusantes nos ista protulimus, sed ut ostenderemus in scripturis sanctis esse vim quamdam, quæ legenti etiam sine explicatione sufficiat. In libr. Jesu Hom. xx. p. 455. A. B. C. Bened.

[f] Directions for the profitable Reading of the Holy Scriptures, ch. i. p. 9, 10. Third ed. 1726.

[g] Cont. Cels. l. vii. p. 356. Cant.

[h] Και ουκ εν ανακεχωρηκοσι και αναγινωσκομενοις ὑπο ὁλιγων μονον και φιλομαθων, αλλ' εν δημωδεςεροις γεγραπται, ὁτι τα αορατα τȣ Θεȣ απο κτισεως κοσμȣ τοις ποιημασι νοȣμενα καθοραται. Ibid. p. 720. C. Bened.

[i] Omnis quidem ad Romanos epistola interpretatione indiget, et tantis obscuritatibus involuta est, ut ad intelligendam eam Spiritûs Sancti indigeamus auxilio, qui per apostolum hæc ipsa dictavit. Hieron. Hedibiæ, sect. 10. Totus hic

scripture in which are many things not easy to be understood. But I apprehend that there is no ground to conclude, from this passage, that there were any books of scripture that were not read by all. The private books, those read by a few only, and those studious men, do not appear to be books of scripture, sacred scripture. So far as I am able to perceive, it would be reasonable to look for all the books of scripture, where we find the epistle to the Romans, among writings used by all mankind.

It is true, Origen allows that there are difficulties in the scriptures; but he does not therefore dissuade any from reading them, but advises them to labour the more to understand their meaning. And if this were a reason against reading any part of scripture, it would hold against all; for Origen was of opinion that there were difficulties in all the books of the New Testament, even the plainest of them, the gospels themselves, as we may see hereafter.

Origen often [a] speaks of a threefold sense of scripture—historical, moral, and mystical; and he [b] says that if any sense is difficult to be attained, he will never cease reading, studying, enquiring, and praying, till he has found it. And he exhorts others to do the like, and blames those who never read the scriptures at home, and seldom come to church except on festival days; because in this way they are never likely to attain all these senses, scarce any one of them. Thus argues Origen in his Homilies, to excite the diligence of all sorts of people.

In his Prologue, as it is called, to the Canticles, if [c] it be his, Origen [d] informs us that the wise men among the Jews put all the books of scripture into the hands of young people, except the beginning of Genesis, the beginning and end of Ezekiel, and the book of Canticles: and he himself there dissuades some people, who are, what they should not be, carnal and sensual, from reading that book. Nevertheless it does not appear that any part of scripture, esteemed by Christians to be divine, was withheld from persons of any rank or age. I think Origen's writings alone are a sufficient proof, that none of the scriptures were concealed in privacy: for, not to mention now any other things, he wrote [e] upon the beginning of Genesis, and upon the prophecies of Ezekiel; and upon the book of Canticles he wrote [f] two works in the way of tomes, or commentaries, beside his Homilies upon the same book. Jerom [g] speaks particularly of one of those Commentaries, which was a large work, consisting of ten volumes; and he admires and commends it, as if it were the best book that Origen ever wrote. He likewise translated, and, as he says, faithfully, two Homilies of Origen upon the Canticles, composed by him in a familiar style for the benefit of people of small proficience. But to proceed.

7. 'Every thing,' says [h] Origen, 'needs a suitable food for its nourishment: the true food 'of the rational nature is the word of God.' And soon [i] after he presses the reading of the

apostoli locus, et in superioribus et in consequentibus, imo omnis epistola ejus ad Romanos, nimiis obscuritatibus involuta est. Id. Algasiæ Qu. viii.

[a] Prima enim quæ præcessit, historica est, veluti fundamentum quoddam in inferioribus posita. Secunda hæc mystica, superior et excelsior fuit. Tertiam, si possumus, moralem tentemus adjicere. In Genesim Hom. ii. p. 65. B. C. Bened. Triplicem namque in scripturis divinis intelligentiæ inveniri sæpe diximus modum—historicum, moralem, et mysticum. Unde et corpus inesse ei, et animam, ac spiritum intelleximus. In Levit. Hom. v. p. 209. C.

[b] Si vero non solum secundum literam, sed aliquid et secundum spiritum attingere, biduum videbor fecisse apud puteum visionis. Quod et si moralem locum contigero, fecerim triduum; vel certe etiam si non potuero omnia intelligere, assideo tamen scripturis divinis, et in lege Dei meditor die ac nocte, et omnino nunquam desino inquirendo, discutiendo, tractando, et certe (quod maximum est) orando Deum.... Sin vero negligam, neque domi exercear in verbo Dei, neque ecclesiam ad audiendum frequenter ingrediar, sicut nonnullos in vobis video, qui diebus tantummodo solennibus ad ecclesiam veniunt, qui hujuscemodi sunt, non habitant apud puteum visionis, &c. In Gen. Hom. xi. p. 91. D. E.

[c] See Tillemont, Origene, art. 31. Huet. Or. lib. iii. sect. 3. n. 7.

[d] Ob hoc ergo moneo, et consilium do omni qui nondum carnis et sanguinis molestiis caret, neque ab affectu naturæ materialis abscedit, ut a lectione libelli hujus, eorumque quæ in eo dicuntur, penitus temperet. Aiunt enim observari etiam apud Hebræos, quod nisi quis ad ætatem perfectam maturamque pervenerit, libellum hunc ne quidem in manibus tenere permittatur. Sed et illud ab eis accepimus custodiri, quandoquidem moris est apud eos, omnes scripturas a doctoribus et sapientibus tradi pueris, simul et eas quas δευτερωσεις appellant, ad ultimum quatuor ista observari, id est, principium Genesis, in quo mundi creatura describitur, et Ezechielis prophetæ principium et finem... et hunc Cantici canticorum librum. P. 492. T. i. Bas.

[e] Ει δε τις βελειαι... λαβειν τα πραγματευθεντα ημιν εις την Γενεσιν, απο της αρχης βιβλιω μεχρι τω Αυλη η βιβλος γενεσεως ανθρωπων. Cont. Cels. l. vi. p. 309. Cant. p. 670 E. Bened. [f] See Tillem. Origene, art. 31. T. iii P. iii. p. 234.

[g] Origenes, cum in cæteris libris omnes vicerit, in Cantico canticorum ipse se vicit. Nam decem voluminibus explicitis, quæ ad viginti usque versuum millia pene perveniunt:... Itaque illo opere prætermisso, quia ingentis est otii, laboris, et sumptuum, tantas res, tamque dignum opus, in Latinum transferre sermonem, quos in morem quotidiani eloquii parvulis adhuc lactantibus composuit, fideliter magis quam ornate interpretatus sum. Hier. Prol. ad Dam. p. 481. Tom. i. Bas.

[h] Omnis natura rationabilis propriis et sibi competentibus nutriri indiget cibis. Cibus autem verus naturæ rationabilis est sermo Dei. In Num. Hom. xxvii. p. 374. A. E. Bened.

[i] Ita ergo et in cibis rationalibus, divinorum dico voluminum, non continuo aut culpanda aut refutanda est scriptura, quæ difficilior aut obscurior ad intelligendum videtur:...

scriptures, even those books or parts of scripture that appear obscure and difficult. Otherwise, he says, we must lay aside all; for there are difficulties in the plainest book, in the gospels; and the epistles of the apostles.

8. Having argued that [a] there were some things in the scriptures mysterious and difficult, others easy and obvious, and understood of themselves without any farther help, he infers: 'if then [b] we study the whole scripture, we shall become skilful money-changers.'

9. Because the scriptures are the proper food of our souls, he is for reading them daily. 'Let us,' says [c] he, 'come daily to the wells of the scriptures, the waters of the Holy Spirit, 'and there draw, and carry home a full vessel.'

10. He concludes a Homily upon Jeremiah, which we have in Greek, in this manner: 'These 'things [d] being so, let us recollect the words of scripture, and lay them up in our heart, 'and endeavour to live according to them; that being purified from sin before our departure 'out of this world, we may be saved through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and power for 'ever and ever. Amen.'

XXI. Another proof of a peculiar respect for the holy scriptures, and of the great authority they were in with Christians, is, that they were read and explained in their assemblies of public worship. This was common to the books both of the Old and the New Testament.

1. In a Latin Homily upon Exodus: 'Let [e] us therefore take heed, lest not only when 'Moses is read, but also when Paul is read, the veil be upon our heart. And certainly, if we 'hear carelessly, if we take no pains to obtain instruction and understanding, not only the 'scriptures of the law and the prophets, but also of the apostles and gospels, will, as to us, be 'covered with a thick veil.'

2. When he shews how a Christian sabbath ought to be kept beside meditation upon heavenly and invisible things, he mentions 'coming [f] to church, and hearing the divine readings and 'discourses,' or sermons: and says likewise, 'That on that day the reader of the divine law, 'and the preacher, does not cease from his labour, and yet the sabbath is not polluted.'

3. In another Homily: 'And [g] this we do, when the scriptures are read in the church, and 'when the discourse for explication is pronounced to the people.'

4. In one of his Homilies he represents strange negligence of some in hearing the readings and the expositions of the scriptures. 'Some [h] went away as soon as the readings in the public 'assemblies were over; some hardly stayed so long; others there were who scarce knew whe-'ther the scriptures were read or not, but entertained themselves with secular discourse in the 'remoter parts of the Lord's house. Of such,' he says, 'he may affirm, that when Moses is 'read, not a veil, but some partition, or even wall, is upon their heart.' This comparison, and the foregoing words, 'the remote parts of the Lord's house,' may afford some reason for thinking that the Christian churches at that time had very seldom any magnificence. It may be sus-

Quamvis, et si diligentius requiramus (verbi causâ) in evangelii lectione, vel apostolicâ doctrinâ, in quibus delectari, et in quibus tibi aptissimum et suavissimum deputas cibum; quanta sunt quæ te latent, si discutias et perscruteris mandata Domini. Quod si ea quæ obscura videntur et difficilia, refugienda sunt protinus et vitanda, invenies etiam in illis, in quibus valde confidis, tam multa obscura et difficilia, ut si hanc sententiam teneas, sit tibi etiam inde recedendum.... Hæc autem in præfatione præmisimus, ut suscitemus animos vestros, quoniam quidem hujusmodi lectio habetur in manibus quæ difficilis ad intelligendum, et superflua videatur ad legendum. Sed non possumus hoc dicere de Sancti Spiritûs literis, quod aliquid in eis sit otiosum aut superfluum, etiamsi aliquibus videntur obscura. Ibid. p. 374. C. D. E. F. 375. A.

[a] Και επι των λεγομενων εν ταις γραφαις, ἁ μεν εστιν απορρητοτερα και μυστικωτερα· ἁ δε αυτοθεν χρησιμα τοις νοεσι. In Jerem. Hom. xii. p. 123. C.

[b] Ὁλην ουν την γραφην εαν εξεταζωμεν, ερουμεν δοκιμοι γενομενοι τραπεζιται. κ. λ. Ibid. D.

[c] Rebecca quotidie veniebat ad puteos, quotidie hauriebat aquam... animarum est ista eruditio, et spiritalis doctrina, quæ te instituit et docet quotidie venire ad puteos scripturarum, ad fontes Spiritûs Sancti, et haurire semper, et plenum vas domum [illegible]. In Gen. Hom. x. p. 87. F.

[d] In Jerem. Hom. ii. p. 67. A. B. Huet.

[e] Videamus ergo, ne non solum cum Möyses legitur, sed et cum Paulus legitur, velamen sit positum super cor nostrum. Et manifeste, si negligenter audimus, si nihil studii ad eruditionem et intelligentiam conferimus, non solum legis et prophetarum scriptura, sed et apostolorum et evangeliorum grandi nobis velamine tegitur. In Exod. Hom. xii. p. 174. A.

[f] Si ergo desinas ab omnibus sæcularibus operibus, et nihil mundanum cures, sed spiritualibus curis vaces, ad ecclesiam convenias, lectionibus divinis et tractatibus aurem præbeas, et de cœlestibus cogites... hæc est observatio sabbati Christiani. ... Lector autem divinæ legis vel doctor non desinit ab opere suo, et tamen sabbatum non contaminat. In Num. Hom. xxiii. p. 358. D. E.

[g] Hoc ergo etiam nunc, vel cum scripturæ in ecclesiâ leguntur, vel cum sermo explanationis profertur ad populum, scripturæ auctoritatem sequentes, dicimus, &c. In libr. Jesu Hom. ix. p. 421. D.

[h] Aliqui vestrûm, ut recitari audierint quæ leguntur, statim discedunt. ... Alii ne hoc ipsum quidem expectant, usquequo lectiones in ecclesiâ recitentur. Alii vero nec si recitantur sciunt, sed in remotioribus dominicæ domûs locis sæcularibus fabulis occupantur. De quibus ego ausus sum dicere, quia cum legitur Möyses, jam non velamen super cor eorum, sed paries quidem et murus est positus. In Exod. Hom xii. T. ii. 173. B. C.

pected that they were only private houses, or buildings very like them, consisting of several rooms, separated from each other by walls and partitions.

5. 'Take [a] heed lest by a love of earthly things, or by any other means, you be a stranger 'to that food of wisdom, which is constantly dispensed in the churches of God. For, if you 'turn away your ear from hearing those things which are read or discoursed in the church, 'doubtless you will suffer a famine of the word of God.'

6. I might enlarge very much upon this point out of Origen, but it is not necessary at present: I shall add therefore only a fine passage in the books against Celsus, which I think relates to this matter. Celsus had compared the Christians to jugglers and mountebanks, that gathered weak and silly people together to hear their tales. 'But,' says [b] Origen, 'how un-'just is this reproach! wherein do we resemble those persons? we who by readings, and by 'discourses upon them, excite men to piety toward the God of the universe, and to other 'virtues of a like excellence; and dissuade men from a contempt of the Deity, and from all 'things contrary to right reason? The philosophers would have been glad if they could 'have gathered together such [mean] people to hear discourses recommending the practice 'of virtue.'

XXII. In the next place we are to consider whether there were any other books, beside those in our present canon, for which Origen had the same respect which he appears to have had for these. And, in order to judge of this, we shall first of all observe his quotations of those which we now generally esteem only ancient ecclesiastical writings, such as Barnabas, Clement, Hermas, Ignatius; then those which we usually call spurious or apocryphal.

It is to be observed that we are now chiefly concerned about books that may be thought to have some claim to be inserted in the canon of the New Testament; for which reason we need not be so particular in our observations upon his quotations of ancient writings, which rather belong to the Old Testament, though we may take some notice of these likewise.

XXIII. I begin then with observing Origen's citations of christian ecclesiastical writings.

1. The epistle ascribed to St. Barnabas is twice or thrice quoted by Origen in his remaining works, either Greek or Latin. In the books of Principles it is quoted in this manner: 'The [c] 'same things teaches Barnabas likewise in his epistle, when he says there are two ways, one of 'light, the other of darkness, over which also he says some certain angels preside; over the 'way of light the angels of God; over the way of darkness the angels of Satan.' We may observe here that Origen had just before quoted Tobit and Hermas, after several quotations of the commonly received books of the Old and New Testament.

Celsus had reviled the apostles of Christ, as infamous men. Origen answers: 'It is [d] 'indeed written in the catholic epistle of Barnabas (from whence perhaps Celsus took occasion 'to call the apostles infamous and wicked men), that Jesus chose for his own apostles men 'who were very great sinners.'

Origen is thought by some to refer also to this [e] epistle in his Commentaries upon the epistle to the Romans. But that is not plain: the books he quotes, or refers to particularly, for what he there advances, are such as are universally received as canonical.

2. St. Clement's epistle to the Corinthians is twice quoted by Origen. In the books of Principles [f] Origen cites him, calling him Clement, 'a disciple of the apostles.' In the Com-

[a] Vide ne, ... alienus efficiaris a sapientiæ cibis, quì semper in Dei ecclesiis exhibentur. Si enim avertas auditum ab his, quæ vel leguntur in ecclesiis, vel disputantur, sine dubio famem verbi Dei patieris. In Gen. Hom. xvi. T. ii. p. 104. F.

[b] ..... η τι τοιοις παραπλησιον πραττομεν, οι και δι' αναγνωσμαιων, και δια των εις αυτα διηγησεων, προτρεπομενες μεν επι την εις τον Θεον των ολων ευσεβειαν, και τας συνθρονες ταυτη αρετας· αποτρεπομενες δ' απο τε καταφρονειν τε θειε, και πανιων των παρα τον ορθον λογον πραττομενων; Και οι φιλοσοφοι γ'αν ευξαιντο αγειρειν τοσουτες ακροατας λογων επι το καλον προσκαλουμενων. Con. Cels. l. iii p. 480. E. T. i. Bened.

[c] Eadem quoque Barnabas in epistolâ suâ declarat, cum duas esse vias dicit, unam lucis, alteram tenebrarum, quibus et præesse certos quosque angelos dicit: viæ quidem lucis, angelos Dei; tenebrarum autem viæ, angelos Satanæ. De Princ. lib. iii. cap. 2. T. i. p. 140. E. Bened.

[d] Γεγραπται δη εν τη Βαρναβα καθολικη επιστολη (οθεν ὁ Κελσος λαθων ταχα ειπεν ειναι επιρρητες και πονηροτατες τες αποστολες) ὁτι εξελεξατο τες ιδιες αποστολες Ιησους, ονιας ὑπερ πασαν ανομιαν ανομωτερες. Contr. Cels. l. i. p. 49. Spenc. T. i. p. 378. B. Bened.

[e] Sunt præterea (sicut in multis scripturæ locis invenimus) etiam utriusque partis vel utriusque viæ fautores quidem et adjutores angeli. Nam carnis concupiscentiæ adversus spiritum favet Diabolus et angeli ejus, et omnes spirituales nequitiæ in cœlestibus, cunctique, adversus quos hominibus luctamen est, principatus et potestates, et mundi hujus rectores tenebrarum. [Eph. vi. 12. Rom. viii. 38.] In Ep. ad Rom. lib. i. cap. 1. p. 468. Basil.

[f] Meminit sane Clemens, apostolorum discipulus, etiam eorum quos *ανθιχθονας* Græci nominârunt ..... cum ait,

mentaries [a] upon John this epistle is again cited; and the writer is called 'faithful Clement, 'to whom Paul bears testimony, saying, "with Clement, and other my fellow-labourers, whose 'names are in the book of life.' Philip. iv. 3.

I shall here take the liberty to mention an observation which I have met with since I wrote the chapter of Clement of Rome. Mr. Wolff of Hamburgh thinks [b] him to be different from Clement whom St. Paul mentions in the epistle to the Philippians; so likewise Dr. Wall: they think this last not to have been a Roman, but a Philippian. Says [c] Dr. Wall, 'This Cle-'ment seems to be a Philippian; yet many ancients take him to be Clemens Romanus, with-'out any ground but the name, which was a very common name. Clemens Romanus must 'have been but a young man at this time. The most that Irenæus says of him is, that he had 'seen, and heard, and conversed with Paul and Peter, before their death; and that many in 'Clement's time were living who could remember the apostles. But this Clement had been 'St. Paul's fellow-labourer (at Philippi, I suppose) ten or twelve years before this time;' that is, before Paul's writing the epistle to the Philippians in his imprisonment at Rome.

Upon which I would observe, that these learned men, I think, would not dispute what has been so often said by the ancients, that Clement, bishop of Rome, who wrote the epistle from thence to the Corinthians, was well acquainted with some of the apostles of Christ; whether he be the person mentioned by St. Paul in his epistle to the Philippians, or not. But I see no proof that Clement there mentioned by the apostle was a Philippian; if so, St. Paul's salutations of Aquila and Priscilla would prove them to be of several places, that is, natives of them. [See Rom. xvi. 3; 2 Tim. iv. 19. See likewise Acts xviii. 2. 18. 26; 1 Cor. xvi. 19.] And if Paul's calling Clement his helper or 'fellow-labourer,' in his epistle to the Philippians, is a proof that Clement had laboured with him at Philippi, his salutation of Aquila and Priscilla, in the epistle to the Romans, would prove that they had been the apostle's 'helpers' at Rome, before he had been there. Nor is there any weight at all in Dr. Wall's argument from the age of Clement: there is no great distance between the supposed times of his and St. John's death; and yet St. John had been an apostle of Christ some while before Paul was converted. Clement therefore, bishop of Rome, without any inconsistence, may be supposed to have been a companion and fellow-labourer of Paul at several places, and yet live to the end of the first century, or thereabout.

I shall place here also Origen's quotations of the Recognitions, though they are not so generally allowed to be written by Clement of Rome as the epistle to the Corinthians.

In his Commentaries [d] upon Genesis, Origen has a long passage out of the Recognitions, which he quotes by the title of Circuits, or Travels, written by Clement the Roman, disciple of the apostle Peter. In another work he quotes [e] some words of Peter in Clement, meaning the Recognitions ascribed to him.

3. The Shepherd, or Pastor, of Hermas is often quoted by Origen. The places are too numerous to be all inserted here; and a large part of them may be seen by the learned reader among the testimonies to Hermas, in Le Clerc's Patres Apostolici. I shall, however, produce the most remarkable of them.

1.) It is quoted, as I said just now, with Barnabas [f] and Tobit. Again, [g] in the books of

[a] Oceanus intransmeabilis est hominibus, et hi qui trans ipsum 'sunt mundi, qui his eisdem dominatoris Dei dispositionibus 'gubernantur.' [Vid. Clem. Ep. ad Cor. c. 20.] Orig. de Princ. l. ii. c. 3. p. 82. D Bened. Paulo post. Ex his tamen quæ Clemens visus est indicare, cum dicit, 'Oceanus intrans-'meabilis est hominibus, et hi mundi qui post ipsum sunt.' Orig. ibid. p. 83. B. C.

[a] Και παραδεχεται ταυθ' ουτως γεγονεναι ȣκ αλογως πιστευσας ταις ἱστοριαις ὁ πιστος Κλημης, ὑπο Παυλȣ μαρτυρȣμενος, λεγοντος, Μετα Κλημεντος, κ. λ. [Vid. Clem. Ep. cap. 55.] Orig. Comm. in Joan. p. 143. A. Huet.

[b] De Clemente, qui Romanæ ecclesiæ postea præfuerat, accipit Eusebius, H. E. l. iii. cap. iv. xv. Veri autem similius est, talem hic Clementem intelligi, qui Philippis verbi evangelici præconem egerit, quod de altero illo nusquam memini doceri Jo. Christ. Wolf. Curæ in N. T. ad Philip. iv. 3.

[c] Brief Critical Notes upon the N. T. p. 279, 280.

[d] Και Κλημης δε ὁ Ῥωμαιος, Πετρȣ αποστολȣ μαθητης συνῳδα τȣτοις εν τῳ παροντι προβληματι προς τον πατερα, εν Λαοδικειᾳ, ειπων εν ταις Περιοδοις, αναγκαιοτατον τι επι τελει των τοιȣτων λογων φησι, κ. τ. ε. [Vid. Recogn. l. x. n. x. et seq.] Orig. Comm. in Gen. T. ii. p. 20. E. Bened. Vid. et Philocal. cap. 23. p. 81, 82. Spencer.

[e] Tale aliquid dicit et Petrus apud Clementem, quoniam opera bona quæ fiunt ab infidelibus in hoc seculo prosunt, non et in illo ad consequendam vitam æternam. [Vid. Recogn. l. vii. n. xxxviii.] Orig. in Matth. Tractatus 35. p. 172. Basil. 1571.

[f] Sed et Pastoris liber hæc eadem declarat, dicens, quod bini angeli singulos quosque hominum comitentur: et si quando bonæ cogitationes cor nostrum ascenderint, a bono angelo suggeri dicit; si vero contrariæ, mali angeli dicit esse instinctum. [Vid. l. ii. mand. 6. cap. 2.] Orig. de Princip. l iii. c. 2. p. 140. D. Bened.

[g] Quod autem a Deo universa creata sint..... ex multis scripturæ assertionibus comprobatur..... Nam et in libello

Principles, it is quoted by Origen as scripture, together with the book of Enoch. In [a] the same work it is quoted as scripture together with the Maccabees: it is mentioned by him likewise with the Maccabees in [b] his Commentaries upon St. John's gospel.

2.) In the Commentaries upon the epistle to the Romans, at chap. xvi. ver. 14, "Salute Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas, Patrobas, Hermes, and the brethren which are with them, Origen observes, 'To [c] these there is only sent a simple salutation, nor is there added any high commendation. Nevertheless I think that this Hermas is the author of the book called the 'Shepherd; which scripture [or 'writing'] appears to me very useful, and, as I think, divinely 'inspired. And that he gave them [perhaps it should be 'him'] no commendation, the reason 'may be this: that he seems, as that book itself shews, to have been converted and brought to 'repentance after the commission of many sins.'

3.) In other places this book is quoted after this manner: In a Homily upon the book of 'Numbers he [d] says, 'Thus we are taught in this book, in which there is nothing at all that 'can be questioned. The like things are also to be found in the book of the Shepherd, if in'deed any one thinks that scripture [or 'writing'] ought to be received.'

4.) In his Commentaries upon St. Matthew: 'If [e] I may dare quote a certain scripture, 'used indeed in the churches, but not accounted of all to be divine, let us take a passage out 'of the Shepherd.'

5.) Once more: 'In [f] the little book of the Shepherd, despised by some.'

6.) These, I think, are the most remarkable quotations of this book in Origen, and sufficient to enable the reader to judge for himself in this point. It appears hence that this book was not universally received as divine; that by some it was much despised; that there were in it some things which were not approved by all: and sometimes it is spoken of as if it was received by very few, hardly by any one. Nevertheless Origen quotes it as an useful book, and as scripture, and thinks it divinely inspired. However, upon the whole, he seems to quote it only as scripture in a secondary sense, or lower rank. This may be concluded from his quoting it so often with the books of the Maccabees, and Tobit, and Enoch; which Origen knew very well, and sometimes expressly observes, were not in the Jewish canon. That Origen ought to be so understood, is the more probable, because Eusebius, Jerom, and [g] others, who were well acquainted with Origen's writings and opinions, give no higher authority to this book, as we shall see more fully hereafter. In the mean time I shall just observe Rufinus's account of this matter, who, after he had put down the canonical books of scripture, adds: 'But [h] it ought to be taken notice of that there are other books which are not canonical, but 'were called by the ancients ecclesiastical, as the Wisdom of Solomon, and another Wisdom of 'the Son of Sirach. In the same rank are the books of Tobit, Judith, and the Maccabees; 'and in like manner, in the New Testament, the book of the Shepherd, or of Hermas.'

4. Origen's two quotations of Ignatius have been sufficiently taken notice of [i] formerly.

qui Pastoris dicitur Angeli pœnitentiæ, quem Hermas conscripsit, ita refertur: 'Primo omnium crede, quia unus est 'Deus, qui omnia creavit et composuit, ...' Sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur. Verum tamen usque ad præsens tempus nullum sermonem in scriptis sanctis invenire potuimus, per quem Spiritus sanctus factura esse vel creatura diceretur. De Princip. l. i. c. 3. p. 61. C. D. Bened.

[a] Ut autem etiam ex scripturarum auctoritate hæc ita se habere credamus, audi quoque in Macchabæorum libris. .... sed et in libro Pastoris in primo mandato ita ait: 'Primo 'omnium crede quia unus est Deus, qui omnia creavit atque 'composuit, et fecit, ex eo quod nihil erat, ut essent uni'versa.' De Prin. l. ii. cap. 1. p. 79. A. B. Bened.

[b] Αλλ' ε παρ' ἡμιν τοις πειθομενοις ὁτι εξ εκ ονἰων τα ονἰα ποιησεν ὁ Θεος, ὡς ἡ μἡ̃ηρ των ἐπἰα μαρτὑρων εν Μακκαβαϊκοις, και ὁ της μετἀνοιας ἀγγελος εν τῳ Ποιμενι εδιδαξε. Comm. in Johan. p. 17. E. T. ii. Huet.

[c] De istis est simplex salutatio, nec aliquid eis insigne laudis adjungitur. Puto tamen, quod Hermas iste sit scriptor libelli illius qui Pastor appellatur, quæ scriptura valde mihi utilis videtur, et, ut puto, divinitus inspirata. Quod vero nihil eis [forte 'ei'] laudi ascripsit, illa opinor est causa, quia videtur, sicut scriptura illa declarat, post multa peccata ad pœnitentiam fuisse conversus; et ideo nec opprobrium ei aliquod ascripsit. In Epist. ad Rom. cap. 16. T. ii. p. 630. Basil.

[d] Quod autem dies peccati in annum pœnæ reputetur, non solum in hoc libro, in quo nihil omnino est quod dubitari possit, ostenditur, sed et in libello Pastoris (si cui tamen scriptura illa recipienda videtur,) similia designantur. In Num. Hom. viii. T. ii. p. 294. B. Bened.

[e] Ει δε χρη τολμησαντα και απο τινος φερομενης μεν εν τη εκκλησια [al ταις εκκ.] γραφης, ε παρα πασι δε ὁμολογεμενης ειναι θειας, το τοιὑτον παραμυθησεσθαι, ληφθειη αν το απο τὑ Ποιμενος. Comm. in Matth. T. i. p. 361. E. Huet.

[f] Δια τὑτο ἡμεις και το εν τῳ ὑπο τινων καταφρονεμενῳ βιβλιῳ τῳ Ποιμενι, περι τε προσασσεσθαι τον Ἑρμαν δυο γραψαι βιβλια. κ. λ. De Princip. l. iv. cap. 1. T. 1. p. 168. Vid. Philocal. cap. 1. p. 9. ex. ed. Spencer.

[g] Vid. Pearson, Vind. Ignat. P. i. cap. 4. p. 274, 275.

[h] Sciendum autem est, quod et alii libri sunt qui non canonici, sed ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt; ut est Sapientia Salomonis, et alia Sapientia quæ dicitur filii Syrach ... Ejusdem ordinis est libellus Tobiæ, et Judith et Macchabæorum libri. In Novo vero Testamento libellus qui dicitur Pastoris, sive Hermatis. Rufin. Expos. in Symbolum Apost.

[i] See chap. v. p. 314.

He calls him 'one of the saints,' a 'martyr,' and 'the second bishop of Antioch after Peter;' but without any intimation that his epistles were part of sacred scripture.

XXIV. We now proceed to writings generally called spurious, or apocryphal: and here I shall begin with placing at length the preface to Origen's first Homily upon St Luke's gospel, as it is called; or his observations upon St. Luke's introduction or preface to his gospel.

1. 'As[a] of old among the Jewish people many pretended to the gift of prophecy; and 'there were some false prophets, one of whom was Ananias son of Agor, but others were pro-'phets; and there was among the people the gift of discerning spirits, by which some were 'owned as prophets, others were rejected as it were by skilful money-changers; so also now 'under the New Testament, many took in hand to write gospels, but all have not been 'received. And that not four gospels only, but very many, were written, out of which those 'we have were chosen, and delivered to the churches, we may perceive even from Luke's pre-'face, which is thus: "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declara-'tion." Luke i. 1. His expression of their "taking in hand," contains a tacit accusation of 'those who without the gift of the Holy Spirit took upon them to write gospels: for Matthew 'and Mark, and John and Luke, did not take in hand to write, but being full of the Holy 'Ghost wrote gospels. "Many therefore took in hand to set forth in order a narration of 'those things which are most surely known amongst us." The churches have four gospels, 'heresies have very many; of which one is intitled "according to the Egyptians," another '"according to the Twelve Apostles." Basilides likewise had the assurance to write a gospel, 'and call it by his own name. Many took in hand to write, many also took in hand to set 'forth in order. Four gospels only have been approved, out of which the doctrines of our 'Lord and Saviour are to be learned. I know a certain gospel, which is called "according to 'Thomas," and "according to Matthias;" and many other we read, that we may not seem to 'be ignorant of any thing, for the sake of those who think they know something, if they are 'acquainted with these [gospels]; but among all these we approve of none but the four gospels 'received in the church.'

I have hitherto translated only the beginning of this Homily, as we have it in Origen's Latin works; Mr. Simon has published the same thing in Greek, from manuscripts, at Paris, As there is some small difference between these, I shall now translate the Greek of Mr. Simon.

'As[b] among the people of old there were many who pretended to prophecy, but some of 'them were false prophets, and others truly prophets; and there was the gift of discerning 'spirits, by which a true and false prophet were distinguished: so also now, in the New Testa-'ment, many would write gospels; but skilful money-changers did not approve of all, but 'chose some of them. Possibly the expression, "they took in hand," contains a tacit accusa-'tion of those who set themselves to write gospels without the gift of the Spirit; for Matthew

[a] Sicut olim in populo Judæorum multi prophetiam pollicebantur, et quidam erant pseudoprophetæ, e quibus unus fuit Ananias, filius Agor: alii vero prophetæ: et erat gratia in populo discernendorum spirituum, per quam alii inter prophetas recipiebantur, nonnulli quasi ab exercitatissimis trapezitis reprobabantur: ita et in Novo Testamento multi conati sunt scribere evangelia, sed non omnes recepti. Et ut sciatis non solum quatuor evangelia, sed plurima esse conscripta, ex quibus hæc quæ habemus electa sunt, et tradita ecclesiis, ex ipso proœmio Lucæ, quod ita contexitur, cognoscamus: Quoniam quidem multi conati sunt ordinare narrationem. Hoc quod ait, 'conati sunt,' latentem habet accusationem eorum qui absque gratia Spiritûs Sancti ad scribenda evangelia prosilierunt. Matthæus quippe et Marcus, et Joannes et Lucas, non sunt conati scribere, sed Spiritu Sancto pleni scripserunt evangelia. Multi igitur conati sunt ordinare narrationem de his rebus quæ manifestissime cognitæ sunt in nobis. Ecclesia quatuor habet evangelia, hæreses plurima; e quibus quoddam scribitur secundum Ægyptios, aliud juxta duodecim apostolos. Ausus fuit et Basilides scribere evangelium, et suo illud nomine titulare. Multi conati sunt scribere, sed et multi conati sunt ordinare. Quatuor tantum sunt evangelia, ex quibus sub personâ Domini et Salvatoris nostri proferenda sunt dogmata. Scio quoddam evangelium, quod secundum Thomam, et juxta Matthiam; et alia plura legimus, ne quid ignorare videremur, propter eos qui se putant aliquid scire, si ista cognoverint. Sed in his omnibus nihil aliud probamus, nisi quod ecclesia; id est, quatuor tantum evangelia recipienda. In Procem. Lucæ Hom. i. T. ii. p. 210. Basil.

[b] Ωσπερ δε εν τῳ παλαι λαῳ πολλοι προφηϊειαν επηγγελλοντο· αλλα τινων μεν ησαν ψευδοπροφηται, τινες δε αληθως προφηται, και ην χαρισμα διακρισεως πνευματων, αφ' ὁ εκρινετο ο αληθης προφητης και ὁ ψευδοπροφητης· οὕτω και νυν εν τῃ καινῃ διαθηκῃ τα ευαγγελια πολλοι εθελησαν γραψαι· αλλ' οἱ δοκιμοι τραπεζιται ὁ πανια εκριναν, αλλα τινα αυτων εξελεξαντο. Ταχα δε και το Επεχειρησαν λεληθυιαν εχει καθηγοριαν των χωρις χαρισματος ελθοντων επι την αναγραφην των ευαγγελιων. Ματθαιος γαρ ου επεχειρησεν, αλλ' εγραψεν εξ Αγιου Πνευματος κινουμενος· ὁμοιως και Μαρκος και Ιωαννης, παρα πλησιον δε και Λουκας. Το μεν τοι επιγεγραμμενον των δωδεκα ευαγγελιον, οἱ συγγραψαντες επεχειρησαν. Φερεται δε και το κατα Θωμαν ευαγγελιον. Ηδη δε ετολμησε και Βασιλειδης γραψαι κατα Βασιλειδην ευαγγελιον. Πολλοι μεν ουν επεχειρησαν, και το κατα Ματθιαν και αλλα πλειονα· τα δε τεσσαρα μονα παραδεδωκεν ἡ του Θεου εκκλησια. Orig. Procem. in Luc. ex Cod. MS. Bibl. Reg. n. 2330. et ex duobus Codd. Bibl. Colb. nn. 2259 et 4112. See Simon. Hist. Crit. des Comment. du N. T. chap. v. p. 81, 82. à Rotterdam, 1693.

'did not take in hand, but wrote, being moved by the Holy Ghost: in like manner Mark and 'John, as also Luke. But they who composed the gospel, intitled the Gospel of the Twelve, 'took in hand. There is also a gospel according to Thomas. Moreover Basilides had the 'assurance to write a gospel [intitled] according to Basilides. Many therefore took in hand, 'as the writers of the gospel according to Matthias, and many more; but the church of God 'approves four only.'

I have thus translated the Greek as it is in Simon's Critical History of the Commentators of the New Testament. The reader will observe the differences between this and the Latin preface; particularly, here is no mention of the gospel according to the Egyptians. But I suspect this to be the fault only of Simon's impression; for he puts that gospel there in his French translation together with the gospel according to the Twelve: however, I have thought myself obliged to follow his Greek. I hope father De la Rue, of whose edition of Origen's works I have as yet seen only the first two volumes, will give us this more exactly; for where the mistake lies I cannot say. It is nevertheless observable, that St. Ambrose, who in his Exposition of St. Luke's gospel seems to have copied this preface of Origen, though without naming him, or giving any hint that he copied any author at all, omits[a] the gospel according to[b] the Egyptians, whilst he mentions those of the Twelve, and Basilides, Thomas, and Matthias.

If this passage be really Origen's (as I think there can be no reason to doubt but that for the main it is so), it shews us very much what was his opinion concerning the spurious apocryphal books of the New Testament, and particularly the gospel of the Twelve, or according to the Twelve; which is generally supposed to be the same which is also called the gospel according to the Hebrews. If the gospel according to the Egyptians was not mentioned by Origen in this place, he has[c] no where taken any notice of it, that I remember, in his now remaining works. But allowing him to have mentioned it here, still this affords full proof of the obscurity of this gospel, and the vast neglect of[d] it by catholic Christians, that so little notice is taken of it by Origen, who lived so long at Alexandria in Egypt, and the rest of his days in Palestine, or near it.

2. Origen, in his Commentaries upon St. Matthew's gospel, discoursing on the history of the rich man that came to Christ, and having compared the several accounts given by the evangelists Matthew, Mark, and Luke, adds: 'But let us consider this place otherwise. It is 'written[e] a certain gospel, which is called "according to the Hebrews," if indeed any one is 'pleased to receive it, not as of authority, but for illustration of the present question: "A 'certain rich man," says that gospel, "said to him, Master, what good thing shall I do, that I 'may live? He said unto him, Man, keep the law and the prophets. He answered him, That I 'have done. He said to him, Go, sell all that thou hast, and distribute among the poor; and 'come, follow me. But the rich man began to scratch his head, and it did not please him. And 'the Lord said to him, How sayest thou, I have kept the law and the prophets? seeing it is 'written in the law, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; and behold, many of thy 'brethren, sons of Abraham, are clothed with rags, ready to perish for hunger, whilst thy house 'is filled with all sorts of good things, and nothing goes out of it to them. And turning about 'he said to his disciple Simon, who was sitting by him, Simon, son of Joanna, it is easier for a 'camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of 'heaven."

[a] Et aliud quidem fertur evangelium, quod duodecim scripsisse dicuntur. Ausus est etiam Basilides evangelium scribere, quod dicitur secundum Basilidem, &c. Ambros. Exp. Evang. secund. Luc init.

[b] Mr. Jones says, that the gospel according to the Egyptians is mentioned by St. Ambrose in the same manner as by Origen. New and Full Method, &c. vol. i. p. 246. But it is plainly a slip of memory. See there, p. 193, 194.

[c] Vid. Grabe, Spicil. T. i. p. 31. and Jones, as before, p. 246.

[d] Compare what is said of Clement of Alexandria, p. 407. 408.

[e] Scriptum est in evangelio quodam, quod dicitur secundum Hebræos: si tamen placet alicui recipere illud, non ad auctoritatem, sed ad manifestationem propositæ questionis. Dixit, inquit, ad eum alter divitum, Magister, quid bonum faciens vivam? Dixit ei, Homo, leges et prophetas fac. Respondit ad eum, Feci. Dixit ei, Vade, vende omnia quæ possides, et divide pauperibus, et veni, sequere me. Cœpit autem dives scalpere caput suum, et non placuit ei. Et dixit ad eum Dominus, Quomodo dicis, Legem feci et prophetas? quoniam scriptum est in lege, Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum: et ecce multi fratres tui, filii Abrahæ, amicti suat stercore, morientes præ fame; et domus tua plena est multis bonis, et non egreditur omnino aliquid ad eos. Et conversus dixit Simoni discipulo suo sedenti apud se, Simon, fili Joannæ, facilius est camelum intrare per foramen acûs, quam divitem in regnum cœlorum. Tract. viii. in Matth. T. i. p. 73. Bas.

This passage is not in the Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew, but only in the Latin translation of them; and [a] Huet therefore thinks it an addition of the translator. But perhaps some late Greek copier thought fit to omit it; it might be in the more ancient copy used by the translator.

In the Greek Commentaries upon St. John: 'But [b] if any one admits the gospel according 'to the Hebrews, where our Saviour himself says, "Just now my mother, the Holy Ghost, took 'me by one of my hairs, and carried me to the great mountain Thabor."' This passage we have also in Origen's Greek Homilies [c] upon Jeremiah, published by Huet.

These two are the only passages of this gospel found in Origen's remaining works, as has been observed by [d] Dr. Grabe and [e] Mr. Jones. However, [f] Jerom, speaking of the gospel according to the Hebrews, says that Origen made frequent use of it. If that be true, he must refer to works of Origen now lost. But perhaps Jerom speaks in a careless hyperbolical manner: and, if all Origen's works were now extant, we might not see this gospel very often quoted in them. I apprehend that these remaining quotations are sufficient to shew, not only that this gospel was not generally received by Christians, but likewise that Origen himself had no great regard to it; if he had, this gospel would have appeared much oftener in his works. It may therefore be concluded that he did not take this gospel according to the Hebrews to be St. Matthew's gospel; or, if he did, he must have supposed it to have been so altered and interpolated, as to be no longer of any authority, and of but little use.

3. In the Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew, says Origen, 'Supposing him to be the 'Son of Joseph, they say, "Is not this the carpenter's son?" Matth. xiii. 35; and despising 'all who seemed to be his nearest kindred, they express themselves in this manner: "Is not 'his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Jude? and 'his sisters, are they not all with us?" Matth. xiii. 55, 56. They thought him therefore to 'be the son of Joseph and Mary; and some, [g] induced thereto by a tradition, in the gospel 'according to Peter, or the book of James, say, that these brethren of Jesus are sons of Joseph 'by a former wife, that had cohabited with him before Mary.'

This is the only place in which this piece (or these pieces, if they are two) is quoted in Origen's remaining works; which alone may be reckoned a good argument, that it was not much esteemed by him. The manner likewise in which this gospel is quoted, seems to shew that he did not reckon it to have been written by Peter, or James, or by any companion or disciple of either of them; but that he supposed it to be rather a work composed after their time, containing traditions relating to Christ, of things reported to have been said or done by him. It is not unlikely that here were some discourses ascribed to Peter, others to James, which occasioned different titles of this work.

4. In the preface to the books of Principles, which we have in Latin: 'But [h] if any one 'should bring an objection out of that little book which is called the Doctrine of Peter, where 'our Saviour seems to say to his disciples, "I am not an incorporeal dæmon," I would answer, 'in the first place, that that book is not accounted an ecclesiastical book; and then make it 'appear that it is neither a writing of Peter, nor of any other person that was inspired by the 'Spirit of God.' This book then is entirely rejected by Origen.

In his Commentaries upon St. John, which we have in Greek, says Origen, 'But it [i] would 'be tedious to transcribe now the words of Heracleon, taken out of the book intitled the

[a] Ad hæc vetus ille interpres tract. viii. insignem locum profert ex evangelio secundum Hebræos. Atqui id de suo addidit, quippe quod in exemplaribus Græcis nusquam appareat. Ac proinde temporum illorum, quibus hoc supererat evangelium, æqualis fuit. Origenian. l. iii. sect. 3. n. 12. p. 252.

[b] Εαν δε προσιελαι τις το καθ' Εβραιους ευαγγελιον, ενθα αυτος ὁ Σωτηρ φησιν· Αρτι ελαβε με ἡ μητηρ μου το Αγιον Πνευμα εν μια των τριχων μου, και απενεγκε με εις το ορος το μεγα Θαβωρ. Comm. in Joan. p. 58. D. E.

[c] In Jerem. Hom. xv. T. i. p. 148. A. Huet.

[d] Spicil. T. i. p. 27. [e] Vol. i. p. 335.

[f] Evangelium quoque, quod appellatur secundum Hebræos, ... quo et Origenes sæpe utitur. De Vir. Ill. cap. ii.

[g] Τους δε αδελφους Ιησου φασι τινες ειναι, εκ παραδοσεως ὁρμωμενοι τε επιγεγραμμενε καθ' Πετρον ευαγγελιε, ἡ της βιβλε, Ιακωβε, υιες Ιωσηφ εκ προτερας γυναικος συνωκημιιας αυτω προ της Μαριας. Comm. in Matt. T. i. p. 223. A. B. Huet.

[h] Si quis velit nobis proferre ex illo libello qui Petri Doctrina appellatur, ubi Salvator videtur ad discipulos dicere, 'Non sum dæmonium incorporeum;' primo respondendum est ei, quoniam ille liber inter libros ecclesiasticos non habetur; et ostendendum est, quia neque Petri est scriptura, neque alterius cujusquam qui Spiritu Dei fuerit inspiratus. De Princip. in Præf. p. 49. B. T. i. Bened.

[i] Πολυ δε εστι νυν παραλιθεσθαι τε Ηρακλεωνος τα ῥηθεντα, απο τε επιγεγραμμενε Πετρε κηρυγματος παραλαμβανομενα, και ισασθαι προς αυτο εξεταζοντας και περι τε βιβλιε, ποτερον ποτε γνησιον εστι, ἡ νοθον, ἡ μικτον. Comm. in Joan. T. ii. p. 211. D. E. Huet.

'Preaching of Peter, and to stay to enquire concerning the book itself, whether it be genuine, 'or spurious, or mixed.'

We are to observe here, that [a] it is supposed by divers learned men, that the Doctrine of Peter, and the Preaching of Peter, are one and the same book, under different titles. If this be so, as is very probable, then in the former place Origen absolutely rejects it; and in this expresses himself in a modest manner, as a fair and candid antagonist, because it was not a proper place to prove at large the character of that book: and these quotations afford a good argument, that the Preaching of Peter was not esteemed a book of canonical scripture by Clement, Origen's master, though [b] he has made frequent use of it.

5. In the books of Principles, Origen [c] says, 'Wherefore that saying seems to me to be 'right, which is written in the Acts of Paul: "That this is the word, a living animal."'

These Acts of Paul are allowed by learned men [d] to be different from the Acts of Paul and Thecla. So particularly father De la Rue upon this place of Origen, who likewise makes no doubt but this notion is corruptly borrowed from Heb. iv. 12, which is also the opinion of [e] Dr. Grabe; if so, it would be a proof that the author of this book had a respect for the epistle to the Hebrews. Besides, we have here only a Latin version, which perhaps is not exact; if we had the Greek, the reference to that epistle might be plainer.

Again, in Origen's Greek Commentaries upon St. John: 'But [f] if any one please to admit 'what is written in the Acts of Paul, as spoken by our Saviour: "I am about to be crucified 'again."'

Perionius conjectured, that for 'Paul' in this place should be read 'Peter;' and [g] Grabe professes himself to be of the same opinion: he therefore, in his collection of these things, has placed this fragment not among those of the Acts of Paul, but of Peter; but [h] Huet chooses to follow his Greek copies, and writes 'Paul.' It may be added, that [i] in the ancient Latin version of these Commentaries upon John, we have 'Paul.' However, these Acts may have been sometimes called Paul's, and at other times Peter's, as containing some matters relating to both these apostles.

If the Acts cited here be the same with those in the foregoing passage, then, though Origen supposed that saying taken from them to be right, yet it appears from this second passage that the book was of no authority.

I have now set down, I think, all the particular quotations of apocryphal books of the New Testament, found in Origen's remaining works. Beside the general notice taken of these things in the observations upon the introduction to St. Luke's gospel, the pieces of this kind cited by him are, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the gospel according to Peter, or book of James, the Doctrine or Preaching of Peter, and the Acts of Paul.

6. I shall add here a general citation of some book without a name. In the Latin Homilies upon Leviticus, Origen [k] says: 'There is also another sort of religious fast, which is commended 'in the writings of some apostles; for I find in a certain book a saying of the apostles: "Blessed is he that fasts that he may feed the poor." The fast of such a one must be very 'acceptable in the sight of God.' Certainly this manner of quoting affords no ground to think that Origen esteemed this piece of any authority, though he approved the saying.

Thus at length I have given a full and particular representation of the passages of Origen, concerning both ecclesiastical and apocryphal writings; and yet I flatter myself the reader will not complain of prolixity in this article.

XXV. I should now proceed to make remarks upon these citations: but I suppose this work will be more complete, and the sentiments of Christians at that time concerning the scrip-

[a] Cav. Hist. Lit. P. i. in Petro, p. 5. Grab. Spic. T. i. p. 56. Jer. Jones, New and Full Method, &c. vol. i. p. 449.

[b] See before, chap. xxii. p. 408—410.

[c] Unde et recte mihi dictus videtur sermo ille qui in Actibus Pauli scriptus est, quia hic est verbum, animal vivens. De Princ. l. i. c. 2. T. i. p. 54. E. Bened.

[d] Vid. Grab. Spic. T. i. p. 128. Jer. Jones, v. i. p. 392.

[e] Ib. p. 128.

[f] Εἰ τῷ δὲ φίλον παραδέξασθαι τὸ ἐν ταῖς Παύλου Πράξεσιν ἀναγεγραμμένον, ὡς ὑπὸ Σωτῆρος εἰρημένον· Ἄνωθεν μέλλω σταυροῦσθαι. In Joan. T. ii. p. 298. E. Huet.

[g] Ib. p. 80.

[h] Sed tamen nihil muto, nam Actorum Pauli mentio fit apud nostrum Origenem, lib. i. περὶ ἀρχῶν, cap. 2. Huet. not. p. 118.

[i] Quod si cui placet admittere quod in Actibus Pauli scriptum est, tanquam a Servatore dictum. T. ii. p. 373. Basil.

[k] Hæc ergo Christianis jejunandi ratio est. Sed est et alia adhuc religiosa, cujus laus quorumdam apostolorum literis prædicatur. Invenimus enim in quodam libello ab apostolis dictum, 'Beatus est qui etiam jejunat pro eo, ut alat paupe-'rem.' Hujus jejunium valde acceptum est apud Deum, et revera digne satis. In Levit. Hom. x. T. ii. p. 246. A. Bened.

tures be more distinctly understood, if I first take some brief notice likewise of Origen's citations of apocryphal books of the Old Testament.

1. Origen, in his explication of the first Psalm, or preface to his Commentaries upon the Psalms, in a passage preserved by [a] Eusebius and [b] others, gives a catalogue of the books of the Old Testament received by the Jews: he says they are in number twenty-two. They are much the same [c] with those commonly received by Protestants.

2. Having quoted a text from Tobit, Origen adds: [d] 'But because the Jews reject the 'book of Tobit as not canonical [or, 'no part of the Testament'], I shall take a passage out of 'the first book of the Kings.'

In another place he says, 'The [e] Jews do not use Tobit nor Judith, nor have they them at 'all in Hebrew among their apocryphal books; but the churches make use of Tobit.'

He likewise speaks of 'Esther, 'Tobit, Judith, the book of Wisdom, as books of scripture 'which pleased the common people, because they were easy, or free from obscurity.' But I think it reasonable to suppose, nevertheless, that an equal respect was not shewn to those scriptures which the Jews rejected, as to those they received.

3. In a Latin Homily he quotes Ecclesiasticus cautiously: 'In [g] a book which among us 'uses to be joined with the writings of Solomon, and to be called Ecclesiasticus, but by the 'Greeks is called the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, it is written, "All wisdom cometh 'from the Lord." Though, therefore, this was placed, sometimes at least, with the other books of Solomon, it was not reckoned to be his.

And in the prologue to the Canticles, Origen [h] says, that neither the Jews nor the Christians reckoned any more than three books of Solomon in the canon, meaning the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles. It is there said, likewise, that the 'oracles of God,' in the Old Testament, were derived to the Christians from the Jews.

4. As for the history of Susanna, added to the book of Daniel, Africanus, in his letter to [i] Origen, tells him he wondered he should not know it was spurious, and says it was a piece lately forged: he observes [k] likewise that all the scriptures of the Old Testament generally received were translated from Hebrew. I think this is enough to satisfy us, that this story could not be a part of the Christian canonical scriptures; and though Origen says all he can think of to prove this history true and genuine, and [l] affirms that it was made use of in Greek by all the churches of Christ among the Gentiles; yet he owns that it was not received by the Jews, nor to be found in their copies of the book of Daniel. They who desire to know more of this matter may consult [m] Du Pin.

5. The books of the Maccabees are expressly said by Origen not to be a part of the Jewish canonical scriptures, [n] in the passage cited at length by Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History.

6. I think it clear, that none of these books were canonical among the Christians. It was well known among them that they were not extant in Hebrew, nor owned by the Jews, from

[a] H. E. l. vi. cap. 25.

[b] Origenis Philocal. Suid. v. Ωριγενης. Niceph. Hist. lib. v. cap. 16.

[c] See Cosin's Scholastical History of the Canon of Scripture, chap. 5.

[d] Τῃ δε τε Τωβιτ βιβλω αγιλεγεσιν οι εκ περιτομης, ὡς μη ενδιαθηκω, παραθησομαι εκ της προφητης των Βασιλειων. De Orat. p. 220. v. i. Bened.

[e] Ποθεν δε λαβων ελεγες το. . . . η, ὁσον επ' εμη γνωσει, απο τε Τωβια; περι ὑ ἡμας εχρην εγνωκεναι, ὁτι Ἑβραιοι τῳ Τωβια ὑ χρωνται, ὑδε τῃ Ιυδηθ. Ουδε γαρ εχεσιν αυτα και εν αποκρυφοις Ἑβραϊσι· ὡς απ' αυτων μαθοντες εγνωκαμεν. Αλλ' επει χρωνται τῳ Τωβια αι εκκλησιαι, ις εσαν, κ λ. Ep. ad Afric. sect. 13. p. 26. D.

[f] Apertior scilicet simpliciorque doctrina, ut de moralibus esse solet, quæ præberi consuevit iis qui initia habent in divinis studiis, et prima eruditionis rationabilis elementa suscipiunt. His ergo cum recitatur talis aliqua divinorum voluminum lectio, in quâ non videatur aliquid obscurum, libenter accipiunt; verbi causâ, ut est libellus Hester, aut Judith, vel etiam Tobiæ, aut mandata Sapientiæ. Si vero legatur ei liber Levitici, offenditur continuo animus, &c. In Num. Hom. xxvii. p. 374. F. A. T. ii. Bened.

[g] In libro qui apud nos quidem inter Salomonis volumina haberi solet, et Ecclesiasticus dici, apud Græcos vero Sapientia Jesu filii Sirach appellatur, scriptum est: Omnis sapientia a Deo est. In Num. Hom. xviii. p. 340. E.

[h] Sed nos quomodo recipiemus hujusmodi intelligentiam, cum neque ecclesia Dei ulla extrinsecus Salomonis Cantica legenda susceperit; neque apud Hebræos, a quibus eloquia Dei ad nos videntur esse translata, aliquid præter hos tres libellos Salomonis, qui et apud nos sunt, amplius habent in canone? Prolog. in Cant. Cant. p. 591. T. i. Basil.

[i] Θαυμαζω δε, πως ελαθε σε το μερος τε βιβλιε τεῖο κιβδηλον ον: η γαρ τοι περικοπη αυτη χαριεν μεν αλλως συγγραμμα, νεωτερικον δε και πεπλασμενον δεικνυται. κ λ. Afr. ad Orig. p. 10. A.

[k] Εξ Ἑβραιων δε τοις Ἑλλησι μεθερμηνευθη παντ' ὁσα της παλαιας διαθηκης φερεται. Ibid. p. 11. A.

[l] Τ' χρη ἡμας πρατ'ειν ὑ περι των καλα Σωσαννην μονον, εν μεν τῳ καθ' Ἑλληνας Ἑλληνικω φερομενην εν πασῃ εκκλησια Χριςε, παρα δε Ἑβραιοις μη κειμενην. Orig. ad Afr. p. 13. A.

[m] See Dissertation Preliminaire sur la Bible, liv. i. ch. 1. sect. 5. p. 15. note (e).

[n] Εξω δε τελων εςιν τα Μακκαβαικα. Apud Eus. l. vi. cap. 25. p. 226. B.

whom the Christians received the scriptures of the Old Testament. Nor does it appear that Origen wrote commentaries, or preached homilies, upon any of these books.

7. Beside these, Origen has cited divers other books in use among the Jews, as he says, and called secret or apocryphal; such as the book of Enoch, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Assumption and Ascension of Moses.

8. In the Commentaries upon St. John: 'As [a] it is written in the book of Enoch, if any 'think fit to receive that as a sacred book.'

Origen remarks upon a passage of Celsus, in which were some things which he supposes might be taken from the book of Enoch: 'But [b] he questions whether Celsus had read the book 'itself; and he adds, that Celsus seemed not to know that those books called Enoch's were 'not looked upon by the churches as divine.'

Again, soon after: 'Celsus [c] jumbling together and confounding every thing which he has 'heard or read, not caring whether the books he quotes are esteemed by Christians divine or 'not, says, "that sixty or seventy of those sons of God, when they had descended, were 'bound under the earth to be punished for their sins:" and adds, as if taken out of the book of 'Enoch, though without naming it, that "from their tears arose hot springs:" a thing neither 'said nor heard in the churches of God.'

In a Homily upon the book of Numbers, Origen having quoted Psal. cxlvii. 4, "He telleth the number of the stars; he calleth them all by their names," adds: 'Of [d] which names there 'are many secret and mysterious things said in the books called Enoch's; but since those books 'are not in authority with the Jews, I forbear to alledge any thing from them at this time.' Which shews that the opinion of the Jews, concerning ancient books, supposed to have been derived from their ancestors, was not despised.

The books of Enoch are quoted [e] by Origen in some other places. But I have put down already more than enough to shew that they were not canonical scriptures.

9. How he quotes the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, was [f] shewn formerly.

10. Origen has quoted a piece called the Ascension of Moses: we saw an instance, when we considered his citations of St. Jude's epistle. He is supposed to mean this book in another place, though he does not name it: he calls [g] it a 'certain little book not in the canon.'

11. To proceed. Says [h] Origen, 'We read (if indeed any one pleases to receive such a kind 'of writing) that the angels of righteousness and unrighteousness disputed about the salvation 'and damnation of Abraham, each side claiming him to themselves.' A strange dispute! The title [i] of this piece is not certainly known: it is plain it was not canonical, nor much valued.

12. 'As [k] for the change of names, the Jews, I know not well upon what ground, but upon 'the authority, it is likely, of some secret books or traditions, have a tradition among them, 'that Phineas the son of Eleazar, who undoubtedly lived out the time of many judges, as we 'learn from the book of Judges, is the same as Elias; and that immortality was promised him 'in the book of Numbers, by the covenant of peace, as it is called, as a reward of his zeal for 'God.' Origen therefore was not acquainted with the Jewish apocryphal book whence this tradition was taken, if indeed it was recorded at all.

13. I formerly [l] cited a passage from Origen's letter to Africanus, where he supposes that the author of the epistle to the Hebrews refers to some apocryphal book or books of the Jews. There are some other places in Origen's works where he speaks in the like manner, and supposes that our Saviour and his apostles did refer to apocryphal writings.

[a] Ὡς εν τῳ Ενωχ γεγραπται, ει τῳ φιλον παραδεχεσθαι ὡς γραφον το βιβλιον. Com. in Joh. p. 132. C. Huet.

[b] Ἀτινα δ' αυτα φαινεται αναγνως, ουδε γνωριζειν, ὁτι εν ταις εκκλησιαις ὡ πανυ φερεται ὡς θεια τα επιγεγραμμενα τῳ Ενωχ βιβλια. Contr. Cels. l. v. p. 619. C. Bened.

[c] Εἰτα, φυρων και συγχεων ἁ ὁπως ποτε ηκουσε, και τα ὁτου ποτ' εν γεγραμμενα, εἰτε δεδογμενα θεια ειναι παρα Χριστιανοις, εἰτε και μη, φησι. . . . . και φερει (ὡς απο τῳ Ενωχ εκ ονομαζων αυτον) το, ὁτι και τας θερμας πηγας ειναι τα εκεινων δακρυα· πραγμα, εἰτε λεγομενον ετ' ακουομενον εν ταις εκκλησιαις τῳ Θεῳ. Ibid. p. 620. B. C.

[d] De quibus quidem nominibus plurima in libellis, qui appellantur Enoch, secreta continentur et arcana: sed quia libelli ipsi non videntur apud Hebræos in auctoritate haberi, interim nunc ea quæ ibi nominantur ad exemplum vocare differamus; sed ex his quæ habemus in manibus, de quibus dubitari non potest, rerum prosequamur indaginem. In Num. Hom. xxviii. p. 384. E. T. ii. Bened.

[e] De Prin. l. i. cap. 3. p. 61. C. D. T. i. Bened. et ibid. lib. iv. p. 193. D. et E.

[f] See p. 459.

[g] Denique et in libello quodam, licet in canone non habetur, mysterii tamen hujus forma describitur. In libr. Jesu. Hom. ii. p. 400. E. Tom. ii. Bened.

[h] Legimus (si tamen cui placet hujuscemodi scripturam recipere) justitiæ et iniquitatis angelos super Abrahæ salute et interitu disceptantes, dum utrœque turmæ suo eum volunt cœtui vendicare. In Lucam Hom. xxxv. in.

[i] Vid. Fabric. Cod. Pseud. N. T. p. 401, 402.

[k] In Johan. p. 108. A. Huet.

[l] See chap. xxxvii. p. 517.

14. Upon Matth. xxvii. 9. "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet, saying".....says Origen, 'This [a] prophecy is no where found in the books of the prophecies of Jeremiah, read in the churches, and received by the Jews: however, if any one knows where it is written, let him shew it. But I suppose that here has been made a mistake in writing this text, and that 'Jeremiah' has been put for 'Zachariah;' or else that there is some apocryphal book of Jeremiah where this is written: but there is such a text in the prophet Zachariah, ch. xi. 12, 13. If any one does not like this supposition [of an error in transcribing], let him see whether this prophecy be in any secret book of Jeremiah; forasmuch as the apostle also alleges some texts of apocryphal books, saying somewhere, that "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard." 1 Cor. ii. 9. For this is not found in any canonical book, but only in a secret book of the prophet Elias. Again the apostle says, 2 Tim. iii. 8, "As Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses." This is not found in the public scriptures, but in a secret book intitled "Jannes and Jambres:" for which reason some have been so daring as to argue against that epistle to Timothy, though in vain. But I never heard of any who pretended to say the first epistle to the Corinthians is spurious because of the forementioned citation.'

This may be esteemed by some a curious passage, for which reason I have made no scruple to transcribe it so much at length: I would likewise make the following remarks upon it.

1.) It shews that Christians read and studied the books of the New Testament with a great deal of care.

2.) It shews the aversion of Christians for apocryphal books.

3.) Nevertheless Origen knew of none who had rejected the first epistle to the Corinthians; and possibly few or none ever suspected that citation to be taken from any apocryphal book, as Origen did. The generality of people might suppose those words to be taken from Is. lxiv. 4: St. Jerom, in his commentary [b] upon this text of Isaiah, declares that to be his opinion. As for the citation in St. Matthew, Jerom [c] was of the same opinion with Origen, that those words were not taken from some apocryphal piece of Jeremiah, but from the genuine prophecies of Zachariah.

4.) It deserves to be considered, whether the quoting or referring to some apocryphal book, or the supposition of such quotation or reference, was not one reason of suspecting or doubting of the genuineness and authority of several books of the New Testament; particularly the second epistle of Peter, the epistle of Jude, and likewise that to the Hebrews. St. Jerom [d] actually says that this was one reason why many in his time rejected the epistle of Jude.

15. In the long passage formerly cited out of Origen's letter to Africanus, concerning the history of Susanna, Origen argues, that history might have been dropped out of the book of Daniel by some of the Jews, as being dishonourable to their great men; and affirms (as was just mentioned) that in the New Testament are references to some Jewish apocryphal book.

[a] 'Tunc impletum est quod dictum fuerat per Hieremiam 'prophetam, dicentem,' &c.]. Inter ea quæ scripta sunt, non invenitur hoc Hieremias alicubi prophetâsse in libris suis, qui vel in ecclesiis leguntur, vel apud Judæos referuntur: si quis autem potest scire, ostendat ubi sit scriptum. Suspicor autem errorem esse scripturæ, et pro Zachariâ positum Hieremiam, aut esse aliquam secretam Hieremiæ scripturam in quâ scribitur. Talis est autem textus apud Zachariam: 'Et 'dicam ad eos,' &c. [Zach. cap. xi. 12, 13.] Si autem hæc dicens aliquis existimat se offendere, videat ne alicubi in secretis Hieremiæ hoc prophetatur; sciens quoniam et apostolus scripturas quasdam secretorum profert, sicut dicit alicubi, 'quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit:' in nullo enim regulari [in Græco procul dubio fuit κανονικῳ. Grabe, Spic. T. i. p. 136.] libro hoc positum invenitur, nisi in secretis Heliæ prophetæ. Item quod ait, 'sicut Jamnes et Mambres restite-'runt Mosi,' non invenitur in publicis scripturis, sed in libro secreto qui suprascribitur Jamnes et Mambres. Unde ausi sunt quidam epistolam ad Timotheum repellere, quasi habentem in se textum alicujus secreti, sed non potuerunt. Primam autem epistolam ad Corinthios propter hoc aliquem refutâsse quasi adulterinam, ad aures meas nunquam pervenit. In Matth. Tract. 35. p. 193. Tom. ii. Basil.

[b] Paraphrasim hujus testimonii, quasi Hebræus ex Hebræis, assumit apostolus Paulus de authenticis libris in epistolâ quam scribit ad Corinthios: non verbum ex verbo reddens, quod facere omnino contemnit; sed sensuum exprimens veritatem, quibus utitur ad id quod voluerit roborandum. Unde apocryphorum deliramenta conticeant, quæ ex occasione hujus testimonii ingeruntur ecclesiis Christi. Hieron. lib. xvii. Comm. in Isa. cap. 64.

[c] Hoc testimonium in Jeremiâ non invenitur. In Zachariâ vero, qui pene ultimus est duodecim Prophetarum, quædam similitudo fertur.... Legi nuper in quodam Hebraïco volumine, quod Nazarenæ sectæ mihi Hebræus obtulit, Jeremiæ apocryphum, in quo hæc ad verbum scripta reperi. Sed tamen mihi videtur magis de Zachariâ sumptum testimonium; evangelistarum et apostolorum more vulgato, qui, verborum ordine præfermisso, sensus tantum de Veteri Testamento proferunt in exemplum. Comm. lib. iv. in Matth. cap. 27.

[d] Judas,... parvam... epistolam reliquit. Et quia de libro Enoch, qui apocryphus est, in eâ assumit testimonium, a plerisque rejicitur. De V. I cap. 4.

He writes again much to the same purpose in his Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew: 'And it is related,' says[a] he, 'that Isaiah was sawn asunder by the people. But if any one 'receive not this history, because it is in the apocryphal Isaiah, let him believe what is written 'in the epistle to the Hebrews, "They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted." 'Heb. xi. 37. For that particular, "they were sawn asunder," relates to Isaiah; as that, "they 'were slain with the sword," to Zacharias, who was slain between the temple and the altar, as 'our Saviour has taught; referring, as I suppose, to some scripture, not received indeed in the 'common and public books, but it is likely to be found among the apocryphal.'

Here is no authority given to this book of Isaiah, for he calls it apocryphal; nor is he certain that our Saviour referred to such a book: nor does it appear that Origen knew of any apocryphal book where that particular, concerning the place of Zacharias's death, was to be found.

16. In the books against Celsus: 'And[b] in the Acts of the apostles Stephen makes men- 'tion of the learning of Moses, which he had learned from ancient writings, and not generally 'known: "And Moses," says he, "was learned in all the learning of the Egyptians." Acts vii. 22.

17. In a Homily upon St. Matthew, which we have in Latin, Origen mentions again all these things together: Our Saviour's saying, Luke xiii. 34, that 'Jerusalem had killed the pro- 'phets, and stoned them that were sent unto her,' though[c] the history of these things is not contained in the ancient scriptures read in the Jewish synagogues: What Stephen says, Acts vii. 51, 52, "Ye stiff-necked, and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do ye. Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? and they have slain them which shewed before of the coming of the Just One:" What St. Paul writes, 1 Thess. ii. 14, 15, and again, 2 Tim. iii. 8, of 'Jannes and Jambres withstanding Moses:' and the quotation, 1 Cor. ii. 9. And then adds: '[d]We have mentioned all these 'things by way of argument. Nevertheless we are not ignorant that many of the secret [or 'apocryphal'] books have been composed by impious men. And the Hypythians use some 'forged writings, the followers of Basilides others. We ought therefore to use caution, that 'we neither receive all the apocryphal books which there are in the world, because of the Jews, 'who perhaps have forged some writings in order to overthrow the credit of our scriptures, and 'to support error; nor reject all which may tend to confirm our scriptures. It is therefore 'becoming a great man to attend to and fulfil that direction: "Prove all things; hold fast that 'which is good." Nevertheless, for the sake of those who are not able, like skilful money- 'changers, to distinguish words whether they be true or false, nor to secure themselves from all 'imposition, so as to hold fast that which is good, and avoid every kind of evil; no man ought 'to allege any books which are not in the canonical scriptures, for the confirmation of doctrines.'

18. In his prologue to the Canticles (if it be Origen's, as divers critics of no small note suppose,[e]) translated by Rufinus, Origen writes to this purpose: 'This[f] however is manifest,

[a] Καὶ Ησαΐας δὲ πεπρισθαι δε ὑπο τε λαε ἱστορηλαι. Ει δε τις ε προσιελαι την ἱστοριαν δια το εν τω αποκρυφω Ησαΐᾳ αυλην φερεσθαι, πιστευσαλω τοις εν τη προς Ἑβραιες, ἁλω γεγραμμενοις· ελιθασθησαν, επρισθησαν, επειρασθησαν· το γαρ Επρισθησαν, επι τον Ησαΐαν αναφερεῖαι· ὡσπερ το, εν φονω μαχαιρας απεθανον, επι τον Ζαχαριαν φονευθενλα μελαξυ τε ναε και θυσιαςηριε, ὡς ὁ Σωληρ εδιδαξε, μαρλυρων, ὡς οιμαι, γραφη, μη φερομενη μεν εν τοις κοινοις και δεδημευμενοις βιελιοις, εικος δ' ὀλι εν αποκρυφοις φερομενη. In Matth. p. 225. B. C. Huet.

[b] Μαρλυρει δε τη Μωϋσεως πολυμαθεια ὁ εν τας Πραξεσι των αποςολων Στεφανος, πανλως απο των παλαιων και μη εις πολλες εφθακολων γραμμαλων λαξων. κ. λ. Cont. Cels. l. iii. p. 139. Cant. p. 478. A. Bened.

[c] . . cum non satis talis prophetetur historia in scripturis veteribus quæ legebantur in synagogis eorum. In Matth. Tr. 26.

[d] Hæc omnia diximus discutientes sermonem: non ignorantes, quoniam multa secretorum facta sunt a quibusdam impiis et iniquitatem in excelsum loquentibus: et utuntur quibusdam fictis Hypythiani, aliis autem qui sunt Basilidis. Oportet ergo caute considerare, ut nec omnia secreta quæ feruntur in nomine sanctorum suscipiamus, propter Judæos, qui forte ad destructionem veritatis scripturarum nostrarum quædam finxerunt, confirmantes dogmata falsa; nec omnia abjiciamus quæ pertinent ad demonstrationem scripturarum nostrarum. Magni ergo viri est audire, et adimplere quod dictum est: 'Omnia probate; quod bonum est tenete.' Tamen propter eos qui non possunt, quasi trapezitæ, inter verba discernere, vera habeantur an falsa, et non possunt semetipsos caute servare, ut verum quidem teneant apud se, ab omni autem specie mali abstineant, nemo debet uti ad confirmationem dogmatum libris qui sunt extra canonizatas scripturas. In Matth. Tract. 26. p. 128, 129. Tom. ii. Basil.

[e] Vid. Huet. Origenian. lib. iii. sect. 3. n. vii. Pearson. Vind. Epist. Ignat. P. i. cap. vii. p. 300, &c. ap. Cleric. Patr. Apost. 1698. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. iii. p. 234, 235.

[f] Illud tamen palam est, multa vel ab apostolis vel ab evangelistis exempla esse prolata, et Novo Testamento inserta, quæ in his scripturis, quas canonicas habemus, nunquam legimus; in apocryphis tamen inveniuntur, et evidenter ex illis ostenduntur assumpta. Sed nec sic quidem locus apocryphis dandus est; non enim transeundi sunt limites quos statuerunt patres nostri. Potuit enim fieri, ut apostoli vel evangelistæ, Sancto Spiritu repleti sciverint quid assumendum ex illis esset

'that many passages are cited either by the apostles or the evangelists, and inserted in the 'New Testament, which we do not read in those scriptures [of the Jews] which we account 'canonical; but are nevertheless found in apocryphal books, and are evidently taken from 'thence. But neither will this give authority to apocryphal writings; for the bounds which 'our fathers have fixed are not to be removed. And possibly the apostles and evangelists, full 'of the Holy Ghost, might know what should be taken out of those scriptures, and what not. 'But we cannot without great danger presume to act in that manner, who have not such a 'measure of the Spirit.'

19. In the Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew's gospel, Origen has an argument upon those words, Matth. xxii. 29, "Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God;" where he says, 'That perhaps[a] some, having recourse to apocryphal books, in which the happi- 'ness of the future life is more clearly described, will say that there is a reference to them in 'these words, "Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures." But,' says he, 'they who have re- 'course to apocryphal books will take a method not approved by the faithful.' This therefore was not a method approved by the faithful or catholic Christians, but only, or chiefly at least, by heretics.

20. From these several passages it appears, that there was in Origen's time a large number of Jewish secret books, or apocryphal books of the Old Testament. Some of these might be composed by the Jews; others of them probably had been composed, or rather forged, by Christians; some by catholics, some by hereties: the Nazarene Christians might be the authors of some of them, but not of all. It seems not unlikely that one view of the Christians in forging these books, was to verify by clear passages some things said in the New Testament, which were not so found in the ancient scriptures generally received by the Jews as canonical: these passages just cited from Origen give ground for such a suspicion. We actually saw formerly one forgery of this sort; for the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs may be reckoned a work of this kind, as appears from the extracts out of it, and the remarks then made upon it: the collection of Sibylline Oracles is another like work. But I think it evident, that though some considerable number of Christians were deceived about the age of those writings, none esteemed them canonical, or of authority. And in many of the passages alleged above, are traces of the peculiar respect which the Christians had for those ancient Jewish books which the Jews themselves most respected, and esteemed canonical, and were written in the Hebrew tongue.

XXVI. I am now to make some remarks; but they will chiefly concern the citations of ecclesiastical and apocryphal writings of the Christians. And I apprehend that it will appear from several considerations, and from a brief review of the whole which has been here set before the reader, that Origen did not receive as sacred scripture, in the strictest and highest sense of that character, any books beside those we now receive under that character and denomination.

1. And, first of all, this may be argued from the catalogues of the books of scripture found in Origen's works. One of these ought to be reckoned that which we have in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, though collected by him out of several of Origen's works. Eusebius there mentions not any books beside those in our present Canon; indeed he does not put down all these, because probably Origen did not look upon every one of them as of undoubted authority; but if he had received a great number of ecclesiastical and apocryphal books as divine scripture, Eusebius would have been obliged to take some notice of it. The two other catalogues, transcribed above from Origen's Latin works, deserve likewise some consideration; for though we cannot rely upon them as exactly conformable to the Greek originals, yet it is likely that there would have been particular mention made of several ecclesiastical and apocryphal books, if such had been accounted by him divine scriptures.

2. We have no knowledge or information that Origen wrote commentaries upon any books now out of the canon; though it is certain he published commentaries or homilies upon all or most of those which are now esteemed canonical.

scripturis, quidve refutandum; nobis autem non est absque periculo aliquid tale præsumere, quibus non est tanta Spiritûs abundantia. Prolog. in Cant. Cant. p. 501. Tom. i. Basil.

[a] Και τριτος δ' αν τις επι τας αποκρυφους παλιφευγοι λογους, ενθα δοκει σαφεστερον τα περι μακαριας γεγραφθαι ζωης, φησει επ' εκεινας την διαφορον ειναι των ειδεναι γεγραμμενων εν τω πλανασθαι μη ειδοτας ταις γραφαις. . . . . εις επι τας αποκρυφους καταφευξεται, εκειθεν ομολογημενον αρχεται παρα τοις πεπιστευκοσιν ελκυεσθαι. Comm. in Matth. p. 496. C. D. T. i. Huet.

3. The many passages we have alleged, containing Origen's general divisions of the books of scripture, assure us, he received no other as divine and sacred, in the highest sense, but those we do: his expressions suit these and no other. I need not recollect them here; the reader cannot but remember that common division of 'Gospels and Apostles:' sometimes he is more particular, and mentions 'Gospels, Acts, Epistles of Apostles:' 'Gospels, Apostles, 'and their Revelation.' The ecclesiastical and apocryphal books sometimes cited by him for the sake of illustration, cannot be comprehended in these divisions of sacred scripture which were of authority.

Mr. Richardson, speaking of this matter, and particularly of the Shepherd of Hermas, the piece cited by Origen more frequently, and sometimes with greater marks of respect, than any other ecclesiastical writing, says:[a] 'We find Origen several times distinguishing the books of 'the New Testament into the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles. Now it is certain 'that the Pastor of Hermas can be reduced to neither of these heads, and therefore, in the 'judgment of Origen, was not canonical.' This observation is easily and rightly applied to all the writings of this kind.

I shall add here another passage not yet transcribed, which likewise may be reckoned full to our purpose. It is in Origen's Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew's gospel, particularly these words: "Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind." Matth. xiii. 47. Beside other things, Origen here says, 'That[b] 'the kingdom of heaven is compared to a net of various texture, on account of the several parts 'of the ancient and new scripture: that the sea into which the net is cast, is the whole world; 'and that some men are taken by one part of the net, some by another; some by the words of 'Isaiah, or Jeremiah, or Daniel; some by the law, others by the gospels, others by the apostles: 'and that this net was not completely finished before the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ; 'for he was wanting to the texture of the law and the prophets who said, "Think not that I am 'come to destroy the law or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil." Matth. 'v. 17. And the texture of the net was completed in the gospels, and the words of Christ '[spoken] by the apostles.'

4. There is a passage of Origen which I shall put[c] in the margin, though somewhat obscure, where he makes a great difference between apostles and their disciples; allowing the apostles only to be 'the light of the world, after Christ, and capable of enlightening others,' though their disciples also had been 'enlightened.' I think it may be hence argued, that Origen would scarce receive any doctrinal and preceptive work as of authority, unless it were dictated or written by an apostle; though he might well receive the historical writings of a companion of apostles, containing an account of their preaching; as he undoubtedly received the gospels of Mark and Luke, and the Acts of the apostles, written also by the latter of these two.

Here it will be objected that Origen received the epistle to the Hebrews, though not written by an apostle, which is inconsistent with the just-mentioned observation. But I do not perceive it to be so; for Origen always quotes the epistle to the Hebrews as Paul's: and in the passage preserved in Eusebius, he says it had been handed down to his time by the ancients as Paul's; and though he says the phrase and composition are not the apostle's, he affirms that the thoughts or sentiments are 'admirable, and not inferior to the acknowledged writings of the apostle:' which is enough to shew that he thought the apostle's sentiments had been exactly represented by the writer or composer of this epistle, whoever he was; otherwise it was impossible that the thoughts of this epistle should be equal to those of the acknowledged writings of the

[a] Mr. Richardson's Canon of the New Testament vindicated, p. 30.

[b] Σαγηνη [al. σαγηνης] δε πλοκη ποικιλη ὡμοιωθη ἡ βασιλεια των ουρανων, κατα την πεπλεγμενην εκ παντοδαπων. και ποικιλων νοημαλων παλαιαν και καινην γραφην.... ὑλως εὑροις αν και επι των ὑπο την σαγηνην των γραφων εληλυθοτων, τινας μεν κεκρατημενους ὑπο την προφητικην πλοκην, φερ' ειπειν, Ησαϊου, κατα τοδε το ῥητον, η Ιερεμιου, η Δανιηλ· αλλους κατα ευαγγελικην, και τινας κατα αποστολικην.... Αὑτη δε ἡ σαγηνη προ του Σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου [Χριστου] ὁλη μεν πεπληρωμενη ουκ ην, ελειπε γαρ τη νομικη και προφητικη πλοκη ὁ ειπων.... και πεπληρωται ἡ της σαγηνης πλοκη εν τοις ευαγγελιοις, και τοις Χριστου δια των αποστολων λογοις. Comm. in Matth. p. 215. E. 216. A. B. C. Huet.

[c] Ὁταν εν τῳ κοσμῳ ω, φως ειμι του κοσμου. Επει δε και τοις μαθηταις φησιν· ὑμεις εστε το φως του κοσμου· και, λαμψατω το φως ὑμων εμπροσθεν των ανθρωπων. Το δ' αναλογον σεληνη και αστροις ὑπολαμβανομεν ειναι περι την νυμφην εκκλησιαν, και τους μαθητας εχοντας οικειον φως, η απο του αληθινου ἡλιου επικτητον ἱνα φωτισωσι μη δεδυνημενους πηγην εν αυτοις κατασκευασαι φωτος· οἱον Παυλον μεν και Πετρον φως ερουμεν του κοσμου· τους δε τυχοντας παρ' αυτοις μαθητευομενων φωτιζομενους μεν, ου μην φωτιζειν ἑτερους δυναμενους, τον κοσμον, οὐ κοσμου φως οἱ αποστολοι ησαν. Comm. in Joh. p. 25. C. D.

apostle Paul. According to this opinion of Origen, the epistle to the Hebrews will be of the like authority with the gospels of Mark and Luke, who record the discourses of Christ which they had heard and received from apostles; or with the book of the Acts of the apostles, where are discourses of apostles in the style of the historian St. Luke. Just so Luke or Clement, or whoever was the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, has there recorded, in his own phrase and style, the sense or thoughts of the apostle Paul.

However, there can be no ground to conclude from Origen's quotations of the epistle to the Hebrews, that he would receive as of authority the epistle, or any other doctrinal work, of an apostolical man; since, whenever he quotes that epistle to prove any thing, he always calls it Paul's.

5. Origen's quotations of ecclesiastical and apocryphal books, which I have transcribed so largely, shew he did not receive those books as scripture. The citations of them are few in comparison of the numerous passages taken out of the commonly received books of the New Testament: and usually those citations are accompanied with some expressions, that shew the books from whence they are taken were not received by himself or others as of authority.

6. The distinction which we lately [a] observed to be made by Origen of several sorts of books —some genuine, others spurious, others of a mixed nature—is of great use to satisfy us that he did not esteem all books cited by himself, or used and read by Christians, as of equal authority; and that there were different degrees of respect due to such writings, according to their several kinds: nor can it be doubted that Origen paid a just regard to writings, suitably to their real character. Another thing which shews the distinction made between writings, and that there were some of superior authority to all others, from whence the Christian doctrines were to be learned, is that character frequently used by him, of scriptures 'received in the churches as 'divine.'

7. It is manifest from the whole strain and tenor of Origen's numerous works, and from his arguments upon any points that come before him, and particularly from his defence of the Christian religion against Celsus, that our gospels, and the other books of our canon, are the books which Origen, and all catholic Christians, relied upon. To give here one proof: In answer to some reflections of Celsus upon Christ's disciples, whom he calls sailors and publicans, Origen having observed that Matthew was a publican, and that James and John, the sons of Zebedee, and Peter and Andrew, were fishermen, adds: 'As [b] for the rest of them, we have 'not learned what were the employments by which they subsisted before they became disciples 'of Jesus.' Which shews that our gospels were the only histories of Christ and his disciples that were reckoned authentic: and that either there were no other pretending to give information about them; or, if there were any such, they were quite disregarded, or at least esteemed of no authority.

8. There is nothing extraordinary or unreasonable in Origen's citations of books not in the canon: if those books were still extant, we should still now and then occasionally make use of them. Sometimes we should remark a tradition preserved in them, without giving it more weight than it deserved; sometimes we should quote a pious or a beautiful saying in them; sometimes we might think proper to take notice of an objection that might be formed from some things contained in them; and yet all the while preserve that high and peculiar veneration which we now have for the books of the present canon. The great number of books published in those early ages concerning Christ and his apostles, though they were many of them mean and trifling, are an argument of the vast extent and reputation of the Christian doctrine. And so long as there were men of judgment in the world to distinguish the real merits of books; and Christians were extremely cautious of receiving any book or epistle as written by an apostle, or an apostolical man, without good evidence of its genuineness; such compositions were of small consequence, and could do no great harm. However, being in themselves of little value, and not being much esteemed, most of them have been entirely lost, except a few fragments; whilst all the books of the New Testament, received from the beginning, have been carefully preserved, and frequently copied, because of their real worth, and the great respect paid them by all Christians in general.

[a] See before in this chapter, num. xxiv. p. p. 554.

[b] Των δε λοιπων ο μεμαθηκαμεν τα εργα, ειδεν προ της μαθητειας τε Ιησε περιεποιειν εαυτοις τας τροφας. Contr. Cels. l. i. p. 36. D. Tom. i. Bened.

XXVII. Origen's works afford assurance of the integrity of our present copies of the New Testament. And, as [a] Dr. Mill says, if we had all his works remaining, who published scholia, or commentaries, or homilies upon almost all the books of the Old and New Testament, we should have before us almost the whole text of the Bible, as it was read in his time. Mr. Wetstein [b] has since expressed himself much after the same manner; and says, if we now had Origen's copy, or all his works entire, we might expect thence better help for an exact edition of the New Testament, than from all the fathers besides.

There are in Origen several passages relating particularly to the integrity or corruption of the text of the New Testament: and there are in him divers readings different from ours. It is fit my readers should have some account of these matters.

1. Celsus charges the Christians with having often designedly altered the text of the gospels. Origen answers, 'That [c] he did not know of any that had altered the text of the gospel, except the followers of Marcion and Valentinus, and perhaps of Lucanus:' therefore the catholics were innocent of this charge. Nor were all heretics guilty in this respect, so far as Origen knew. And I think that, from the ingenuity of this answer, it may be concluded he spoke the truth, according to the best of his knowledge.

2. Matth. xix. 19. "And thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Origen argues that these words were not originally here, because this precept is not found in the parallel places of St. Mark's or St. Luke's gospels [see Mark x. 19. Luke xviii. 20.], and for some other reasons which he there insists upon: but he does not seem able to support his conjecture and reasonings by the authority of any copy. He has however these words, which it is proper for us to put down here at length: 'It [d] would be impious,' says he, 'to suspect this commandment, "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," to have been inserted though not spoken by our Saviour to the rich man, if there were not many differences in the copies of Matthew's and the other gospels. But indeed it is manifest that there is a difference between copies, whatever it is owing to; whether to the negligence of transcribers, or to the wicked rashness of some in altering what is written, or to a liberty taken by some of adding or leaving out some things by the way of correction and emendation, as they apprehend.'

Here seem to be hinted three several causes of various readings, or differences, in the copies of the gospels. The first is the negligence of transcribers, which is very likely to happen, or rather is impossible to be entirely prevented. The second is the wicked rashness of some men, who designedly altered the gospels, to make them agreeable to their own particular sentiments. This, we may suppose, was the fault of a few only: for in the foregoing passage Origen assured us, that he did not know of any who had so altered the gospels, except some of the heretics. In the third place, some differences in the copies of the scriptures might be owing to the critics, who took a liberty of leaving out some things, or adding others, and thus to correct or amend some readings in their copies, which they thought to be wrong. And I think that Origen himself here acts the part of a critic, though perhaps he did not easily take the liberty to alter his copies.

We cannot deny the truth of what Origen says here so positively, that there were then many various readings in the copies of the New Testament. But perhaps he aggravates a little to carry a point, and support a bold conjecture. However we may hence infer, that these books were much esteemed, and had been often transcribed before Origen's time; otherwise there had not been so many differences in the copies of them: and as it is a thing in itself highly probable, that differences should happen in the copies of books frequently transcribed, so it is no small satisfaction to find that such differences were taken notice of. This would increase the care and concern for the exactness of the copies of books so much valued and reverenced as those of the New Testament.

3. We may place here, as a general observation of Origen relating to this matter, what he

[a] Mill. Proleg. n. 672.

[b] Wetstein, Proleg. cap. vi. p. 66.

[c] Μεταχαραξαντας δε το ευαγγελιον αλλους ουκ οιδα, η τους απο Μαρκιωνος, και τους απο Ουαλεντινου. οιμαι δε και τους απο Λουκανου. Contr. Cels. l. ii. p. 77. Cant. p. 411. B. Bened.

[d] Και ει μεν μη και περι αλλων πολλων διαφωνια ην προς αλληλα των αντιγραφων, ὡστε παντα τα καλα Ματθαιον μη συναδειν αλληλοις, ὁμοιως δε και τα λοιπα ευαγγελια, κἀν ασεβης τις εδοξεν ειναι ὁ ὑπονοων ενταυθα προσερριφθαι, ουκ ειρημενην προς τον πλουσιον την, αγαπησεις τον πλησιον σου ὡς σεαυτον, εντολην· νυνι δε δηλονοτι πολλη γεγονεν ἡ των αντιγραφων διαφορα, ειτε απο ῥαθυμιας τινων γραφεων, ειτε απο τολμης τινων μοχθηρας της διορθωσεως των γραφομενων, ειτε και απο των τα ἑαυτοις δοκουντα εν τη διορθωσει προστιθεντων η αφαιρουντων. Comm. in Matth. p. 381. C. D. T. i. Huet.

says of the names of places: that[a] there were frequent errors of that sort in the copies of the gospels, which were owing to the ignorance of the Gentiles in the geography of the land of Judea. He gives two instances. John i. 28, "These things were done in Bethabara, beyond Jordan." In[b] most copies in his time here was Bethany. He observes likewise that this was an ancient reading; nevertheless he prefers Bethabara, for divers reasons which he there mentions.

4. He says likewise, that of the swine [c]which ran violently down a steep place, and were choked in the sea, it was written in some copies, that this was done in the country of the Gerasenes; in a few copies, in the country of the Gadarenes; but[d] Origen is persuaded that the right name is Gergesenes. He adds, that there were like errors in the Greek copies of the Old Testament. But notwithstanding what Origen says, there does not appear sufficient reason for rejecting Gadarenes, whatever becomes of Gerasenes, as has been shewn by[e] divers critics. Therefore the readings in our present copies may be all right; Gergesenes in Matthew, and Gadarenes in Mark and Luke.

5. Matth. vi. 33, "But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." Origen in his treatise of Prayer, discoursing of the proper matter of our petitions, says: 'These[f] are things we ought to pray for: "Ask great 'things and small things shall be added unto you." And, "Ask heavenly things and 'earthly things shall be added unto you." And, "Pray for them which despitefully use you." 'Matth. v. 44, And, "Pray ye the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth labourers into 'his harvest." Matth. ix. 38. The same direction concerning great and small things, heavenly and earthly things, is alluded to again in the[g] treatise of prayer, and called an evangelical word; as also in the[h] books against Celsus. It is expressly put again in the fragments of[i] Origen's Commentaries upon the Psalms: 'It is a small matter to ask of God earthly things. 'Such a petition our Saviour forbids to be offered to the Father, saying: "Ask great things, 'and small things shall be added unto you: ask heavenly things, and earthly things shall be 'added unto you."

These words are found cited in part by Clement of Alexandria, as was[k] observed formerly: 'Ask,' says he, 'great things, and small things shall be added unto you.'

Grabe[l] supposed this citation might be made out of the gospel according to the Hebrews. Mill[m] thinks these words were in Origen's copies, added to Matth. vi. 33, and taken possibly from the gospel according to the Hebrews, or some other apocryphal gospel. Fabricius is unwilling[n] to allow, that Origen made this citation out of the gospel according to the Hebrews: he is rather inclined to think that these words were in Origen's copies, having been inserted there by interpolation. Dr. Wall says, that passage[o] seems to have been in some old copies, though it is in none now. Mr. Jones[p] says, that Clement, in the passage under consideration, respected the sense of Christ's words, without precisely transcribing them: that is, he rather chose to expound the words, than literally cite them. Hence also Origen, says he, who was one of Clement's scholars, does more than once in his works paraphrase these words of Christ

[a] Το μενλοιγε ημαρτησθαι εν τοις Ἑλληνικοις ανθιγραφοις τα περι των ονομαλων πολλαχε, και απο τελων αν τις πειθοιτο εν τοις ευαγγελιοις. Com. in Joh. p. 131. B. Huet.

[b] Ὁτι μεν σχεδον εν πασι τοις ανθιγραφοις κειται ταυτα εν Βηθανια εγενελο, εκ αγνοεμεν· και εφικε τελο και επι προτερον γεγονεναι· και παρα Ἡρακλεωνι ειδεν Βηθανιαν ανεγνωμεν. Επειστηκειμεν δε μη δειν, Βηθανια, αναγινωσκειν, αλλα Βηθαβαρα. Ibid. p. 130. D. E.

[c] See Matth. viii. 28; Mark, v. 1; Luke viii. 26.

[d] Αναγεγραπται γεγονεναι εν τη χωρα των Γερασηνων... επι δε εν ολιγοις ευρομεν εις την χωραν των Γαδαρηνων, και προς τελο λεκτεον.... Αλλα Γεργεσα, αφ' ης οι Γεργεσαιοι, πολις αρχαια περι την νυν καλεμενην Τιβεριαδα λιμνην, περι ην κρημνος παρακειμενος τη λιμνη, αφ' ε δεικνυται τους χοιρους υπο των δαιμονων καταξεληθηναι. Ibid. p. 131. C. D.

[e] Vid. Adr. Reland. Palæst. Ill. p. 774. 806, 807. Wolf. Cur. Whitb. Wall in Marc. v. 1.

[f] Το μεν ο δει, αιτειτε τα μεγαλα, και τα μικρα υμιν προστεθησεται· και αιτειτε τα επουρανια, και τα επιγεια υμιν προστεθησεται· Και προσευχεσθε υπερ των επηρεαζοντων υμας· κ. λ. De Orat. p. 197. F. 198. A. Tom. i. Bened.

[g] P. 219. F. 220. A. Πως τοιγαρουν ο τα επιγεια και μικρα αιτων απο Θεου, παρακειται τα ενδειλαμενα επουρανια και μεγαλα αιτειν.. .εαν δε τις ανθυποφερη τα καια σωματικων εκ προσευχης τοις αγιοις δωρηθεντα, αλλα και την τε ευαγγελιε φωνη· διδασκοντος τα επιγεια προστιθεσθαι και μικρα. P. 224. B. C. ibid.

[h] Εμαθε γαρ απο τε Ιησε μηδεν μικρον, τοτ' εστιν αισθητον, ζητειν, αλλα μονα τα μεγαλα και αληθως θεια. κ. λ. Con. Cels. l. vii. p. 726. F. ibid.

[i] Βραχεια δε πασα φωνη η περι των επιγειων και μικρων, και ταπεινων διεξοδος, και αιτησις απο Θεου· ην απωγορευων ο Σωτηρ προσφερειν τω Πατρι φησιν· Αιτειτε τα μεγαλα, και τα μικρα υμιν προστεθησεται· αιτειτε τα επουρανια, και τα επιγεια προστεθησεται υμιν. Select. in Psalmos, p. 560. E. Tom. ii. Bened.

[k] Chap. xxii. p. 411. [l] Spicileg. T. i. p. 44.

[m] Mill. in loc. Matth. et Prolegom. n. 695.

[n] Cod. Apocr. N. T. Tom. i. p. 329. De Dictis Christi, sect. 8. [o] Wall's Critical Notes upon the N. T. p. 5.

[p] Jones, vol. i. p. 553.

in the same manner. Such are the sentiments of these learned writers. It is not fit to be positive in a thing of this nature: but I do not see but Mr. Jones's opinion may be reckoned probable, and as near the truth, as any. Then this passage is no various reading: however thought fit to take notice of it in this place, and give such an account of the use Origen has made of it, that every one may judge for himself.

6. Matth. x. 29, "And one of them shall not fall to the ground." Origen read, 'Fall[a] into 'the snare.' So likewise[b] Chrysostom: and, as Dr.[c] Mill says, the Clementine Homilies; but I cannot find the place. That learned man however thinks, that 'the ground,' or 'the earth,' is the true reading, and 'snare' an interpretation. I take this to be a kind of proverbial expression. It might be sometimes said 'to the ground,' at other times 'into the snare.' Possibly the true reading is as Mill supposes: nevertheless it was very natural for some, in citing this text, to express it after the other form, 'into the snare.' There are frequent comparisons in scripture to this ordinary event, of catching a bird in a snare: as Psal. cxxiv. 7; Prov. vii. 23: Eccl. ix. 12. I put down one place, where both the snare and the earth are mentioned. Amos. iii. 5, "Can a bird fall in a snare on the earth, where no gin is for him?"

7. Matth. xix. 24, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven." See also Mark x. 25; Luke xviii. 26. Some have thought, that instead of 'camel' we should read 'cable.' Origen[d] plainly read 'camel,' speaking of the animal so called, and describing it.

8. Matth. xxv. 23, "Thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." Compare Luke xix. 17. Origen, in his books agaist Celsus,[e] has these words: 'To whom it may be said, "Thou hast been faithful in 'a small city: enter thou into a great one." I apprehend here is no proof that[f] this was in any gospel; it may be only an expression representing the sense of several places in the gospels.

9. Mark vi. 3. "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary...?" Celsus[g] had reflected upon our Saviour, calling him a 'carpenter by trade.' Origen says, 'That[h] nevertheless Jesus him-'self is never called a carpenter in any of the gospels used in the churches.' It is not easy to determine what[i] was the reason of Origen's saying this; whether his memory failed him, or whether in his copies of St. Mark's gospel this place was, "Is not this the carpenter's son?" as in Matth. xiii. 55; which possibly might be only an alteration made in St. Mark's gospel by some person out of respect to Christ.

10. The most considerable variation from our copies of the New Testament which I have observed in Origen, is in the Lord's Prayer, as recorded in St. Luke's gospel. In his treatise of Prayer he has given us distinctly this prayer from Matthew and Luke. The prayer in Matthew is very little different from our present copies; therefore I need not put it down. That in Luke being very different, I shall transcribe it here at length. Says Origen, 'The[k] words in Luke are thus: "Father, hallowed be thy name: thy kingdom come: give us day by day our daily bread; and forgive us our sins, for we ourselves also forgive every one that is indebted unto us; and lead us not into temptation."

Here Origen omits 'our,' and 'who art in heaven;' and from his particular explication of that part of the prayer afterwards, it appears[l] again that 'Father' only was in Luke; nevertheless[m] Mill supposed that those words, 'our,' and 'who art in heaven,' were in Origen's copies of St. Luke's gospel. This mistake has been already observed by[n] the learned author of the Notes upon Origen's treatise of Prayer, published by Mr. Reading, which ought to be consulted.

[a] Και γαρ δυο ςρεθιων... ἐν εις παγιδα ε πιπτει ανευ τε εν ερανοις Πατρος. Con. Cels. l. viii. p. 794. F. Tom. i. Bened.

[b] In Matth. x. Hom. xxv.

[c] Mill, Prol. num. 670.

[d] Ευκοπωτερον εςι καμηλον δια τροπης ραφιδος διελθειν, η πλεσιον εισελθειν εις την Βασιλειαν των ερανων. Εν ῃ παραβολῃ ὁ μεν πλεσιος παραβαλλεται καμηλῳ, ε δια το ακαθαρτον τε ζωε μονον, ὡς ὁ νομος εδιδαξεν, αλλα και την ὁλην αυτε σκολιοτητα. Comm. in Matth. p. 387. E. 388. A. Huet. Vid. et Con. Cels. l. vi p. 642. A. B. Bened.

[e] Προς ἑς λεγοιτο αν· εν ελαχιςῃ πολει πιςος εγενε, ἡκε και επι την μεγαλην. Con. Cels. l. viii. p. 798. B.

[f] Utcunque vid. Mill, Proleg. n. 695. 696.

[g] Η επει τεκτων ην την τεχνην. Con. Cels. l. vi. p. 299. Cant. p. 659. D. Bened.

[h] Αλλα και ε βλεπων, ὁτι εδαμε των εν ταις εκκλησιαις φερομενων ευαγγελιων τεκτων αυτος ὁ Ιησες αναγεγραπται. Ibid.

[i] Vid. Grot. Annot. ad Matth. xiii. 55. Spencer, in locum Origenis. Mill, Prol. 698.

[k] Τε δε Λεκα ἑτως· Πατερ, ἁγιασθητω το ονομα σε, ελθετω ἡ Βασιλεια σε· τον αρτον ἡμων τον επιεσιον διδε ἡμιν καθ' ἡμεραν· και αφες ἡμιν τας ἁμαρτιας ἡμων, και γαρ αυτοι αφιεμεν παντι τῳ οφειλοντι ἡμιν· και μη εισενεγκης ἡμας εις πειρασμον. Orig. de Orat. p. 227. A. Tom. i. Bened.

[l] Ει μεντοι νοησαιμεν τι εςι το, ὁταν προσευχησθε, λεγετε, Πατερ, ὁπερ παρα τω Λεκα γεγραπται. Ib. p. 232. A.

[m] Vid. Mill in Lucæ locum, et Proleg. n. 419.

[n] Vid. Orig. de Oratione, p. 95. not. 4. p. 108. not. 4. ex edit. Gul. Reading, et p. 919. D. E. 920. C. Tom. i. Bened.

Origen afterwards says expressly that St. Luke[a] omits these words, 'thy will be done, as in heaven so on earth.' He observes the difference[b] between the two evangelists in that which is generally called the fourth petition; and says likewise,[c] that 'deliver us from evil' is omitted by St. Luke. So that we have from Origen a most distinct account how this prayer stood in his time, in both evangelists.

The text of St. Luke in the Latin vulgate, agrees with Origen throughout: and[d] St Augustine has informed us, that in his copies of St. Luke were wanting these words, 'thy will be 'done, as in heaven, so in earth;' and, 'but deliver us from evil.' He likewise makes judicious remarks upon the various readings, as in St. Luke. However[e] Whitby defends our present reading in that gospel.

Origen has taken no notice at all of the doxology which we now have in our copies of St. Matthew's gospel. Matth. vi. 13. Whether it was originally there, or a part of the prayer delivered by our Lord, is disputed[f] by learned men: but no one, that I know of, has considered this matter more fully and accurately than[g] Mr. Hallett.

11. Luke xxiii. 43, "And Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To-day thou shalt be with me in paradise." Origen observes, 'That[h] this saying has so disturbed some people, as 'appearing to them absurd, that they have ventured to suspect that it has been added by some 'that corrupt the gospels: "To-day shalt thou be with me in the paradise of God." Here we may observe two things: first, that Origen read, 'in the paradise of God,' for so he writes this text several times: secondly, it may be concluded from what Origen says, that these words were in all copies; and that they who objected against them had no copy to allege in support of their suspicion, but only the absurdity of the thing itself in their opinion: for that is all that Origen mentions.

12. John vii. 39, "For the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified." Origen reads, 'For[i] the Spirit was not yet.'

13. 1 Cor. ix. 10. "That he that ploweth should plow in hope; and that he that thresheth in hope should be partaker of his hope." Origen reads the latter part of the verse thus: 'And[k] that he that thresheth [should thresh] in hope of partaking;' or, 'and he that thresheth in 'hope of partaking;' which is also the reading[l] of the Alexandrian, and several other manuscripts: and so Colinæus had published this text in his edition of the New Testament; and I do not see but this may be the true reading. I am satisfied our present common reading is wrong, which we have from Robert Stephens: I should think it must appear strange and absurd to every one that looks upon the Greek.

14. 1 Thess. v. 21. "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good." 22. "Abstain from all appearance of evil." Here I propose to transcribe several passages of Origen, in order to judge whether he read this place of the apostle differently from us.

1. In the Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew's gospel, Origen has these words: 'But 'whether we perceive the fitness and excellence of this law or not,[m] in the first place God will 'see it, and his Christ; and then he who, according to the scripture, is called a skilful money-'changer, who knows how "to prove all things, and to hold fast that which is good, and to 'abstain from all appearance of evil."

2. In the Greek Commentaries upon St. John's[n] gospel: 'And observing the command of

[a] Γενηθήτω το θελημα σε, ὡς εν ὐρανοις και επι γης. Ὁ Λεκας μεῖα το, Ελθετω ἡ βασιλεια σε, ταυῖα παρασιωπησας, εἶαξε τον αχθον. κ. λ. p. 240. C. Bened. [b] P. 243. C.

[c] Το δε, αλλα ῥυσαι ἡμας απο τε πονηρε, παρα τω Λεκα σεσιωπηται. p. 256. C. Vid. et p. 265. A.

[d] Evangelista vero Lucas in Oratione Dominicâ petitiones non septem, sed quinque, complexus est, . . . Ostendens ergo Lucas tertiam petitionem duarum superiorum esse quodammodo repetitionem, magis eam prætermittendo fecit intelligi. Deinde tres alias adjungit, de pane quotidiano, de remissione peccatorum, de tentatione vitandâ. At vero quod ille in ultimo posuit, 'sed libera nos a malo,' iste non posuit, ut intelligeremus ad illud superius, quod de tentatione dictum est, pertinere. August. Ench. ad Laur. cap. 116.

[e] Whitb. Exam. var. lect. Mill. p. 31.

[f] Vid. Mill. ad Matth. cap. vi. 13. et in Prolegomenis.

[g] See Mr. Hallett's Notes and Discourses, vol. i. p. 133, 151.

[h] Αμα τω εξοδω, εν τω παραδεισω εμελλεν εσεσθαι τε Θεε. Ουῖω δε εἶαφαξε τινας ὡς ασυμφωνον το ειρημενον, ὡστε τολμησαι αυῖες ὑπονοησαι προσεθεισθαι τω ευαγγελιω απο των ῥαδιεργων αυῖο τα Σημερον μεῖ' εμε εση εν τω παραδεισω τε Θεε. Comm. in Johan. p. 421. D Huet.

[i] Ουπω γαρ ην πνευμα, ὁτι Ιησες απω εδοξασθη. Comm. in Joh. p. 422. B.

[k] Και ὁ αλοων, επ' ελπιδι τε μεῖεχειν. Con. Cels. l. iv. p. 197. Cant. p. 541. D. Bened. [l] Vid. Mill, in loc.

[m] . . . πρωτον μεν Θεος αν ειδειη και ὁ Χριστος αυῖε, μεῖα δε ταυῖα και ὁ καῖα την γραφην ονομαζομενος δοκιμος τραπεζιτης, και ειδως πανῖα δοκιμαζειν, κάι το μεν καλον καῖεχειν, απεχεσθαι δε πανῖος ειδες πονηρου. Com. in Matth. p. 489. C. Huet.

[n] . . και τηρησιν την ενῖολην Ιησε λεγεσαν· Δοκιμοι τραπεζιται γινεσθε, και την Παυλε διδαχην φασκονῖες· Πανῖα δοκιμαζῖε, το καλον καῖεχεῖε, απο πανῖος ειδες πονηρε απεχεσθε. In Joh. 268. E

Jesus, which says, "Be ye skilful money-changers;" and the doctrine of Paul, who says, "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good, abstain from all appearance of evil."

3. In a Latin Homily upon Exodus: 'But[a] as the apostle says, "proving all things, holding fast that which is good."

4. Again, in a Latin Homily upon Leviticus: 'Hear[b] the prophet, saying, "Your silver is 'reprobate" [referring to Isa. i. 22, or Jer. vi. 30.] And because some money is good, other 'bad, therefore the apostle says, as to skilful money-changers, "Proving all things, holding fast that which is good."

5. Origen refers or alludes to this saying in several other places; but I think I need not put down any more here at length. It may be proper however to observe, before we proceed any farther, that this same thing is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria[c] as scripture. In the Clementine Homilies it[d] is called a saying of Christ; by St. Jerom likewise[e] it is ascribed to our Saviour; and by the heretic Appelles, in Epiphanius, it is cited as from the gospel: and in a like manner some[g] other ancient writers, particularly Chrysostom. But[h] Dionysius of Alexandria, and[i] other writers, cites this as an apostolical saying, and seem to have read it together with those other directions of St. Paul in his first epistle to the Thessalonians. Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, mentions it[k] as the precept both of Christ and his apostle, according as some understand him: but I think he ought to be reckoned with those who seem to ascribe it to Christ, as does[l] Fabricius. I shall add no more authors at present. Cotelerius[m] and Fabricius[n] have large collections of places of the ancients where this saying is quoted or alluded to.

6. The judgments of learned men concerning this precept are different. Archbishop Usher thought it[o] was taken out of the gospel according to the Hebrews; whose opinion is approved by[p] Valesius and[q] Huet. Cotelerius delivers his judgment in this manner: That[r] this saying was received by oral tradition, or from some apocryphal writing of good note, as a divine oracle of the New Testament, 'Be ye skilful money-changers:' whereupon some one put it in the margin of his copy, at Matth. xxv. 27, and Luke xix. 23: another thought proper to place it as a marginal note at the side of a like text of the apostle, 1 Thess. v. 21; and perhaps a third put it down in the margin of all these three places. He suspects likewise that it might be written by some one over against 1 John iv. 1. From thence in time these spurious words were inserted in the sacred context; and afterwards were quoted as words of scripture, of 'Christ,' and the 'gospel;' or of the 'apostle' and 'Paul.' So Cotelerius.

Croius[s] and[t] Suicer think we ought not to suppose that this precept or saying was read

[a] Nec convenit nos tumere superbiâ, et spernere verba prudentium, sed sicut apostolus dicit: 'Omnia probantes, quod bonum est tenentes...In Exod. Hom. xi. Tom. ii. p. 171. B. Bened.

[b] Audi prophetam dicentem, 'Argentum vestrum reprobum.' Quia ergo est quædam proba, quædam vero reproba, propterea apostolus, velut ad probabiles trapezitas, 'Probantes,' inquit, 'omniâ, quod bonum est obtinentes.' In Levit. Hom. iii. p. 199. A.

[c] Εικοτως αρα και η γραφη τοιαυτας τινας ημας διαλεκτικους ειναι θελησα γενεσθαι παραινει, Γινεσθε δε δοκιμοι τραπεζιται· τα μεν αποδοκιμαζοντες, το δε καλον κατεχοντες. Clem. Str. l. i. p. 354 D. Conf. Str. ii. p. 365. B. l. vi. p. 655. B. et vii. p. 754. A. B.

[d] Ευλογως ὁ διδασκαλος ημων ελεγεν· Γινεσθε τραπεζιται δοκιμοι. Clem. Hom. ii. sect. 50. Vid. et Hom. iii sect. 50. xxviii. sect. 20.

[e] ... Sciat me illud apostoli libenter audire: 'Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete:' et Salvatoris verba, dicentis, 'Estote probati nummularii.' Hieron. Ep. 152. ad Minervium et Alex. Conf. eund. in Ep. ad Ephes. v. 10.

[f] Ουτως γαρ, φησιν, εφη εν τω ευαγγελιω· Γινεσθε δοκιμοι τραπεζιται. Epiph. Hær. xlii. sect. 2.

[g] Και γαρ δια τουτο, φησι, Γινεσθε τραπεζιται δοκιμοι, ουκ ινα επι της αγορας εστωτες τα αργυρια αριθμητε, αλλα ινα τους λογους βασανιζητε μετα ακριβειας απασης· δια τουτο και ὁ αποστολος Παυλος φησι· Παντα δοκιμαζετε, το καλον δε κατεχετε μονον. Chrysost. in Sermone, Cur in Pentecoste Acta Apostolorum legantur, p. 942. D. Tom. v. Ut efficiamur secundum præceptum Domini probabiles trapezitæ. Cassian. Collat. i. 20.

[h] Απεδεξαμην το ὁραμα, ως αποστολικη φωνη συνηρεχον τη λεγουση προς τους δυναμενους· Γινεσθε δοκιμοι τραπεζιται. Ap. Euseb. l. vii. cap. 7. p. 253. C.

[i] Τοιουτον τι και ὁ μακαριος Παυλος φησι· Γινεσθε φρονιμοι τραπεζιται· παντα δοκιμαζετε, το καλον κατεχετε, απο παντος ειδους πονηρου απεχεσθε. Cyrill. Alex. ad Es. iii. 3. Tom. ii. p. 56. E. Vid. eund. lib. iv. ad Joh. vii. 12. Tom. iv. p. 497 A. et adv. Nestor. l. i. Tom. vi. p. 2. C. Ab his vero qui Origenis libros legunt, istud penitus exclusum putant esse mandatum, quo probabiles jubentur esse trapezitæ, scientes quod bonum est retinere, ab omni specie malâ se abstinere. Pamphil. Apol. pro Origene, init.

[k] Αλλως τε παρεγγυωσιν ημιν ὁ τε Χριστος και ὁ τελε αποστολος, γινεσθαι τραπεζιται δοκιμοι, ωστε τα παντα δοκιμαζειν, το καλον κατεχοντας. κ. λ. Socrat. Ecc. H. l. iii. cap. 16. p. 189. B.

[l] Cod. Apocr. N. T. Tom. i. p. 331.

[m] Coteler. ad Ap. Const lib. 2. cap. 36.

[n] Fabric. cod. Apocr. Nov. Test. Tom. i p. 300, &c.

[o] Usser Prolegom. in Ignat. Ep. cap. 8. sect. 7.

[p] Vales. Annot. in Eus. l. vii. p. 142. B.

[q] Huet. Not. in Orig. p. 114, 115.

[r] Coteler. ut supra.

[s] Existimat Croius [observ. in N. T. cap. 25.] verba hæc non ανολεξει a patribus Christo tribui, sed e parabolâ de talentis, quæ habetur Matth. cap. xxv. et Luc. cap. xix. sententiam fuisse collectam a patribus et conflatam. Huet, Not. ad Origen. p. 114. Vid. loc. Croii citatum a Suicero. Thesaur. Ec. v. Τραπεζιτης.

[t] Vid. Suicer, ibid.

any where exactly in these words; but that it was formed or collected out of the parable of the talents, Matth. xxv. or Luke xix.

7. I would now deliver my own opinion, if it may be of any value. In the first place, I think it plain that Origen had not this saying in his copies of the first epistle to the Thessalonians; for he calls it Christ's, and cites the two verses in that epistle as we have them: I take this also to be very clear concerning St. Chrysostom, and several other authors, that they had not this saying in any of Paul's epistles. Secondly, I am not satisfied that this direction was read as text in any part of the New Testament, either the gospels or the epistles; or if indeed it was inserted in any copies, I think they were very few. My reasons are these: (1.) It appears from divers passages of Origen,[a] and other ancient Christian writers, that it was very common to compare truth and falsehood to good and bad coins; and accordingly in recommending enquiry and examination, the trying or discerning of spirits, the[b] study of the scriptures, a love of truth, and a care not to be deceived by the specious appearances of erroneous opinions and their abettors, it was very natural to advise men to act like good money-changers, or bankers. Sometimes the advantages or talents vouchsafed men by Providence, are compared[c] to good coin; and the right improvement of them called, acting[d] the part of a good banker. The scripture led them to these similitudes, and they appear to have borrowed or improved them thence. Moreover Origen says that God[e] may be called a banker, on account of his discerning between good and bad, and trying the reins and the heart. St Jerom[f] says, it is difficult for us to fulfil the part of a good money-changer, in judging of the virtues of men. It is possible that this comparison might be in use before the writing of the books of the New Testament, and before the preaching of Christ and his apostles: Fabricius[g] has actually alleged two examples from ancient writings. It is an excellent precept, and applicable on many occasions, 'Be ye skilful money-changers.' Whenever the comparison was put into this form, it would be much used, especially by Christians; it being so suitable to the nature of the Christian Religion, and so becoming Christians of all ranks to put the precept in practice, it being also of so great importance to them to distinguish between truth and error; finally, it being not only so agreeable to divers parables in the gospels, but likewise to numerous cautions and directions of[h] Christ, as well as to that of Paul to the Thessalonians, and in other epistles. (2.) If this direction was any where in the text of the New Testament, it was as likely to be in the first epistle to the Thessalonians as any where. But that it was not there, I think to be

[a] . . . μη δοκιμοι τραπεζιται, μηδε επισαμενοι διακρινειν πνευματα τα ενεργουντα, ποια μεν απο Θεου, ποια δε αφεστηκοτα αυτου. Orig. in Matth. Tom. xii. p. 265. De Huet. Multi enim venient in nomine meo, dicentes, Ego sum Christus, et multos seducent. Vere enim qui implet illud mandatum quod ait, Estote prudentes nummularii; et illud quod ait, Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete; ab omni specie malâ abstinete vos: multos videbit seduci a multis intellectibus et verbis profitentibus esse se Christum, Dei Verbum. Id. Tract. xxvii. in Matth. p. 132 in Basil.

[b] Unde omnes studio legendæ nobis scripturæ sunt, et in lege Domini meditandum die ac nocte: ut probati trapezitæ, sciamus quis nummus probus sit, quis adulter. Hieron. in Ep. ad Ephes. cap. iv. ver. 31.

[c] Siclus pecuniæ dominicæ nomen est, et in multis scripturarum locis, diversis appellationum nominibus, pecunia dominica memoratur. Sed quædam bona, quædam vero reproba dicitur. Proba erat illa pecunia, quam paterfamilias, peregre profecturus, vocatis servis suis dedit unicuique secundum virtutem suam. Proba erat et illa pecunia, quæ denarius nominatur, qui cum mercenariis pactus est, et a novissimis datus est usque ad primos. [Vid. Matth. xxv. 14. . . 30. et Matth. xx. 1. . . 16.] Orig. in Levit. Hom. iii. p. 198. F. Tom. ii. Bened.

[d] Verbi gratiâ, cum docet Paulus, et assistunt ei auditores, Paulus est qui pecuniam fœnerat dominicam; auditores autem sunt qui ex ore ejus pecuniam verbi suscipiunt fœneratam. Et si quidem justus sit qui suscipiat ab eo pecuniam, reddet integrum fœnus, et dicet: Quinque minas mihi dedisti, ecce acquisivi alias quinque. . . Ecce et nunc vos omnes quibus hæc loquor, pecuniam accipitis fœneratam verba mea: hæc pecunia Domini est. Aut si dubitas, audi prophetam, dicentem, quia 'eloquia Domini eloquia casta, argentum igne probatum, 'terræ purgatum septuplum.' Ps. xii. 6. Si ergo male doceo, pecunia mea reproba est. . . Si autem bene doceo, pecunia vel argentum non est meum, sed Domini est, et probatum est. Orig. Select. in Psalm. p. 669. B. C. Tom. ii. Bened. Vid. et quæ sequuntur.

[e] Ὁ Κυριος δοκιμαζει μεν δικαια, αποδοκιμαζει δε αδικα, και εστιν, ινα ειπως ονομασω, τραπεζιτης δικαιων και αδικων. In Jerem. Hom. xix. p. 197. E. Huet.

[f] Quis, putas, e nobis probandis numismatibus callidus trapezita, non errabit in discretione sanctorum? Hieron. in Ep. ad Philem. ver. 5.

[g] Eodem simili utitur Philo Judæus, libro De Judice, p. 557. Ὁ δικαζων εισιων καθαπερ αργυραμοιβος αγαθος, διαιρειτω και διακρινετω τας φυσεις των πραγματων. Cebes in Tabula: Δια τουτο το δαιμονιον κελευει μη θαυμαζειν, ὁ, τι αν πεφανη αυτη, μηδε γιγνεσθαι ὁμοιως τοις κακοις τραπεζιταις. Και γαρ εκεινοι οταν μεν λαβωσι το αργυριον παρα των ανθρωπων, χαιρουσι, και ιδιον νομιζουσιν ειναι. Fabric. Cod. Ap. N. T p. 331.

[h] To this purpose may be reckoned the following things: "Beware of false prophets," Matth. vii. 15. . . 20. See likewise chap. xxiv. 23. . . . 26. and the parallel places in other gospels. Of 'discerning the times.' Matth. xvi. beginning, and in other gospels. "Search the scriptures." John v. 39. "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works." Ch. x. 36, 37. And the saying, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear:" and many other things, beside the parables, Matth. xx. xxv. Luke xix.

very plain from Origen, St. Jerom, and St. Chrysostom; not to mention now Socrates or others, who call this a command of Christ. Therefore they who mention this as a precept of the apostle, or of Paul, do not intend to quote it as a text of Paul, but only represent in these words the sense of that text, "prove all things," or other directions in the apostle's epistles. Consequently it is likewise probable that the other writers who call this a command of Christ or of the 'gospel,' only intend in these words to represent the sense of divers things taught by Christ in the gospels. We have a plain instance of this method in one of the passages before cited from Origen; for though this command, 'be ye skilful money-changers,' was not in his copies of the epistle to the Thessalonians, as is most evident, yet he observes that 'the apostle says, "as to skilful money-changers, proving all things, holding fast that which is good;" and I think that John Cassian, who speaks of it as a precept of the Lord and of the gospel, does in one[a] place represent it as a lesson taught us by the sense and design of the parable of the talents. So Victor of Capua[b] supposes Paul to have directed us to be good money-changers, when he said, "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good;" plainly ascribing these last words only to St. Paul, and putting the sense and design of them into that precept, 'Be ye good money-changers,' as did Origen in the place just cited from him. (3.) This direction is not now in any Greek copy of the new Testament, nor in any version, that I know of: therefore it never was a part of the text of the New Testament; for if it had, it could not have been lost. If this command had been mentioned but once or twice in all antiquity, this argument perhaps might be of little weight; but since it is found very frequently in the writings of ancient Christian authors, in several centuries, I think this argument unanswerable: a saying so often mentioned, and by so many writers, could not have been lost out of all the copies of the New Testament, if ever it had been there. I suppose these considerations may be of use to confirm the sentiment of Croius and Suicer.

15. 1 Tim. iii. 16. "And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, . . . received up into glory." It has been disputed whether the true reading of this text is, 'God' was manifest, or 'which,' or 'who' was manifest. In Origen are these words: 'But[c] if my Jesus be said to be received up into glory, I perceive the reason of 'it; that God who wrought this, appointed him master to those who saw it.' When one reads this place, there arises some suspicion that Origen read Jesus, or Christ, where we now have God: I cannot tell whether it will not be allowed me therefore to put the question, whether Ιησους, 'Jesus,' or Χριστος, 'Christ,' written in a contracted manner, has not been read Θεος, 'God;' which might occasion this last to be so common a reading in our present manuscript copies.[d] This remarkable quotation, or reference to 1 Tim. iii. 16, is not placed in the index of texts of scripture by the Benedictine editor of Origen. I think it should not have been omitted, especially considering how rarely this text has been quoted by the ancient Christian writers: which is particularly taken notice of by[e] Mill, though I do not see that he himself had observed the citation of it in Origen.

16. We do not find in Origen the disputed text of St. John's first epistle concerning the heavenly witnesses, 1 John v. 7, 8. It seems probable that he did not know of it. Having quoted Matth. iii. 11; John vi. 53; Luke xii. 50, he adds: 'And agreeably[f] hereto his dis-'ciple John writes in his epistle, of "the Spirit, the water, and the blood; these three are 'made one."

17. It ought to be observed, that every difference of Origen's citations from our copies ought not to be reckoned a various reading, because, as Huet[g] says, Origen often trusts his memory, and writes in haste, without consulting the text, and for that reason quotes differently from himself. I shall give an instance, which perhaps will be allowed to be to the purpose. Our present reading of Gal. iv. 21, is, "Ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the

[a] Quomodo ergo acquiri debeat, cupimus nobis exponi, aut quemadmodum utrum vera, et ex Deo, an falsa et diabolica sit, possit agnosci, ut secundum illam evangelicam, quam superiore tractatu disseruisti, parabolam, qua jubemur fieri probabiles trapezitæ, numismati impressam veri regis imaginem, pervidentes, deprehendere valeamus, &c. Cassian. Collat. ii. cap. 9. [b] — precantes ut nos in veritate scripturarum suarum erudire dignetur, et discretionis gratiam tribuat, quatenus, ut optimi trapezitæ, omnia probemus, secundum Paulum, et quæ sint bona sectemur. Vict. Præf. in Tatian.

[c] Εαν δε ο εμος Ιησους αναλαμβανεσθαι εν δοξη λεγηται, ορω την οικονομιαν, ὁτι τοις θεωρησασι συνιστη τον διδασκαλον ὁ τοῦ ενεργησας γενεσθαι Θεος. Con. Cels. l. iii. p. 467. C.

[d] See before, p. 350, 351, a quotation from the epistle to Diognetus. [e] Vid. Mill, in notis ad 1 Tim. iii. 16.

[f] Τουτῳ δε συμφωνως εν τη επιστολη μαθητης Ιωαννης το πνευμα, και το υδωρ, και το αιμα ανεγραψε, τα τρια εις εν γενομενα. Com. in Joh. p. 133. D. Huet. [g] Huet, in notis, p. 61.

law?" In the books against [a] Celsus, Origen twice cites this place thus: 'Ye that read the law, do ye not hear the law?' but in a Greek fragment of the books of [b] Principles he uses and argues upon the common reading. Either therefore Origen's copies differed, and he used at different times different readings; or in one place he quoted by memory, and in the other exactly; which I take to be the case here, and that his reading was the same as ours; and that when he said, 'Ye that read the law,' he depended upon his memory, and quoted wrong.

XXVIII. I must now put down some of Origen's explications of scripture.

1. He treats those as heretics [c] who allegorize the history of Christ's miracles of healing diseases, as if nothing else was meant but healing the soul, when it is said, that Jesus healed "all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease." Matth. iv. 23.

2. Origen himself believes that the 'dæmoniacs' mentioned in the gospels were disturbed by an evil spirit. But [d] he says that physicians endeavoured to account for those cases in a natural way; not allowing the agency of any impure spirit, but calling them bodily distempers.

3. He says many unhappy people are called [e] lunatics, but he [f] thinks that their distempers are not owing to the moon, but that evil spirits, having observed its changes, inflict those distempers at certain times, the better to deceive men, and induce them to ascribe such distempers to that great light in the heaven, which are really caused by themselves.

4. Origen [g] seems to have thought that there was really a legion of dæmons in the poor man at the tombs; because when Christ asked him what was his name, he answered, Legion. Mark v. 9, Luke viii. 30. But I should think it had been easy for Origen to perceive, that this is slight authority upon which to build any doctrines; whether we suppose this man to have been distracted, or to have had in him one or more dæmons. If the former, this is only the word of a mad man; if the latter, of a dæmon. However, undoubtedly, it was likewise the opinion of many sober and understanding persons, at that time, that dæmons were the causes of divers grievous and tormenting diseases.

There is a place in Origen, where he is supposed to say, by way of objection to somewhat before mentioned, 'That [h] it is not necessary to take the speech of Rhoda for doctrine.' Huet says he [i] cannot conceive what speech of Rhoda is here meant. But I apprehend that Origen does not intend what Rhoda said, but what was said to her, speaking of Peter, "It is his angel." Acts xii. 14, 15. I think the connection shews it to be very probable that this is Origen's meaning; if so, this passage is applicable to the present subject: perhaps the Benedictine editor of Origen, when he comes to this place, will set it in a clearer light. They might be common notions among the Jews, in the time of our Saviour and his apostles, that divers grievous diseases were caused by dæmons, and that every good man had a guardian angel; but certainly vulgar opinions, though received by some good men, and recorded in scripture as their opinions, need not to be taken for undoubted truths, or doctrines of revelation.

5. Origen supposed likewise that [k] some people were possessed and acted by evil spirits from their childhood. However Optatus of Africa, in the fourth century, is yet more out of

[a] Λεγεῖε μοι οι τον νομον αναγινωσκονῖες τον νομον ουκ ακουεῖε. Con. Cels. l. ii. p. 388. D. et lib. iv. p. 537. D. Bened. [b] Λεγεῖε μοι, φησιν, οι υπο νομον θελονῖες ειναι, τον νομον ουκ ακουεῖε; γεγραπῖαι γαρ..... Παραληπῖεον γαρ εκασ῾ον των ειρημενων υπ' αυῖου· οἳι φησιν, οι υπο νομον θελονῖες ιναι ουχ, οι υπο τον νομον ονῖες. κ. τ. λ. De Prin. l. iv. p. 171. Tom. i. Bened. et Philoc. p. 10. Cantabr. [c] Και μαλισ῾α ταυῖα προσακῖεον τοις ελεῤοδοξοις, χαιρουσι ταις αλληλοιαις, και αναγουσι την περι των ιασεων ισ῾οριαν επι τας της ψυχης θεραπειας, απολυομενης υπο Ιησου πασης νοσου, και πασης μαλακιας: Comm. in Joh. p. 308. A. Huet. [d] Ιαῖροι μεν φυσιολογειλωσαν, ἁῖε μηδε ακαθαρῖον πνευμα ειναι νομιζονῖες καῖα νον τοπον, αλλα σωμαῖικον συμπῖωμα, και φυσιολογουνῖες τα ὑγρα λεγεῖωσαν κινεισθαι τα εν κεφαλῃ, καῖα τινα συμπαθειαν τῃ ῥοῃ το σεληνιακον φως, ὑγραν ουχον φυσιν. Ἡμεις δε κ. λ. Com. in Matth. p. 311. A. [e] Ζῃ̃σωμεν προῖερον πως σεληνιαζεσθαι λεγεται ὁ ὑπο τινος πνευμαῖος ακαθαρῖου, και κωφου, και αλαλου σκυλευομενος, και καῖαβαλλομενος, κ. λ. Ibid. p. 311. A.

[f] Το ακαθαρῖον θεῖον πνευμα επιῃρει τινας σχημαῖισμους τῃς σεληνῃς, και ἑως ενεργει, ινα εκ της ῃρησεως το καῖα τοιουδε τον της σεληνῃς σχημαῖισμον νομισχειν θεους ανθρωπους, την αιῖιαν δοξῃ τε τηλικουῖε κακου, μῃ το αλαλον και κωφον λαμβανειν δαιμονιον, αλλα ὁ μεγας εν ουρανῳ φωσ῾ηρ. κ. λ. p. 311. C.

[g] .... redeat ad evangelii auctoritatem, et inveniet illum qui in sepulcris habitabat, dæmonem patiens, cum interrogaretur a Salvatore, quod tibi nomen est? respondisse, Legio; 'Multa 'enim,' inquit, 'dæmonia sumus.' Quid vero mirum videtur, si per singula genera peccatorum singuli dæmones ascribantur, cum scriptum sit in uno homine integram fuisse dæmonum legionem? In libr. Jesu Hom. xv. p. 435. A. Tom. ii. Bened. [h] Ὁ δε παρισ῾αμενος οἳς προειρηκαμεν φησει, ὁῖι ουκ αναγκαιον ειναι δογμα τον της Ῥοδης λογον. κ. λ. Comm. in Matth. p. 333. A. Huet. Conf. p. 331. C. D.

[i] Quamnam Rhodes orationem hic significat, non video. Nam, Act. xii. non aliud ipsa dicit, quam 'stare Petrum ante 'januam: illi dicebant, Angelus ejus est.' Huet, Not. p. 81.

[k] Et e contrario parvuli licet, et pene lactantes, malis replentur spiritibus, et in divinos atque hariolos inspirantur, in tantum ut etiam Dæmon Pythonicus quosdam a tenerâ ætate possideat, &c. De Principiis, l. iii. cap. 3. p. 145. A. Tom. i. Bened. ex Versione Hieronymi. Vid. et ibid. Rufin. vers.

the way, for [a] he supposes every man that is born into this world to have an evil spirit, even though he be born of Christian parents: but perhaps he ought to be understood figuratively.

6. By the "wedding garment" in the parable, Matth. xxii. 12, Origen understands a pious disposition of mind, and a suitable behaviour. 'All [b] are to be invited,' says he, 'good and 'bad; but the bad are not to continue so, but changing their garments, and putting off the 'habit unsuitable to the wedding solemnity, they must put on wedding garments, "bowels of 'mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering;" for these are wedding gar-'ments. Therefore the king comes in to see the guests, before the dinner he has prepared is set 'before them: and . . . finding one of them who had been invited indeed, and had come at 'the invitation, but had not reformed his manners, nor put on the wedding garment, he says to 'him, "How camest thou in hither, not having on the wedding garment?" To the like pur-pose in another place [see Rom. xiii. 14, Gal. iii. 27], 'They [c] who are baptized into Christ, put on Christ, that is, 'righteousness and wisdom.' St. Austin discourses largely upon this subject in [d] two sermons. He says [e] that the wedding garment must be something not common to good and bad; that it is not baptism, nor the eucharist, nor faith, nor prophecy, nor miracles; but [f] "charity out of a pure heart, and [out] of a good conscience, and of faith un-feigned." 1 Tim. i. 5. It will not displease any, if I add in the margin a reference to a passage of St. Cyril of Alexandria,[g] to the like effect.

7. In a Homily which we have now in Latin only, Origen commenting upon Numb. xxiii. 24, having cited John, vi. 54, 55, goes on: 'And indeed he who said these things was 'wounded for men, for he himself was wounded for our transgressions, as Isaiah says, liii. 5. 'But [h] we are said to drink the blood of Christ not only sacramentally, but also when we 'receive his words, in which is life, as he himself likewise says, John, vi. 63, "The words 'that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life" [i] He therefore was wounded, 'whose blood we drink; that is, we embrace the words of his doctrine. But nevertheless 'they also were wounded, who have preached to us his word. For when we read their words, 'that is, the words of his apostles, and obtain life by them, we drink the blood of the "wounded," or "of the slain." Numb. xxiii. 24.

8. He argues that the precept, John xiii. 14, 15, "to wash one another's feet," ought [k] not to be understood literally. He says likewise that [l] it was formerly in use; but in his time it was practised by very few, and those mean and ignorant people.

9. Origen [m] seems to understand the decree of the council at Jerusalem, Acts, xv, as bind-ing Gentile Christians even in his own time. He [n] mentions 'things sacrificed to idols, things 'strangled, and blood.'

10. In a passage before cited [o] Origen intimated, that when Paul in his epistles speaks of 'his gospel,' he means 'Luke's gospel.' But he seems to depart from that sense in another place: 'But,' says [p] he, 'that the whole New Testament is gospel, may be argued from words

[a] Nam neminem fugit, quod omnis homo qui nascitur, quamvis de parentibus Christianis nascatur, sine spiritu im-mundo esse non possit, quem necesse sit, ante salutare lava-crum, ab homine excludi et separari. Hoc exorcismus operatur, per quem spiritus immundus depellitur, et in loca deserta fugatur. Optat. lib. iv. sect. 6. edit. Du Pin.

[b] Com. in Matth p. 473. D. E. Huet. [c] In Psalm xxxiii. p. 651. D. Tom. ii. Bened. [d] August. Serm. 90. et 95. ed. Bened. Tom. v. [e] Quid est vestis nuptialis? Sine dubio aliquid est quod mali et boni commune non habent. Serm 95. sect. 7. [f] Finis autem præ-cepti est, apostolus dicit, caritas de corde puro, et conscientiâ bonâ, et fide non ficta. Hæc est vestis nuptialis. Serm. 90. sect. 6. Conf. eund. contr. Faustum, l. xix. c. 12. T. viii.

[g] Cyrill. Hom, xxiv. p. 288. C. D. E. Tom. v. P. ii.

[h] Bibere autem dicimur sanguinem Christi, non solum sacramentorum ritu, sed et cum sermones, ejus recipimus, in quibus vita consistit, sicut et ipse dicit..... Est ergo ipse vulneratus, cujus nos sanguinem bibimus, id est, doctrinæ ejus verba suscipimus. Sed it illi nihilominus vulnerati sunt, qui nobis verbum ejus prædicârunt: Ipsorum enim, id est, apostolorum ejus, verba cum legimus, et vitam ex iis con-sequimur, vulneratorum sanguinem bibimus. In Numeros Hom. xvi. p. 334. F. A. T. ii. Bened.

[i] Upon this passage of Origen may be seen Dr. Waterland's Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist, ch. 6. p. 164, 165.

[k] Και ὁ ευαγγελιστης γε εν τοῖς μοι δοκει διεγειρων ἡμων τον νεν επι τον νοητον των καλα τον τοπον, μη τετηρηκεναι μεν σωματικην περι τε νιψασθαι την ακολουθιαν. κ. λ. Comm. in Joh. p. 374. E. Huet.

[l] Ὅπερ εθος η ε γινεται, η εις ὑπερβολην σπανιωταται, και παρα τοις πανυ ἁπλεστεροις και αγροικοτεροις γινεται. Ibid. p. 391. A. Vid. Huet, Not. p. 125. Vid. et Orig. in Esaïam Hom. vi. p. 564. Tom. i. Basil.

[m] Cum tam validis præceptis cibus sanguinis interdicatur a Deo, ut etiam nos, qui ex gentibus vocati sumus, necessario jubeamur abstinere, sicut iis quæ idolis immolantur, ita et a sanguine. In Num. Hom. xvi. p. 334. D. Tom. ii. Bened.

[n] Το μεν γαρ ειδωλοθυτον θυεται δαιμονιοις. . . . τα δε πνικτα, τε αιματος μη εκκριθεντος, . . . απαγορευει ὁ λογος. κ. λ. Cont. Cels. l. viii. p. 763. C.

[o] See Numb. iv. p. 532.

[p] Εστι δε προσαχθηναι απο των ὑπο Παυλε λεγομενων περι τε πασαν την καινην ειναι τα ευαγγελια, ὁταν πε γραφη· καλα το ευαγ-γελιον με· εν γραμμασι γαρ Παυλε εκ εχομεν ευαγγελιον συνηθως καλεμενον. Αλλα παν ὁ εκηρυσσε και ελεγε, το ευαγγελιον ην· ἁ και εκηρυσσε και ελεγε, ταυτα και εγραφε και ἁ εγραφε αρα ευαγγελιον ην. Ει δε τα Παυλε ευαγγελιον ην, ακολουθον λεγειν, ὁτι και τα Πετρε ευαγγελιον ην. Comm. in Joh. p. 6. C. D.

of Paul, when he writes, "according to my gospel," Rom. ii. 16, and xvi. 25; for we have no 'writing of Paul which is wont to be called a gospel, but whatever he preached and said was 'gospel. And the things he preached and said, these he also wrote; therefore the things 'written by him are gospel. And if what Paul said or wrote is gospel, consequently what 'Peter said or wrote is gospel.'

11. 1 Cor. xv. 7. "After that he was seen of James, then of all the apostles." I shall transcribe a passage, shewing how Origen understood this text. He says that Christ's divinity, after his resurrection, shone brighter than could be seen by all; 'which [a] however 'Cephas Peter might see, as being the first-fruit of the apostles, and after him the twelve, 'Matthias being added to them in the room of Judas: after that he was seen of above five 'hundred brethren at once: after that he was seen of James, then of all the other beside the 'twelve apostles [or rather, "by all the other apostles beside the twelve"], meaning perhaps 'the seventy; "and, ver. 8, last of all of Paul, as of one born out of due time." Compare ver. 5.

12. Phil. ii. 6. Origen understands those words of St. Paul, which we have rendered "thought it not robbery to be equal with God," of Christ's humiliation. For thus he writes: 'But [b] we may be bold to say, that the goodness of Christ appeared greater and more divine, 'and truly according to the image of the Father, when he "humbled himself, being made 'obedient unto death, even the death of the cross, than if he had affected [or chosen] to be 'like God," and had refused to become a servant for the salvation of the world.'

This passage is taken from the Greek Commentaries upon St. John, and does most plainly shew Origen's intention. But it is also evident from a passage [c] in the books against Celsus, where this same text is quoted, that he understood these words of Christ's humiliation. This sense appears likewise in the Latin version of one of Origen's tracts or homilies [d] upon St. Matthew. It is well known how [e] Archbishop Tillotson understood this text. Dr. Wall's note [f] is thus: "Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with 'God:" who, though he was of the divine nature, yet did not, in his conversation on earth, 'claim or insist upon it to be treated, dealt with, or spoken to as God.'

13. Among the ancients [g] Jerom, and Estius [h] among the moderns, understand St. Paul to include himself in what is said in those words, Tit. iii. 3: and Dr. Benson [i] has lately argued very strongly, that the apostle there particularly represents his own case. I think it will appear that Origen also applies the [k] same text to St. Paul, admitting only the emendation of one word, which appears to me probable. However I would not be too positive, till I see whether this conjecture be confirmed by De la Rue's edition, or by some manuscripts which he has the sight of. Nor do I adopt that interpretation. But as it is well known that Jerom often inserted in his Commentaries explications of divers more ancient writers than himself, without naming them, it is very possible he might borrow this from Origen.

XXIX. Before I conclude this chapter, I would put down two or three general observations upon the scriptures of the New Testament, which we find in this learned writer of the third century.

1. In the books against Celsus he [l] says, 'That Christians are induced to believe the 'writers of the gospels, by observing the evidences of piety and probity that appear in their 'writings; in which there is no deceit, or artifice, or cunning, or design.'

2. Origen was of opinion, that there are some things obscure and difficult in the scripture, not only in the Old, but likewise in the New Testament. I have already alleged [m] a passage

[a] Ἥντινα Κηφας ὁ Πέτρος, ὡσπερει απαρχη των αποστολων, δεδυνηται ιδειν... επειτα ωφθη Ιακωβῳ, επειτα τοις ἑτεροις παρα τους δωδεκα αποστολους [forte αποστολοις, Vid. not. Ed. Benedict.] πασι, ταχα τοις ἑξδομηκοντα, εσχατον δε παντων Παυλῳ. κ. λ. Con. Cels. l. ii. p. 100. Cant. p. 436. B. C. Bened.

[b] Τολμητεον γαρ ειπειν, πλειονα, και θειοτεραν, και αληθως καλ' εικονα του Πατρος την αγαθοτητα φαινεσθαι του Χριστου, ὁτε ἑαυτον ἐταπεινωσε, γενομενος ὑπηκοος μεχρι θανατου, θανατου δε σταυρου, η ει αρπαγμον ἡγησατο ειναι ισα Θεῳ, και μη βεληθεις επι τη του κοσμου σωτηρια γενεσθαι δουλος. Comm. in Joh. p. 34. E. [c] Con. Cels. l. vi. p. 285. fin. Cant. p. 641. C. D. Tom. i. Bened. [d] Et dicet Patrem talia miranda dignare Filio suo, qui se ipsum humiliavit, et propter dilectionem non rapinam arbitratus est esse se æqualem Deo, &c. In Matth. Tract. xxx. p. 148. Tom. ii. Basil.

[e] Sermon xliv. vol. i. folio. [f] Wall's Brief Critical Notes upon the N. T. p. 277. [g] Hieron. Com. in Ep. ad Tit. [h] Estius in loc. [i] See Dr. Benson's Paraphrase and Notes upon St. Paul's Ep. to Titus, in imitation of Mr. Locke's manner, p. 43..45. [k] Οὑτω δε και εσχατος ην πασ [lege Παυλος] και ανοητος, και απειθης, δουλευων επιθυμιαις και ἡδοναις, ποικιλαις,.... αλλα γεγονε πρωτος, ὁτε ἡ χρηστοτης, και ἡ φιλανθρωπια επεφανη του Σωτηρος ἡμων Θεου, ... Com. in Matth. p. 397. C. Huet. [l] Πιστευομεν δε και ταις προαιρεσεσι των γραψαντων τα ευαγγελια, κατασχαζομενοι της ευλαβειας αυτων και συνειδοτος εμφαινομενων τοις γραμμασιν, ὁθεν νοθον και κυβευτικον, και πεπλασμενον και πανουργον εχοντων. Con. Cels. l. iii. p. 473. A. Tom. i. Bened. [m] See Numb. xx. 7. p. 547.

this purpose from a Latin Homily. We find the same observation in a Greek fragment of his books [a] of Principles, where he says, 'There are many difficulties in the scriptures, not 'only in the prophetical writings, which all allow to have many obscure and enigmatical ex-'pressions, but likewise in the gospels, and in the Revelation of John, and the epistles of the 'apostles.' This passage also serves to shew in part what were the scriptures which Origen, and other Christians, esteemed divine, and of authority.

3. In his books against Celsus, Origen more than once [b] speaks of the simple and popular, or even low style, of the writers of the New Testament; which, however, he affirms to be most for the general benefit of mankind: particularly [c] he says, 'That the Jewish prophets, 'and the disciples of Jesus, renounced all artful composition of words, and what the scripture 'calls "man's wisdom," and "fleshly wisdom." 1 Cor. ii. 4. 2 Cor. i. 12. In the Philocalia is a fragment of Origen's fourth tome upon St. John's gospel, which is introduced, and begins, as follows: Then [d] after what he had said of the solecism of the gospel [or the evangelist], he goes on: 'But the apostles being sensible of their imperfection in this respect, and that they 'had not been educated in human learning, own themselves "rude in speech, though not in 'knowledge." For these words are not to be understood of Paul only, but likewise of the rest 'of the apostles: "But though we be rude in speech," &c.; and, "But we have this treasure 'in earthen vessels, that the excellence of the power may be of God, and not of us."' 2 Cor. xi. 6, iv. 7. By this means, he says, the truth of the gospel has been rendered more conspicuous: men have not been allured into it by the elegance of speech, but overcome by the mere force of truth alone.

XXX. It appears to me worth the while to consider, whether Origen thought St. Matthew's gospel was originally written in Hebrew. We have seen three places where Origen speaks of this matter. In the passage [e] cited from Eusebius, he says that Matthew 'delivered 'his gospel to the Jewish believers in the Hebrew language.' In the [f] second passage he observes, there was a 'tradition that Matthew wrote first, and delivered his gospel to the He-'brews, that is, the believers of the circumcision.' In the [g] third he says, that Matthew 'wrote for the Hebrews, who expected him that was to descend from Abraham and David.' Having thus reminded the reader of these places, I would observe some other passages of Origen.

In his Treatise of Prayer, explaining the fourth petition of the Lord's prayer, he observes, 'that [h] the Greek word επιουσιος, which by us is rendered 'daily,' is not used by any of the 'learned Greeks; nor is it,' says he, 'in use with the vulgar: but it seems to have been coined 'by the evangelists; for both Matthew and Luke agree in using it without any difference.' He goes on to say, that 'they also who translated the Old Testament into Greek, had some 'words peculiar to themselves.' It is somewhat strange that Origen should here take no notice of St. Matthew's Greek gospel being a translation, if he thought so.

In his commentaries [i] upon the second Psalm, he makes mention of two Hebrew copies which he had seen, and observes a difference between them in disposing the first two Psalms, and then how they were disposed in the Septuagint version. Again (to mention no more instances of this sort) upon Ps. iii. 7, he consults the Hebrew copies, [k] and finds a difference from

[a] Και τι δει λεγειν περι των προφητικων, ας πανλες ισμεν αινιγμαλων και σκολεινων πεπληρωσθαι λογων; καν επι τα ευαγγελια δε φθασωμεν, καλεινων η ακριβης νες, ατε νες Χριστε, δειλαι χαριτος της δοθεισης. τω ειρηκοτι· ημεις δε νεν Χριστε εχομεν... [1 Cor. ii. 12, 13.] και τα αποκεκαλυμμενα δε τω Ιωαννη τις εκ αν αναγνες καταπλαγειη την επικρυψιν των αποῤῥητων μυστηριων...; αι δε των αποστολων επιστολαι τινι των βασανιζειν επισταμενων λογες δοξαιεν αν ειναι σαφεις και ευχερως νοεμεναι; κ. λ. Philoc. cap. i. p. 8. Cant. De Prin. l. iv. p. 167. Bened. Conf. Orig. p. 38. B. C. p. 39. B. C. Tom. i. Huet.

[b] Con. Cels. l. iv. p. 210. Cant. p. 556, 557. Bened. et lib. vi. init.

[c] Οι δε εν Ιουδαιοις προφηται, και οι τε Ιησε μαθηται δι μαχραν χαιρειν εποιηνες τη ποικιλη των λεξεων συνθεσει, κ. τ. λ. Cont. Cels. l. vii. p. 372. Cant. p. 737. Bened.

[d] Ειτα, ειπων τον τε ευαγγελιε σολοικισμον, επαγει· Αλε δε εκ ασυναισθητοι αποστολοι τυγχανοντες των εν οις προσκοπτεσι, και περι α εκ ησχολληται, φασιν, κ. λ. Philoc. cap. iv. p. 25. Cant. Tom. ii. p. 86. Huet.

[e] Numb. iv.

[f] Numb. vii. 4.

[g] Numb. xvii. 543.

[h] Πρωτον δε τετ' ισεον, ὁτι ἡ λεξις ἡ, επιουσιον, παρ' ουδενι των Ἑλληνων, ειτε των σοφων νομιζεται, ειτε εν τη ιδιωτων συνηθεια τετριπται, αλλ' εοικε πεπλασθαι ὑπο των ευαγγελιστων. Συνηνεχθησαν γαν ὁ Ματθαιος και ὁ Λεκας περι ουτης μηδαμως διαφερουσης [al. διαφερουσην] αυτην εξενηνοχοτες. Το ὁμοιον δε και επ' αλλων οι ερμηνευοντες τα Ἑβραϊκα πεποιηκασι. De Orat. p. 245. D. 246. A. Tom. i. Bened.

[i] Δυσιν ενλυχνοις Ἑβραϊκοις ανλιγραφοις, εν μεν τω ἱερω ευρομεν αρχην δευτερα ψαλμα ταυτα· εν δε τω ἱερω συνηπτετο τω πρωτω. Και εν ταις Πραξεσι δε των αποστολων το, υιος με ει συ, εγω σημερον γεγεννηκα σε, ελεγετο ειναι τε πρωτε ψαλμε [Acts xiii. 33.] τα Ἑλληνικα μεντοι ανλιγραφα δευτερον ειναι τετον μηνυει. In Ps. ii. p. 537. F. Tom. ii. Bened.

[k] Ὁτι συ επαλαξας πανλας τες εχθραινοντας μοι ματαιως, κ. λ.] Τω Ἑβραϊκω ενλυχνοτες, τω ματαιως, ευδαμως ευρομεν δυναμενον δηλωσθαι. Ibid. p. 554. A.

the Seventy. Well, why did not Origen enquire also for Hebrew copies of St. Matthew's gospel?

In his Commentaries upon St. John he observes, 'John [a] Baptist in the three [b] gospels, says, "I am not sufficient;" but in John, "I am not worthy."' It is wonderful that Origen, who was so nice and exact, and minded such little things, did not compare likewise the Hebrew of St. Matthew, if he thought this evangelist had written in that language.

It is true that in two or three places of Origen's works, which [c] were transcribed formerly, we find the gospel according to the Hebrews cited; and in one of those places it is brought into a kind of comparison with a history related in the first three evangelists: but then it is in such a manner as to afford no ground at all for supposing he thought that an authentic edition of St. Matthew's gospel. In the place where he says [d] there were many differences in the copies of the gospels, he makes mention of what he had done for correcting the errors crept into the Greek edition of the Old Testament then in use; and takes notice of the helps and advantages he had for that purpose, by comparing the Hebrew original and the several Greek versions of it; intimating, at the same time, that he had not such helps for attaining the right readings in the gospels. But certainly, if St. Matthew's gospel had been written in Hebrew, the original edition might have been of great use for correcting the Greek copies of that gospel at least; and it was an advantage very fit to be taken notice of, and could not easily have been omitted.

I cannot but think, therefore, Origen was not fully satisfied that St. Matthew wrote his gospel in Hebrew. Undoubtedly there was such a tradition, as he [e] himself owns; but it is likely he did not altogether rely upon it. This was said by some; but perhaps the account was not so attested as to demand a ready assent. If Origen had believed St. Matthew's gospel to have been written in Hebrew, in all probability he would have been induced to enquire for it; and if his belief had been well grounded, it can hardly be doubted but he might have found it upon enquiry. Origen had an intimate friendship with the chief bishops of Palestine; he could not but be well known to all the Christians in general in that country, none of whom would have refused to lend him their copies of any book of the New Testament in their possession. At one word spoken by him, Ambrose, and the notaries employed by him, and many others, would have sought for Hebrew copies of St. Matthew's gospel; and if there had been any such in that country, or near it, there would have been brought to him as many as he desired. Nevertheless Origen does not appear to have ever seen such a copy; therefore there was no such thing in being as an authentic Hebrew gospel of St. Matthew: if there had, how could it have escaped the industry and inquisitiveness of Origen?

XXXI. Origen then received as divine scripture the four gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the Acts of the Apostles, written by the evangelist Luke; thirteen epistles of the apostle Paul; and likewise the epistle to the Hebrews, which he continually quotes as Paul's, though in one place he delivers his opinion that the sentiments only of the epistle were the apostle's, the phrase and composition of some one else, whose he did not certainly know. He received likewise the first epistle of Peter, and the first of John. We learn from him also that the epistle of James, the second of Peter, the second and third of John, and the epistle of Jude, were then well known, but not universally received as genuine; nor is it evident that Origen himself received them as sacred scripture. He owns the book of the Revelation for the writing of John the apostle and evangelist; he quotes it as his without hesitation; nor does it appear that he had any doubt about its genuineness or authority. Origen does mightily recommend the reading of the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, received in the churches as sacred and divine. From the large collection here made of his quotations of ecclesiastical and apocryphal writings, and from the observations that have been made upon them, I presume it appears that none of these were esteemed by him as books of authority, from whence doctrines might be proved; or scripture, in the highest sense of that word. Indeed it is not evident that Origen received, as sacred books of the New Testament, all that we now receive; but that he admitted no other beside those in our present canon, may be reckoned certain, or however in the highest degree probable. If this has been made out to satisfaction,

[a] Ὁ τοινυν Ιωαννης φησι παρα μεν τοις τρισιν, ουκ ειναι ικανος, παρα δε τω Ιωαννη, ουκ ειναι αξιος. Comm. in Joh. p. 127. A. Huet. [b] See Matth. iii. 11; Mark i. 7; Luke iii. 16; and John i. 27. [c] See Numb. xxiv. 2. p. 553, 554.

[d] Την μεν ουν εν τοις ανιγραφοις της παλαιας διαθηκης διαφωνιαν, Θεου διδοντος, ευρομεν ιασασθαι, κριτηριω χρησαμενοι ταις λοιπαις εκδοσεσιν. κ. λ. Comm. in Matth. p 382. A. Tom. i. Huet. [e] Ὡς και παραδεδοται πρωτος λοιπων τοις Ἑβραιοις εκδεδωκεναι το ευαγγελιον, τοις εκ περιτομης πιστευουσιν. In Joh. p. 123. C. See above, p. 534.

it is a material point, and worth all the labour of this long chapter; though I hope it may likewise answer some other good purposes. Particularly, we may perceive hence, as well as from other parts of this work, that this was not with Christians an age of gross darkness; at least the ministers of Christ did not encourage sloth and ignorance in the people, but earnestly excited all men to a diligent pursuit of religious knowledge, according to their several abilities and opportunities, especially by studying the holy scriptures. The various readings, explications of texts, and other matters, are left with the reader, who is able to make a proper use of them.

CHAP. XXXIX.

ST. FIRMILIAN.

FIRMILIAN, as we are assured by Eusebius [a] in his Ecclesiastical History, and by others, was bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia. If we may rely upon [b] Gregory of Nyssa, he was descended from an honourable family in that country; but that account [c] has been disputed. Cave [d] supposes that Firmilian was ordained bishop of the forementioned city in the year 233; Basnage [e] and Tillemont [f] think he obtained that honour sooner. They argue this from some words of [g] Eusebius, where he speaks of Firmilian's flourishing at the tenth year of the Emperor Alexander, when Origen left Alexandria, in the year 231.

Firmilian was present at a council [h] in Iconium, which Tillemont thinks [i] could not be held later than 231, though Valesius [k] and Cave [l] place it in 235. There seems to have been a council at [m] Antioch in the year 252, on account of Novatus, at which Firmilian was present. He was likewise [n] at the council of Antioch, in the cause of Paul of Samosata, in the year 264 or 265. He is said to have been [o] twice at Antioch upon that account; but when the council was met at Antioch, in which Paul was condemned and deposed, as he was coming thither, he died at Tarsus,[p] in the latter part of the [q] year 269, of a great age, as may be well concluded from the commencement of his episcopate.

Firmilian sided with St. Cyprian in the dispute about baptizing heretics that returned to the catholic church, and upon that subject wrote a long letter to St. Cyprian, which is still [r] extant; but whereas undoubtedly it was written in Greek, we have now only a Latin translation: however it may be reckoned a good one, since learned men [s] are generally agreed in allowing it to have been made by St. Cyprian himself, whose style it resembles. This letter was written [t] in the year 256, and near the end of it.

St. Basil [u] makes a general mention of writings which Firmilian had left behind him, without saying expressly what they were. It may be argued that they were not very numerous, or not much known, since Jerom had not allotted any distinct article in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers for this eminent bishop.

As the letter to St. Cyprian, the only remaining piece of our author, was not written before the year 256, perhaps I should have chosen to place him about that time: but since Cave, and other learned moderns, speak of Firmilian as flourishing about the year 233 (and according to Eusebius himself he was a person of note at that time, or sooner,) and the matter is of no great importance, I have determined not to innovate.

[a] Διεπρεπε δε εν τοτε Φιρμιλιανος Καισαρειας της Καππαδοκων επισκοπος. Eus. H. E. l. vi. cap. 26. Vid. et lib. vii. cap. 28. init. [b] Φιρμιλιανῳ των ευπαλριδων Καππαδοκη. Greg. Nyss T. iii. p. 542. C. Vit. Thaumat.

[c] Vid. Basn. Ann. 269. viii. [d] Hist. Lit. P. i. p. 86.

[e] Ut supra. [f] Tillem. T. iv. P. ii. p. 646. St. Firmilien. [g] I have cited Eusebius's words, note [a].

[h] Quod totum nos jampridem in Iconio, qui Phrygiæ locus est, collecti in unum, convenientibus ex Galatiâ, et Ciliciâ, et cæteris proximis regionibus, confirmavimus, &c. Firmilian. ap. Cyprian. p. 221. [i] Tillem. ibid.

[k] Val. Not. ad Eus. p. 143. [l] Cav. H. L. P. ii. p. 62.

[m] Vid. Euseb. l. vi. cap. 46. p. 247. D. [n] Eus. l. vii. cap. 28. [o] Euseb. ib. cap. 30. p. 279. D.

[p] Ib. 280. A. B. [q] Tillem. as before, p. 654; and Basnage, as before. [r] Inter Epistolas Cyprianicas. Ep. 75. p. 217, &c. Oxon. 1682. [s] Cav. H. Lit. P. i. Rigalt. notis. Tillemont, p. 652. [t] Vid. Basnag. A. 269. viii. Tillem. p. 651. [u] Ταυτην και Φιρμιλιανῳ τῳ ημετερῳ μαρτυρησι την πιστιν οι λογοι οὓς καταλιπε. Basil. de S. Sp. cap. 29. T. ii. p. 360. E.

Firmilian had an earnest zeal for what he thought to be the truth, as his letter to St. Cyprian shews; which is also confirmed by what the council at Antioch, in 269 or 270, say [a] of his condemning the opinions of Paul of Samosata, bishop of that city. He was, besides, a man of prudence and moderation; for to him it is ascribed [b] by the said council, that Paul was not deposed in a former council met at the same place. And who knows whether Firmilian, if he had lived to be present at this last assembly, might not have prevented the deposition of Paul, or at least once more deferred the sentence then pronounced?

Though Firmilian seems not to have made any great figure as an author, he was well known in the world, and highly esteemed by his contemporaries, and by following ages. There is honourable mention made of him by [c] Dionysius of Alexandria in one of his letters, and [d] by the council of Antioch by which Paul of Samosata was deposed. Theodoret gives this Cappadocian bishop the character [e] of 'an illustrious person, equally master of divine and human 'knowledge.' It is a further argument of his great reputation, that [f] both Eusebius and Jerom have so particularly insisted upon his respect to Origen, as a considerable testimony to the extraordinary merit of that great man.

This may suffice for the history and character of Firmilian. I proceed to observe the quotations of the books of the New Testament which are to be found in his forementioned letter to St. Cyprian.

I. 'Hence [g] we may be able to understand what Christ said to Peter only: "Whatsoever 'thou shalt bind on earth, shall be also bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on 'earth, shall be also loosed in heaven."' Matth. xviii. 18.

II. 'The [h] Lord himself declaring, "Many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ, 'and shall deceive many."' See Mark xiii. 6. But it must be owned that there are exactly the same words in Matth. xxiv. 5.

III. 'For [i] union, and peace, and concord, afford the greatest joy not only to "faithful 'men, and those that know the truth," but also to the "heavenly angels," who, the divine 'word says, "rejoice over one sinner that repenteth."' Luke xv. 10. And in the preceding words is a plain reference to 1 Tim. iv. 3.

IV. 'And [k] again in the gospel, when Christ breathed on the apostles only, saying, "Re-'ceive ye the Holy Ghost."' John xx. 22. He has likewise quoted [l] John xvii. 21.

V. 'Accordingly [m] the blessed apostle Paul baptized again with a spiritual baptism those 'who had been baptized by John, before the Holy Spirit had been sent by the Lord; and then 'laid his hands upon them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost.' See Acts xix. 1.....7.

VI. 'Though [n] the Jews were in great ignorance, and guilty of much wickedness, the 'apostle owns they "had a zeal of God."' Rom. x. ii.

VII. "This [o] will be the wisdom which Paul writes to be in them that are perfect." 1 Cor. ii. 6. He likewise quotes [p] 1 Cor. xiv. 30, and [q] 1 Cor. xi. 27.

VIII. 'Nor [r] are there many spouses of Christ, since the apostle says, "I have espoused 'you unto one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin unto Christ."' 2 Cor. xi. 2. He also refers to 'ver. 13 of the same chapter.

IX. 'For [s] if the apostle does not lie when he says, "As many of you as have been bap-'tized into Christ, have put on Christ."' Gal. iii. 17.

[a] Ὁ δε Φιρμιλιανος, και δις αφικομενος, καλεγγω μεν των ὑπ' ἐκεινε καινολομεμενων, κ. λ. Ap. Eus. l. vii. c. 30. p. 279. D.

[b] Επαγγειλαμενε [Παυλε] δε μελαθησεσθαι, πισευσας και ελπισας ανευ τινος περι τον λογον λοιδοριας το πραγμα εις δεον καλαςησεσθαι, ανεβαλελο, κ. λ. Ibid. p. 280. A.

[c] Eus. H. E. l. vii. c. 5. p. 251. D. [d] Ib. cap. 30. p. 279. D. [e] Και Φιρμιλιανος ὁ Καισαρειων της Καππαδοκιας επισκοπος, περιφανης ανηρ, και γνωσιν ἐκαλεραν ἐχων, και την θυραθεν, και την θειαν. Theodoret. Hæret. Tab. l. iv. cap. 8. p. 222. D. [f] See the preceding chapter, p. 523.

[g] Hinc intelligi potest quod soli Petro Christus dixerit: 'Quæcunque ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata et in cœlis; 'et quæcunque solveris super terram, erunt soluta et in cœlis.' Inter Ep. Cyprian. 75. p. 225. Oxon. [h] ... Dominus ipse manifestat, dicens, 'Multi venient in nomine meo, di-'centes, Ego sum Christus, et multos fallent.' Ib. p. 222.

[i] Adunatio enim, et pax, et concordia, non solum hominibus fidelibus et cognoscentibus veritatem, sed et angelis ipsis cœlestibus voluptatem maximam præstat;' quibus dicit divinus sermo esse 'gaudium in uno peccatore pœnitentiam agente.' p. 217. [k] Et iterum in evangelio, quando in solos apostolos insufflavit Christus, dicens, 'Accipite Spiritum Sanctum.' P. 225. [l] P. 219. [m] Secundum quod et beatus Paulus apostolus eos qui ab Joanne baptizati fuerant, priusquam missus esset a Domino Spiritus Sanctus, baptizavit denuo spiritali baptismo, et sic manum imposuit, ut acciperent Spiritum Sanctum, &c. p. 221.

[n] Judæos tamen, quamvis ignorantiâ cæcos et gravissimo facinore constrictos, 'zelum Dei' apostolus habere profitetur. p. 225. [o] Deinde, hæc erit sapientia, quam scribit Paulus esse in his qui perfecti sunt. P. 221. [p] P. 219. [q] P. 227. [r] Neque enim multæ sponsæ Christi, cum dicat apostolus, 'Despondi vos uni viro, virginem castam 'assignare Christo.' P. 224. [s] P. 229.

[t] Nam si non mentitur apostolus, dicens, 'Quotquot in 'Christo tincti estis, Christum induistis:'... p. 223.

X. 'But [a] what says the apostle Paul? "One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God."' Eph. iv. 5, 6. A little before [b] he quoted the first four verses of this same chapter.

XI. 'But [c] as to what they pretend in favour of heretics, that the apostle has said, "Whether in pretence, or in truth, Christ is preached;" we must answer, that it is impertinently alleged.' Which, he says, will appear to any one who reads the epistle of the [d] apostle whence those words are taken.

XII. 'He says of all heretics in general, [e] "It is manifest they are condemned of themselves, and before the day of judgment they have passed an incontestable sentence against themselves." It is very probable he refers to Tit. iii. 10, 11: and we before [f] saw a plain reference to St. Paul's first epistle to Timothy.

XIII. This writer says, that Noah's ark was a figure of the church of Christ. He adds, 'As [g] also the apostle Peter teaches, saying, "In like manner also will baptism save you:" or 'us,' as in some copies. 1 Pet. iii. 21.

XIV. 'And [h] moreover abusing the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, as if they also had 'delivered this doctrine; though they in their epistles have cursed heretics, and admonished 'us to avoid them.' This passage may be thought to shew that Firmilian owned two epistles of Peter, because he speaks of epistles in the plural number: and, besides, what is here said does well enough suit the second epistle ascribed to that apostle. Here one cannot help wishing that we had this letter in its original language. It would be a particular satisfaction to know, that Firmilian received two epistles of St. Peter.

XV. He seems to refer to the first epistle of St. John, when he says of heretics in general, 'That [i] since they have not the true Lord the Father, they cannot have the true Son, nor the 'true Spirit:' and of the Cataphrygians or Montanists, in particular. That [k] they have not the Father, nor the Son, nor the Holy Spirit; and that they [l] have not in them the "spirit of truth, but the spirit of error." See 1 John ii. 22, 23; and iv. 6.

XVI. I forbear transcribing any more, though I might insist on some other allusive expressions. Here are sufficiently clear references to the gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John; to the Acts of the Apostles; to the epistle to the Romans; the first and second to the Corinthians; the epistles to the Galatians, the Ephesians, the Philippians; the first to Timothy, and to Titus; the first, if not also the second, of St. Peter; and the first epistle of St. John: and sometimes the names of the apostles Peter and Paul are expressly mentioned when their words are quoted. And there appear marks of a peculiar respect for these books, since they are quoted as writings of authority. It cannot be well questioned but Firmilian's canon of the New Testament was much the same as ours. It is plain that our scriptures were well known at that time in Cappadocia: and in particular it may be observed, that the epistle of St. Paul to the churches of Galatia, and the first epistle of St. Peter, both addressed to Christians in that country, or near it, were received as genuine and divine scriptures by this learned and discreet bishop, who had his residence in those parts.

[a] Sed quid ait apostolus Paulus? 'Unus Dominus, una 'fides, unum baptisma, unus Deus.' P. 229. [b] P. 228.

[c] Ad illud autem quod pro hæreticis ponunt, et aiunt apostolum dixisse, 'Sive per occasionem, sive per veritatem, 'Christus annuntietur,' ut respondeamus, ineptum est. p. 226.

[d] Quando manifestum sit apostolum, in epistolâ suâ, quâ hoc dicit, neque hæreticorum, neque baptismi eorum, mentionem fecisse, sed locutum esse de fratribus tantum.... Nec oporteat hoc longo tractatu excutere, sed ipsam satis sit epistolam legere, &c. Ibid. [e] Quos omnes manifestum est a semetipsis damnatos esse, et ante diem judicii inexcusabilem sententiam adversus semetipsos dixisse. p. 220.

[f] At Numb. iii. p. 576. [g] Quemadmodum et apostolus Petrus posuit, dicens, 'Sic et vos similiter salvos 'faciet baptisma.' p. 224. [h] Adhuc etiam infamans Petrum et Paulum beatos apostolos, quasi hoc ipsi tradiderint; qui in epistolis suis hæreticos execrati sunt, et, ut eos evitemus, monuerunt. p. 220. Satis est illud in compendio dicere, eos, qui non teneant verum Dominum Patrem, tenere non posse nec Filii nec Spiritûs Sancti veritatem. p. 220. fin.

[k] Nec Patrem possunt habere, nec Filium, nec Spiritum Sanctum. p. 221. init. [l] In quibus cum animadvertamus non veritatis spiritum, sed erroris fuisse. Ibid.

CHAP. XL.

DIVERS WRITERS IN THE FORMER PART OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

I. *Judas.* II. *Anonymous Author of the Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas.* III. *Proculus.* IV. *Geminianus.* V. *Tryphon.*

I. 'At that time,' says [a] Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, 'lived also Judas, another 'writer, who published a Commentary upon Daniel's Seventy Weeks, concluding his compu-'tation of the times at the tenth year of Severus; who likewise thought, that the so much 'talked of coming of Antichrist was then at hand. So strangely did the raising of that perse-'cution disturb the minds of many.'

St. Jerom, likewise, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, has a chapter for this person. But he mentions no other work of his beside this. He says, that [b] Judas commented largely upon Daniel's Seventy Weeks, and brought down his Chronology of former times to the tenth year of Severus. This writer is placed by Cave at the year of Christ 202, where his Chronology ended. It is probable, this Commentary would afford many testimonies to the New Testament, if it were still extant. It might be useful also on other accounts.

II. In that persecution suffered in Africa, at Tuburbium, as [c] some have thought, or, as [d] others more probably, at Carthage, Perpetua, Felicitas, Revocatus, Saturninus, Saturus, and Secundulus. The year is not certain. Ruinart [e] thinks their martyrdom happened in 202 or 203; Basnage, [f] in 203; Tillemont, [g] in 203 or 205.

Perpetua is celebrated [h] by Tertullian as a martyr who suffered with great firmness. St. Augustine published [i] three discourses pronounced by him on the anniversary of those martyrs, which are still extant [k] among his sermons. The day was called by the names of Perpetua and Felicitas, such fortitude being esteemed, as [l] he says, more admirable in the weaker sex than the other.

St. Augustine [m] has also in other places made mention of Perpetua and her passion. We still have such a piece, entitled [n] The Passion of the Saints Perpetua and Felicitas, with their Companions. Basnage [o] allows it to be ancient; and [p] Tillemont says it is one of the finest monuments of antiquity. Indeed, the story is affecting, and the piece is curious in divers respects: but I must not stay to transcribe particulars; it may suffice to say, that Secundulus [q] died in prison; Saturninus, Revocatus, Saturus, and the two women, according to [r] the sentence pronounced by the judge, [s] were exposed to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre, on [t] the birth-day of Antoninus Geta, Cæsar, and son of the emperor Severus, supposed to be the seventh day of March. Vivia Perpetua [u] was about two and twenty years of age, of a good family, well educated, honourably married, had a father and mother and two brothers then living, and a young child not yet weaned from her breasts, at the time of her imprisonment: and, as

[a] Euseb. L. vi. cap. 7. [b] Judas de septuaginta apud Danielem hebdomadibus plenissime disputavit, et chronographiam superiorum temporum usque ad decimum Severi produxit annum. De Vir. Ill. cap. 52. [c] Vid. Ruinart. Act. Mart. Admonit. in Passionem S. S. Perpetuæ, &c. sect. 2. p. 90. [d] Ruinart. ib. et sect. 3. Basnag. Ann. 203. n iv. Tillemont Mem. Ecc. tom. 3. part. i. p. 233. Sainte Perpetue, &c. Art. i. et Note iv. p. 503. Pagi 198. n. v. et 208. n. v. [e] Ib. n. 4. p. 91.

[f] Basn. ibid. [g] Tillem. ib. et Note iii.

[h] Quomodo Perpetua, fortissima martyr, sub die passionis in revelatione paradisi solos illic commartyres suos vidit. Tertull. de Anima, cap. 55. p. 353. D. [i] De natali Perpetuæ et Felicitatis, tractatus tres. Possid. Ind. Opusc. S. Aug. [k] Serm. 280, 281, 282.

[l] Refulget et præeminet inter comites martyres et meritum et nomen Perpetuæ et Felicitatis, sanctarum Dei famularum. Nam ibi est corona gloriosior, ubi sexus infirmior. Aug. Serm. 281. in. [m] Quam multos parentes filii prohibebant mori, sicut novimus et legimus in passione beatæ Perpetuæ, August. in Ps. 47. p. 423. B. T. iv. Bened. Vid. eund. de Anima. l. i. cap. 10. l. 3, cap. 9. l. iv. cap. 18. tom. x. Bened. [n] Ap. Act. Mart. p. 92, &c.

[o] Basn. ib. n. viii. [p] As before, Art. i. p. 232.

[q] Pass. Perpet. &c. num. xiv. p. 99, Act. Mart. Ruinart. [r] Ibid. n. vi. p. 95. [s] N. xix. et seqq. p. 100, 101.

[t] Munere enim castrensi eramus pugnaturi. Natale tunc Getæ Cæsaris, ibid. n. vii. p. 96. [u] N. ii. p. 93.

it seems, the [a] whole family was Christian, except her father, who did his utmost to persuade his daughter to save her life by renouncing her religion.

The author of this history is called Anonymous by [b] Cave. Some have [c] guessed that Tertullian might be the writer of it. But though that opinion be for the present given up, there is a dispute subsisting among learned men about the character of the writer, whether he was a Montanist or a Catholic. Indeed, the composer of this piece is now generally called not an author, but [d] a collector; for [e] Perpetua here relates her own history herself, with the visions she had in prison, till [f] the very day before her passion. Here is besides a [g] vision of Saturus, said likewise to be written by himself. Tillemont therefore says, 'That [h] the principal and 'best part of this piece was written by Perpetua herself on the eve of her martyrdom. There is 'also a vision written by Saturus himself. The rest is the work of a contemporary author, as 'appears from the preface; where he professes to write what he knew, appealing to those who 'were present at the martyrdom.' So Tillemont, and to the like purpose others. Nevertheless, I do not perceive Augustine to [i] allow that Perpetua wrote any part of her passion. However, whether author or collector of these Acts, [k] Basnage, after [l] Henry Valesius, contends stiffly that he was a Montanist. And from the character of the writer of the Acts he farther argues, that [m] Perpetua, and the rest who suffered martyrdom with her, were all of the same sect. On the contrary, Ruinart [n] is persuaded the writer was a catholic. And [o] Dodwell has argued strongly on the same side of the question.

In this piece there are not many texts of scripture. However, we shall observe a few particulars.

1. Here are words of [p] John xvi. 24.

2. The passage of Joel ii. 28, is [q] here at length, the same that is cited by St. Peter, Acts ii. 17. But I do not observe any proof of its being taken out of the book of the Acts.

3. If I mistake not, there is an allusion, [r] or reference to 1 Cor. xiv. 22.

4. The writer in the preface alludes to [s] the beginning of St. John's first epistle, and adopts some of the words of it; see 1 John i. 1, 2, 3.

III. Proculus has been already [t] taken notice of, as mentioned by Tertullian, together with divers other ecclesiastical writers; and on account [u] of the dialogue or conference of Caius upon the point of Montanism, I think it proper to take some farther notice of him in this place.

It is undoubted, that the person with whom Caius disputed was then a Montanist. He is expressly called by Eusebius [x] a leader or patron of the Cataphrygian sect, and a follower of Montanus by [y] Jerom and [z] Photius. According to the author of the Catalogue of Heretics at the end of Tertullian's book of Prescription against Heretics, who is supposed by Dodwell [aa] and [bb] Pagi to have been contemporary with Tertullian, and by [cc] Tillemont, to have written about the year 200, there were [dd] two parties of the Montanists; the one called after Proclus or Proculus, the other after Æschines: and the former are reckoned to [ee] have been more orthodox than the latter in the doctrine of the trinity.

[a] Et ego dolebam canos patris mei, quod solus de passione meâ gavisurus non esset de toto genere meo. Ib. n. v. p. 95.

[b] Hist. Lit. P. i. p. 64. [c] Vid. Ruinart, ib. p. 91. n. 5. [d] Inquirendum tandem, quisnam fuerit horum actorum auctor, seu potius collector, cum eorum maximam partem a Perpetuâ et Saturo scriptam fuisse nemo inficiari possit. Ruinart, ib. Conf. Basnag. 203. n. vi.

[e] Hæc ordinem totum martyrii sui jam hinc ipsa narrabit, sicut conscriptum manu suâ, et suo sensu reliquit. Ap. Ruinart. ib. p. 93. n. ii. [f] Hoc usque in pridie muneris egi: ipsius autem muneris actum, si quis voluerit, scribat. Ib. p. 98. n. x. [g] Sed et Saturus benedictus hanc visionem suam edidit, quam ipse conscripsit. Ib. p. 98. n. xi. [h] Tillem. as before, p. 232.

[i] De fratre autem Sanctæ Perpetuæ Dinocrate, nec scriptura ipsa canonica est, nec illa sic scripsit, vel quicumque illud scripsit, &c. Aug. de Anima. lib. i. cap. x.

[k] Basn. Ann. 203. n. v. [l] Vid. Ruinart. Act. M. p. 91. n. 6. [m] Basn. ib. n. vi.

[n] Ruinart. ib. [o] Diss. Cypr. iv. n. 12, 13.

[p] Sed qui dixerat, Petite et Accipite, petentibus dedit eum exitum, quem quisque desideraverat. ap. Ruin. p. 100. n. xix. [q] Ibid. p. 93. n. i. [r] Cum semper Deus operetur quæ repromisit, non credentibus in testimonium, credentibus in beneficium, ibid. [s] Et nos itaque, quod audivimus et contrectavimus, annuntiamus et vobis, fratres et filioli, ut et vos, qui interfuistis, rememoremini gloriæ Domini: et qui nunc cognoscitis per auditum, communionem habeatis cum sanctis martyribus, et per illos cum Domino Jesu Christo, ibid. [t] See Ch. xxvii. numb. 1.

[u] See Ch. xxxii. numb. 1. [x] Προκλω της κατα Φρυγας αιρεσεως προϊσαμενω γνωμης. H. E. l. 2. c. 25, p. 67. D. προς Προκλον της κατα Φρυγας αιρεσεως υπερμαχεντα, id. l. 6. cap. 20. [y] Adversum Proculum, Montani sectatorem. De V. I. cap. 59. [z] Κατα Προκλε δε σωσδαςυ Μοντανε. Cod. 48. p. 37. in. [aa] Diss. Sing. p. 216. ap. Pearson. Op. Post. [bb] Crit. 171, numb. iv. [cc] Tertull. Art. iv. p. 344, et note vii.

[dd] Accesserunt alii hæretici, qui dicuntur secundam Phrygas. Sed horum non una doctrina est. Sunt enim qui Kata Proclum dicuntur, sunt qui secundum Æschinem pronuntiantur. ap. Tertull. de Præscr. Hær. cap. 52, p. 254. c.

[ee] See Caius in Tillem. Mem. T. 3, P. i. p. 295.

It is certain therefore, that there was one Proculus, a Montanist, at the beginning of the third century, with whom Caius disputed. But whether he be the same whom Tertullian mentions and highly commends, together with several ancient ecclesiastical writers, admits a question. Valesius [a] thinks they were two different persons; the former an Asiatic, the latter an African. But, by Cave, [b] his arguments are reckoned of no great weight: and Tillemont [c] allows it to be very probable that one and the same person is intended, and thinks that he whom Tertullian speaks of may have been the means of drawing him into the Montanist scheme.

That Proculus is commended by Tertullian [d] as an excellent example of chastity and Christian eloquence. He wrote against the Valentinians; and for that reason is joined by him with Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and other the most eminent writers of the church. But the work itself is not in being; nor doth there remain any other account of it, that I remember.

I have all along supposed, that Proclus and Proculus are one name, only written differently; the former chiefly used by the Greeks, the other by the Latins; for, in speaking of the same affair, Caius's antagonist is called Proclus by Eusebius and Photius, Proculus by Jerom.

About this time there were several of this name; as Proculus Torpacion, a Christian mentioned by [e] Tertullian, as well known to the emperor Severus, of whom we may have occasion to say more at some other season.

There was likewise a proconsul of Asia, named [f] Proclus Quintilianus, who pronounced sentence against Pionius: but when that excellent martyr suffered, whether in the time of Marcus Antoninus, or of Decius, is a point much contested [g] by learned men; though Eusebius has expressly mentioned his martyrdom in his [h] Ecclesiastical History.

Beside these, there is one Proclus, a bishop, who joins with five other bishops in a letter [i] to Paul of Samosata, supposed to have been written some time between 264 and 270. But the genuineness [k] of that letter has been called in question.

I need not here take notice of any more of this name, who lived a good while before, or after this time; and therefore are in little danger of being confounded with our Proculus, or any of the others just mentioned.

IV. 'Geminus,' says [l] Jerom, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, 'presbyter of the 'church of Antioch, composed a few monuments of his wit, flourishing under the emperor 'Alexander, and Zebennus, bishop of his city, chiefly about the time that Heraclas was 'ordained bishop of the church of Alexandria.'

In his Chronicle, Eusebius, or rather Jerom, at the sixth of the emperor Alexander, of Christ, 227, writes—'Geminianus, [m] presbyter of Antioch; and Hippolytus, and Beryllus, 'bishop of Bostra in Arabia, are esteemed famous writers.'

Here is a small difference; for in the Catalogue Jerom says, Geminus or Geminianus flourished in the time of Zebennus; whereas in the Chronicle he puts him a year before. Zebennus was bishop of Antioch, whose ordination is there placed at the seventh year of Alexander. Tillemont [n] reconciles this difference thus: that Geminianus appeared in the world at the year 227, but was more especially famous about the year 231 or 232, when Heraclas was bishop of Alexandria. I think, that in the Chronicle, where Jerom was pleased to name several persons together, and put them at one and the same year, it is not to be expected that the time should suit them all alike; and he was at liberty to mention their time

[a] Ann. in Eus. l. iv. cap. 20, p. 123. [b] Hist. Lit. p. 65. [c] Tillem. as before. See him likewise in Tertullien Art. viii. p. 363, 364, et note xv. p. 552.

[d] ..... quas tot jam viri sanctitate et præstantiâ insignes, nec solum nostri antecessores, sed ipsorum hæresiarcharum contemporales, instructissimis voluminibus et prodiderunt et retuderunt; ut Justinus philosophus et Martyr, ut Miltiades .... ut Irenæus ... ut Proculus noster, virginis senectæ, et Christianæ eloquentiæ dignitas; quos in omni opere fidei, quemadmodum in isto, optaverim assequi. Test. adv. Valent.

[e] Ipse etiam Severus, pater Antonini, Christianorum memor fuit. Nam et Proculum Christianum, qui Torpacion cognominabatur, Euhodiæ procuratorem, qui eum per oleum aliquando curaverat, requisivit, et in palatio suo habuit usque ad mortem.

[f] Επι Προκλε Κυιντιλιανε ανθυπατευοντος της Ασιας. Chr. Pasch. p. 270. D. Conf. Act. Mart. Ruinart. p. 138, 149, 151, et Tillemont note v. Sur S. Pione, p. 450.

[g] Vid. Ruinart. ib. p. 137, et seqq. Basnag. Ann. 269, n. 21, et seq. 250, n. 7, 8, et Saint Pione, p. 230, et note ii. p. 445, dans Tillemont Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. ii.

[h] Lib. 4. cap. 15, p. 135. C. D.

[i] Ap. Labb. Concil. T. i. p. 844, &c.

[k] Vid. Basnag. Ann. 264, n. vi. vii.

[l] Geminus, Antiochenæ ecclesiæ presbyter, pauca ingenii sui monumenta composuit, florens sub Alexandro principe, et episcopo urbis suæ Zebenno, eo vel maxime tempore, quo Heraclas Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ pontifex ordinatus est. De Vir. Ill. cap. 64.

[m] Geminianus presbyter Antiochenus, et Hippolytus, et Beryllus, episcopus Arabiæ Bostrenus, clari scriptores habentur. Chron. p. 173.

[n] See Saint Urbain. Tillem. Mem. Ecl. t. 3, P. ii. p. 46.

more exactly in his Catalogue, if he thought fit, and had room. This writer is placed by Cave at the year 232.

I have formerly mentioned[a] the succession of the bishops in the church of Antioch from the time of the apostles to Serapion, the eighth bishop of that church. Asclepiades the ninth succeeded him in 211. The tenth was[b] Philetus, ordained about 220. The eleventh[c] Zebennus, or Zebinus, in 238. The twelfth[d] Babylas, who had the honour to die a martyr for Christ in the Decian persecution, in the year[e] 249 or[f] 250: the year of his ordination is not certain; it is supposed by some[g] to have been 237 or 238. He was succeeded[h] by Fabius, who died[i] in the beginning of the year 252. His successor was[k] Demetrian; whom Paul of Samosata succeeded in[l] 260.

V. 'Tryphon,' says[m] Jerom in his Catalogue, 'a disciple of Origen, to whom several of his 'letters, still extant, were written, was very skilful in the scriptures; as his many pieces 'every where shew, but especially that book which he published about the red heifer in 'Deuteronomy, [It should be Numbers; see Chap. xix.] and the half pieces of the living 'creatures laid by Abraham's pigeon and turtle-dove in Genesis.' See Gen. xv. 9, 10, 11. This learned man is placed by Cave at the year 233. His works are not extant.

CHAP. XLI.

NOETUS, AND OTHERS, CALLED HERETICS, IN THE FORMER PART OF THE THIRD CENTURY, OR SOON AFTER.

I. *Noetus.* II. *Valesians.* III. *Angelics.* IV. *Apostolics.* V. *Origenists.*

I. Basnage[n] supposeth that Noetus arose about the year 240. Fabricius[o] about 245. And, indeed, as Epiphanius composed his work against heresies in 375 or 376, and he there says that[p] Noetus lived about 130 years before that time, we are carried up to the year 245: but Epiphanius does not pretend to be exact; and since we have supposed Hippolytus, who wrote against the Noetians, to have flourished about the year 220, we cannot place Noetus much later. Beausobre[q] has argued after a like manner. He says, that Noetus must have published his notion sooner than is intimated by Epiphanius; because Hippolytus, who flourished about the year 222, speaks of Noetus as dead some time before he wrote against him. However, this argument of that learned man depends in part upon the supposition that the work ascribed to Hippolytus is genuine. Huet[r] observes, that Noetus was contemporary with Origen, which I presume will not be denied by any.

The piece referred to by Beausobre, sometimes called a homily against Noetus, by others supposed to be the concluding article of Hippolytus's work against heresies, begins in this manner: 'Others' there are who advance another opinion, being disciples of one Noetus, of Smyrna, who 'lived not long ago. He, elated with pride, said that Christ was the Father himself, and that the 'Father was begotten, and suffered and died. He likewise said, that he himself was Moses, and

[a] See Ch. 20. and Ch. 26. [b] Eus. H. E. l. vi. c. 21, p. 223. C. [c] Id. ibid. cap. 23, p. 224. C. Conf. Euseb. Chr. p. 172, 173. [d] Ib. cap. 29. [e] Vid. Basnag. Ann. 239, numb. iii. [f] See Saint Babylas in Tillem. tom. 3, P. ii. p. 192. [g] Vid. Basn. ib. n. i. et Tillem. ib. p. 288, et note i. et ii. sur Saint Babylas. [h] Παρακλησιως εν Αντιοχειᾳ τῳ Βαβυλα μετα την ὁμολογιαν εν δεσμωτηριῳ μεταλλαξαντος, Φαβιος της αυτοθι προϊσταται εκκλησιας. Eus. l. vi. cap. 39. [i] Vid. Pagi 252, num. vi. Tillemont St. Denys d'Alex. Sect. vii. Mem. t. iv. P. ii. p. 563, 564. [k] Vid. Euseb. l. vi. cap. 46, p. 248, A. et. lib. vii. cap. 14. [l] Vid. Pagi. 261, n. vi. [m] Tryphon Origenis auditor, ad quem nonnullæ ejus extant epistolæ, in scripturis eruditissimus fuit. Quod quidem et multa ejus sparsim ostendunt opuscula, sed præcipue liber, quem composuit de vaccâ rufâ, in Deuteronomio, et de dichomematibus, quæ cum columbâ et turture Abraham ponuntur in Genesi. De V. I cap. 57. [n] Vid. Basnag. Ann. 256. n. 14. [o] Vid. Philastr. de Hær. 53, not. p. 105, Ed. Fabr. [p] Αλλ' ὡς προ χρονε των τετων ἑκατον τριακοντα, πλειω η ελασσω. Epiph. H. 57, p. 479. C. [q] Vid. Hist. de Manich. P. ii. l. 3, ch. vi. p. 583. not. (7) T. i. [r] Vid. Huet. Origenian. l. 2, c. ii. qu. 2, n. xi. p. 37. c. [s] Ἑτεροι τινες.... γενομενοι τινος Νοητε μαθηται, ὁς το μεν γενος ην Σμυρναιος, ε προ πολλε χρονε γενομενος.... Εφη τον Χριστον αυτον ειναι τον πατερα, και αυτον τον πατερα γεγεννησθαι και πεπονθεναι και αποτεθνηκεναι. Hippol. contr. Hær. Noet. n. i. p. 5. C. T. ii. Ed. Fabric.

'his brother Aaron. When the blessed presbyters had heard of these things, they called him 'before the church, and examined him. At first he denied that he held such doctrine; but 'at length, after having concealed himself for a while, when he had got some few to be of 'the same erroneous opinion with him, he became more ready to defend it publicly. The 'blessed presbyters then called him before them again; when he said, 'What[a] harm do I 'do in honouring Christ?' To whom the presbyters answered, 'We also know there is 'one God, we own Christ, and know that the Son suffered, died, and rose again the third day, 'and is at the right-hand of the Father, and will come to judge the quick and the dead.' 'Thus, having convicted him, they cast him out of the church.' This writer adds soon after, that[b] Noetus argued in this manner: 'The scriptures declare one God, even the Father. This 'being manifest, and it being acknowledged that there is but one God, it follows of necessity 'that he suffered; for[c] Christ was God, and he suffered for us, being the Father, that he might 'be able to save us.'

This is in short the history of Noetus, which is contained in that Homily, or else a fragment of some larger work. But here ought to be remembered the account formerly given[d] of the works ascribed to Hippolytus, and that few or none of them can be relied upon as genuine and uncorrupted. If this piece be his, yet it is to be feared that there are in it some interpolations. Tillemont's observation upon this piece was, that[e] the sentiments concerning the trinity are agreeable to those of the third century. And undoubtedly many things are here expressed after the manner of the ancients. But there are also some expressions which seem to have prevailed chiefly after the Nicene council. Another thing may be fit to be observed. It is allowed that Hippolytus did not receive the epistle to the Hebrews as the apostle Paul's. But here is an expression, which some may think to be taken from thence, where the writer speaks of Christ being[f] "without sin;" see Heb. iv. 15. However this piece, for the main part, must be reckoned ancient, for the sake of several internal characters of antiquity; and because much the same account is given of Noetus by Epiphanius, though he does not say that he borrows from any other writer.

He is to be produced in the next place. In his work against heresies, he says, that[g] Noetus was of Ephesus in Asia. In his Summary, or Recapitulation, he says, he[h] was of Smyrna, as the above quoted fragment of Hippolytus does. In the large work against heresies, Epiphanius says, 'that[i] Noetus taught a doctrine not held by the prophets, or apostles, or the church 'after them: For such was his pride, that he dared to say, that the Father suffered. And 'with a like arrogance he said, that he himself was Moses, and his brother Aaron. In the 'mean time the blessed presbyters of the church called him before them, and examined him 'about these things, and whether he had uttered such a blasphemy against the Father. At[k] 'first he denied it, being ashamed to own a horrible and pernicious doctrine, never taught by 'any before him. Afterwards, having propagated his mad opinion, and gained himself a few 'followers, about ten in number, he became more bold and open. Whereupon the presbyters call 'him and his adherents before them, and examine him again, as formerly: then he said, "What 'harm have I done? I worship one God, I acknowledge one God, and no other beside him: 'who was born, suffered, died." As he persisted in that doctrine, they expelled him out of 'the church, together with those who were of the same opinion with him. Soon after which 'he and his brother died; and[l] they were left as apostates and outcasts, for none of the pious 'would bury them. After this his followers endeavoured to uphold the same doctrine, induced 'thereto by the like considerations with their master; for when, being examined by the pres-'bytery, he answered, I worship one God, they replied, "Truly, that is well said, for we also 'worship one God, but as he ought to be worshipped. And we have also one Christ, as we 'know him to be, the Son of God, who suffered, died, rose again, ascended to heaven, and is 'at the right hand of the Father, and will come to judge the quick and the dead. This we say, 'according as we have been taught by the divine scriptures."

[a] Τι αν κακον ποιω δοξαζων τον Χριστον; ib. p. 6.
[b] Ib. n. ii. p. 7. [c] Χριστος γαρ ην θεος, και επασχεν δι ημας, αυτος ων πατηρ, ινα και σωσαι ημας δυνασθη. ibid.
[d] See ch. xxxv. p. 95, &c. And be pleased likewise to consult Beausobre, as above, p. 553, not. (7) and p. 534.
[e] See ch. xxxv. p. 97. [f] Γεγονως παντα οσα εστιν ανθρωπος, χωρις αμαρτιας. Hippol. contr. Noet. n. xvii. p. 18. Conf. Heb. iv. 15. χωρις αμαρτιας. [g] Epiph. H. v. 57. n. i. p. 479. c.
[h] Anaceph. n. xi. p. 145. T. 2. [i] Adr. Hær. 57, num. 1.
[k] . . και εις ταυτην βλασφημιαν περι πατρος προηγαγετο. ὁ δε τα πρωτα μεν ηρνειτο, επι τε πρεσβυτεριε αγομενος, δια το μηδενα προ αυτε εξεμεσαι ταυτην την δεινην και ολεθριον επιφοραν. Ib. p. 480. A. [l] ερριφησαν γαρ, ως παραβαται, και εδεις αυτες των θεοσεβων περιεστειλε. ib. C.

In his Summary, Epiphanius says, 'that Noetus, with a few that followed him, taught 'Christ to[a] be Father and Son; that the same was Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. [Or, that 'Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are the same.]' He said, likewise, 'that he himself was Moses, 'and his brother Aaron.' Afterwards, in the same work, in[b] the article of the Sabellians, Epiphanius says, they held the same doctrine with the Noetians, except that they denied the Father to have suffered.

Philaster writes, that[c] Noetus said, 'the Almighty Father himself was Christ, and that he 'was born, and suffered, and died. This person likewise said, that he was Moses, and his 'brother Elias the prophet.'

St. Augustine, who had read Philaster, and Epiphanius's Recapitulation or summary, but not his Panarium, or large work against heresies, writes in his book of Heresies, 'that[d] the 'Noetians were so called from one Noetus, who said that Christ was also the Father himself 'and the Holy Ghost.' This is Augustine's whole article of the Noetians. But afterwards he enlarges in the article of the Sabellians; 'Who,' he[e] says, 'are reckoned to have borrowed 'their opinion from Noetus. Nor does he know any good reason why Epiphanius should 'make two heresies of them, for their opinions seem to be the same; only Sabellius was better 'known than Noetus: for very few, at that time, knew any thing of the Noetians; but Sabel-'lians were often mentioned. He adds, that some call them Praxeans, from Praxeas: and they 'might also be called Hermogenians, from Hermogenes, for they were both of the same opinion. 'Augustine farther [f]blames Epiphanius for making any difference in opinion between the 'Noetians and Sabellians. For instance, where he says, that the Sabellians agreed with the 'Noetians, except that they denied the Father to have suffered; Augustine thinks that not 'rightly said; and affirms, it was so well known that the Sabellians taught the Father to have 'suffered, that they were oftener called Patripassians than Sabellians;' so Augustine in his book of Heresies. He does also[g] elsewhere treat the Sabellians as Patripassians. Rufinus,[h] upon the Creed, likewise says, that the Sabellians were called Patripassians. Moreover,[i] Augustine blames Philaster also for making two several heresies, or sects, of the Noetians and Sabellians, though he was sensible of their great agreement together, and with the others above named by Augustine, and allows the Sabellians to be Patripassians as well as the Noetians.

And certainly it is fit to be observed by us, that Philaster, as well as Augustine, computes Praxeas, Hermogenes, Noetus, and Sabellius, to have all had the same doctrine concerning the Deity.

Theodoret writes to this purpose: 'Noetus[k] was of Smyrna. He revived the heresy which 'one Epigonus first published, and Cleomenes maintained after him. The sum of their heresy 'is this: they say, that there is one God and Father, the Creator of all things; not appearing

[a] *υἱοπατορα τον Χριστον εδιδαξε, τον αυτον ειναι πατερα, και υἱον και ἁγιον πνευμα.* Epiph. Anaceph. p. 145, n. xi.

[b] Ib. p. 146. n. xvi.

[c] Alii autem Noëtiani, insensati cujusdam nomine Noëti, qui dicebat Patrem omnipotentem ipsum esse Christum, et ipsum natum, et ipsum passum fuisse in corpore. Hic etiam dicebat se Mosen esse, et fratrem suum Heliam prophetam. Philast. H. 53, p. 107. Ed Fabric.

[d] Noëtiani a quodam Noëto, qui dicebat Christum eumdem ipsum esse Patrem et Spiritum Sanctum. Aug. de Hær. n. xxxvi.

[e] Sabelliani ab illo Noëto, quem supra memoravimus, defluxisse dicuntur. Nam et discipulum ejus quidam perhibent fuissé Sabellium. Sed quâ caussâ duas hæreses eas Epiphanius computet, nescio; cum fieri potuisse videamus, ut fuerit Sabellius iste famosior, et ideo ex illo celebrius hæc hæresis nomen acceperit. Noëtiani enim difficile ab aliquo sciuntur; Sabelliani autem sunt in ore multorum. Nam et Praxeanos eos a Praxeâ quidam vocant; et Hermogeniani ab Hermogene vocari potuerunt; qui Praxeas et Hermogenes eadem sentientes, in Africâ fuisse dicuntur. Nec tamen istæ plures sectæ sunt; sed unius sectæ plura nomina, ex his hominibus qui in eâ maxime innotuerunt. Aug. ib. c. 41.

[f] Unde ergo sit factum, ut Noëtianos et Sabellianos, non unius hæresis duo nomina, sed tanquam duas hæreses supradictus Epiphanius ponere, liquido invenire non potui... Loco quippe itso.... Sabelliani, inquit, similia Noëto dogmatizantes, præter hoc quod dicunt Patrem non essepassum. Quomodo de Sabellianis intelligi potest, cum sic innotuerint dicere Patrem passum, ut Patripassiani quam Sabelliani crebrius noncupentur? Vel quomodo possunt intelligi quilibet eorum Patrem passum fuisse non dicere, cum dicant eumdem ipsum Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum? Id. ibid.

[g] Nam Sabelliani dicti sunt quidam hæretici, qui vocantur Patripassiani, qui dicunt ipsum Patrem passum. Aug. Tr. 36, in Joh. Ev. p. 548. A. T. 3, P. 2. Benéd. Breviter ergo hesterno die insinuavimus caritati vestræ esse hæreticos qui vocantur Patripassiani, vel a suo auctore Sabelliani. In Joh. Tr. 37, p. 552, F. ib.

[h] ... hæreseos caussâ Sabellii, illius profecto quæ a nostris Patripassiani appellatur; id est, quæ Patrem ipsum vel ex virgine natum dicit, et visibilem factum, vel passum affirmat in carne. Ruffin. in Symb. ad artic. Credo in Deum Patrem.

[i] Philaster autem Brixianus episcopus... Sabellianos continuo post Noëtianos ponens, Sabellius inquit, discipulus ejus, qui similitudinem sui doctoris itidem secutus est, unde et Sabelliani postea sunt appellati, qui et Patripassiani, et Praxeani a Praxeâ, et Hermogeniani ab Hermogene, &c. Et tamen Noëtianos et Sabellianos sub duobus numeris tamquam duas hæreses posuit; qua caussâ, ipse viderit. Aug. de Hær. cap. 41.

[k] *Ὁ δε Νοητος Σμυρναιος μεν ην το γενος· ανανεωσατο δε την αἱρεσιν, ἡν Επιγονης μεν τις ουτω καλεμενος απεκηνσε πρωτος, Κλεομενης δε παραλαβων εβεβαιωσε.* κ. λ. Theodor. H. F. l. 3. c. 3, p. 227, 228.

'when he thinks fit, appearing when he pleaseth; and that the same is invisible and visible, 'begotten and unbegotten; unbegotten from the beginning, begotten when he pleased to be 'born of a virgin; impassible and immortal, and again passible and mortal. For when he was 'impassible, they say, he willingly suffered on the cross. Him they call both Son and Father, 'as occasion is. They who embraced this heresy were called Noetians. After Noetus it was 'maintained by Callistus, who made some additions to that impious doctrine.'

I need not translate the article in Prædestinatus. But there is a particular omitted by other writers; that[a] Noetus was condemned by Tranquillus, bishop of the Chalcedonians, in Syria.

These are accounts of Noetus and his opinion, which we find in ancient writers; from whence it appears probable, that he and others who agreed with him believed one divine person only, and denied a distinct and proper personality of the word and spirit: but their doctrine seems to be set in a bad light. It is affirmed, that they said, the Father was born, and suffered, and died, and was Christ. Beausobre, who shews a great deal of candour and equity in his judgment of those called heretics, declares, 'that[b] this is so absurd, and so 'manifestly contrary to many texts of the New Testament, that it appears scarce possible it 'should be maintained by any reasonable man; which makes him suspect, that this was not 'the opinion of those persons, but a consequence, which the orthodox drew from their prin-'ciples.' This appears to me not unlikely: a passage of Augustine will confirm the supposition; for he argues and affirms, 'that[c] all who are of that opinion, that the same is Father, Son, 'and Spirit, must also say, that the Father suffered.' This seems to shew, that he had no proof from their own writings, or expressions, that the Sabellians, and others, whom he charges with that opinion, were Patripassians, but he inferred it from their doctrine concerning the unity and simplicity of the Deity.

Whereas it is related, that Noetus said he was Moses, and his brother Aaron: Beausobre[d] thinks this to be 'an extravagance, that is not at all credible, and that renders the rest of the 'history more than suspected: the truth,' says he, 'is this; Noetus and his brother pretended 'to defend the doctrine of the unity of God taught by Moses and Aaron, and to be sent to 'cleanse the church from the heathen error of the plurality of Gods.' So Beausobre. It is observable that Theodoret makes no mention of this particular: and Philaster differs from Hippolytus and Epiphanius, who may be considered as one. They say, he declared his brother to be Aaron; but Philaster, that he was Elias the prophet. This story seems to me to have no other foundation but this; that some of their enemies said of Noetus and his brother, that they acted as if they had been, the one another Moses, and the other another Aaron; whilst some other people said of them, they behaved as if they were another Moses and Elias.

Another observation of Beausobre may be inserted here: 'When,' says[e] he, 'the ancients 'describe Sabellianism, they perpetually confound the Word and the Son of God. In the 'theology of the church, the Word and the Son are the same person; but in the Sabellian 'theology they are two very different things. The Word is not the Son of God; he is only 'an attribute, a faculty, a property of the divine nature. It is[f] the man Jesus Christ, who '[g] became the Son of God by the communication of the Word, as Marcellus says in Eusebius. 'Hence it came to pass, that the Noetians reproached the orthodox with[g] introducing a 'strange and new language in calling the Word the Son of God. That appellation [of Son 'of God] agrees only to the man Jesus, mere man, as to his nature, how great soever he was 'by his gifts.' So that learned writer describes the Sabellian, or the Noetian theology, which are both one.

What Epiphanius aims at, when he says the faithful or more orthodox Christians, refused to bury Noetus and his brother, I cannot tell. Noetus had friends and followers; whose business, I think, it was to bury him and his brother when they died, as I suppose they did.

Once more: Epiphanius said that Noetus was the first who advanced the opinion he

[a] Hic damnatus est a Tranquillo episcopo Chalcedoniorum Syriæ, &c. Prædestin. H. 36, ap. Bib. Patr. Max. T. 27. p. 544. F.

[b] See his Hist. de Manichée, &c. as before, p. 533.

[c] Vel quomodo possunt intelligi quilibet eorum Patrem passum fuisse non dicere, cum dicant eumdem ipsum esse et Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum? Aug. De Hær. cap. xli. Vid. etiam supra not. y. p. 446.

[d] See him, as before, T. i. p. 534, 535.

[e] See Beausobre, as before, Hist. de Manichée t. i. p. 539.

[f] διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν κοινωνίαν (τοῦ λογου) υἱὸν θεοῦ γενέσθαι. ap. Euseb. de Ecc. Th. l. 2. c. viii. p. 113.

[g] Ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ μοι τις· ξένον μοι φέρεις, λόγον λέγων υἱόν. [id est; sed dicet mihi aliquis: Novum mihi affers, cum Verbum Filium vocas.] Hipp. contr. Noet. n. xv. p. 16.

maintained; but Philaster and Augustine say, that it was the same opinion that was before taught by Praxeas and Hermogenes, and afterwards by Sabellius: and Theodoret still increases the number of those who were of this opinion about that time; for, besides those mentioned by the Latin writers, he speaks of two others, predecessors of Noetus, and another after him. And indeed learned moderns are now sensible, that what Epiphanius says is a mistake. He is [a] corrected for it by his editor and commentator Petavius. And [b] Huet says, that Noetus rather propagated an old heresy than invented a new one.

That there were such people as these among Christians about that time, we have clear evidence from Origen's writings, and Eusebius's History of him. I formerly [c] gave an account of Beryllus, once of this opinion, afterwards converted by Origen. And Origen himself refers to Beryllus, or Noetus, or some others of this sentiment, in several places of his still remaining works; particularly in his Greek Commentary upon St. Matthew, published by Huet, where [d] he speaks of 'some who confounded the notion of Father and Son, making the 'Father and Son to be one subsistence, differing only in thought and names. Which senti-'ment, he says, is false; though those persons think thereby to do honour to the Deity.' Of these [e] Origen is supposed to speak in a passage of his Commentary upon Titus, preserved in Pamphilus's Apology for him, which we have now in Latin only. An anonymous author of an Apology for Origen, in [f] Photius, speaks of Origen's having opposed, or written against the Sabellian heresy; which, as [g] Huet explains it, ought not to be understood of Sabellius himself, who did not appear till after Origen, but of Noetus, or some other persons who held the like unitarian sentiment. And [h] in his Greek Commentary upon St. John's gospel, Origen says, that many well disposed persons went into that opinion to avoid polytheism. Perhaps Origen has an eye to this same thing in his books against Celsus. That Epicurean had ridiculed the veneration which Christians had for the Son of God. Origen, in his answer, [i] says, 'Grant, 'that in a vast multitude of believers, some, differing from the rest, should rashly affirm our 'Saviour to be the great God over all: nevertheless, we do not hold any such thing, believing 'what he himself says; "The Father that sent me is greater than I."' See John iv. 28. Cyprian [k] likewise, among other heretics, mentions Patripassians.

Though the writers above transcribed may have been guilty of some mistakes in their History of Noetus, and in their representation of his sentiments; yet we are very much indebted to them, upon the whole, for the accounts they have left us, and in particular for the testimony they bear to Noetus and his followers, that they received the holy scriptures, and depended upon them; how much soever in the judgment of these writers they may have misunderstood and misinterpreted them. Of this we are now to take notice.

In the piece ascribed to Hippolytus, of which we have already made so much use, it is said, the Noetians argued for their opinion in this manner: 'It [l] is written in the law; "I am the 'God of your fathers, ye shall have no other gods beside me."' See Exod. iii. 6. xx. 3. 'And [m] again in another place: "I," saith he, "am the first, and the last, and beside me there is no 'other."' Thus [n] they say they prove there is but one God.' See Is. xli. 4. xliv. 6. xlv. 5. They insisted likewise upon Is. xlv. 14. 'You [o] see,' say they, 'how the scriptures declare one God.' They add; 'We [p] can go no farther, for the apostle acknowledgeth one God, saying, "whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all God 'blessed for ever."' The [q] like things are to be seen in Epiphanius. The author, supposed to be Hippolytus, replies to the foregoing argument: 'The [r] scriptures speak truth, but Noetus

[a] Petav. Animadv. p. 224. [b] Origen, l. 2. qu. 2, n. xi. p. 37. [c] See ch. xxxviii. p. 524.

[d] . . . , φαντασια τε δοξαζειν αυτον ὁσοι εισιν οἱ συγχεοντες πατρος και υἱε ἐννοιαν, και τῃ ὑποστασει ἑνα διδοντες ειναι τον πατερα και τον υἱον, τῃ επινοια μονῃ και τοις ονομασι διαιρεντες το ἐν ὑποκειμενον. Orig. in Matt. Huet. T. i. p. 450. D. Conf. Huet. in loc. [e] Sed et eos qui hominem dicunt Dominum Jesum præcognitum et prædestinatum, qui ante adventum carnalem substantialiter et proprie non extiterit: sed quod homo natus patris solam in se habuerit deitatem, &c. Vid. Pamph. Ap. ap. Hieron. T. v. Ed. Bened. p. 226. Conf. Origen. Huet. ubi supra p. 37. Vid. etiam Origen. in Rom. cap. x. p. 588. m. [f] Cod. 117. p. 296.

[g] Huet. Origen. p. 37. [h] Και το πολλους φιλοθεως ειναι συχομενες ταρασσον· κ. λ. Orig. Comm. in Jo. p. 46. D. T. 2. Huet. [i] Εγω δε τινας, ως εν πληθει πιστευοντων, και δεχομενων διαφωνειν, δια την προπετειαν ὑποτιθεσθαι τον σωτηρα ειναι τον μεγιστον επι πασι θεον· αλλ' επι γε ἡμεις τοιουτον, κ. λ. Or. contr. Cels. l. 8. p. 387. Cant. sect. 14, p. 752. E. Bened. [k] Vid. Cypr. ad Jub. Ep. 73, p. 200.

[l] Οἱ γαρ δειξαι βελονται συστασιν τῳ δογματι, λεγοντες, ειπεν εν νομῳ· Εγω ειμι ὁ θεος των πατερων ὑμων, κ. λ. Hippol. contr. Noet. n. ii. p. 6.

[m] ib. p. 6, 7. [n] ὁυτω φασκουσιν συνιστανειν ἑνα θεον. ib.

[o] Ὁρας, φησιν, πως ἑνα θεον κηρυσσουσιν αι γραφαι. ib. p. 7.

[p] Αλλο δε, φησιν, ε δυναμεθα λεγειν· και γαρ ὁ αποστολος ἑνα θεον. ὁμολογει, λεγων· ὡν οἱ πατερες, ἐξ ὡν ὁ Χριστος το κατα σαρκα, ὁ ων επι παντων θεος ευλογητος εις τους αιωνας. ib. p. 7.

[q] Vid. Epiph. H. 57. num. ii. iii. [r] αἱ μεν γραφαι ορθως λεγουσιν, αλλα αν και Νοητος νοει· Ουκ ηδη δε ει, Νοητος μη νοει, παρα τουτο εκβληθησαι αἱ γραφαι. ib. num. iii. p. 7.

'does not understand them; but though Noetus does not understand, the scriptures never-'theless are not to be laid aside.' In this piece against the Noetians, there are many texts alleged out of the gospels, and Paul's epistles, and the book of the Revelation, and some out of the [a] book of the Acts of the apostles; which shews, that these people received the scriptures of the New Testament, as other Christians did.

In the same piece against Noetus, is this remarkable passage: 'There [b] is indeed, brethren, 'one God, whom we can know no otherwise but from the holy scriptures. For, as he who is 'desirous to learn the wisdom of this world, must acquaint himself with the sentiments of 'philosophers, if he would obtain his end; in like manner, whoever of us are desirous to under-'stand religion, and be truly pious, should apply ourselves to the oracles of God. Whatever 'therefore the divine scriptures declare, that let us embrace; what they teach, let us learn; 'and as the Father willeth we should believe, so let us believe; as he willeth [or requireth] the 'Son should be honoured, so let us honour him: as he willeth [c] the Holy Ghost should be 'given, so let us accept; not according to any particular preconceived opinion, nor according 'to any particular notion of ours, nor wresting the oracles given by God; but so understand-'ing things as he has been pleased to shew them to us by the holy scriptures.' In a note upon 'this passage, Fabricius observes, that it contains a signal testimony concerning the sufficiency of scripture. I think it likewise to be herein implied, that the Noetians were strenuous assertors of the authority of holy scripture.

Epiphanius confirms our allegations from the forementioned writer: for in his article of the Noetians he quotes many books of the Old and New Testament, and has this passage, with which I conclude this article. 'So that,' says [d] he, 'the writings [or oracles] of the 'prophets agree with those of the apostles, and the apostles agree with the evangelists, and the 'evangelists with the apostles, and the apostles with the prophets.'

After this there can be no reason to think, that the Noetians rejected any books of scripture generally received by Christians at that time, or that they shewed a less regard to them; though they did not understand them altogether as some others did.

One thing should be observed here: if the piece against Noetus be really a work of Hippolytus, the extracts now made out of it afford additions to his testimony to the scriptures, as [e] formerly exhibited by me: but when I composed that chapter, I doubted the genuineness of this piece, and therefore was cautious of making much use of it; nor am I yet fully satisfied in that point. I have therefore quoted this fragment, or homily, as an ancient piece ascribed to Hippolytus; but possibly interpolated in some places since its original composition.

It was fit I should give the history I have now done of Noetus and his followers. There follow some articles in Epiphanius, which appear to be but inconsiderable. Nevertheless I shall give some account of them likewise. If I should quite omit them, they might be thought by some to be more material than they are.

II. The next article in Epiphanius is that of the Valesians. They dwell, as [f] he guesseth, at Bacathus, a considerable village of Philadelphia in Arabia. He says, they are most of them eunuchs, and make those so who come over to them: they have also, as he adds, some other heretical notions and shameful practices: they [g] reject the law and the prophets: so writes Epiphanius in his Summary or Recapitulation.

In his larger work against heresies he says, 'We [h] have often heard of the Valesians; but 'we could never learn who their leader Vales [or Valens] was, where he lived, whence he 'came, what where his principles, precepts, or sayings: but his name being Arabic, I suspect 'him to be of the same opinion with some who live at Bacathus in Philadelphia beyond Jordan, 'and are called Gnostics by the people of the country; although they are not Gnostics, for 'their opinions are different. What we have learned of them is to this purpose: at first they 'were of the church, but after a while, when they were increased, they separated from it: 'they are all eunuchs: when any embrace their institution, they are obliged to forbear all

[a] Vid. ib. num. vi. p. 11, n. xiii. p. 15, n. xviii. p. 19.

[b] Ib. n. ix. p. 12, 13.

[c] ....και ὡς θελει πνευμα ἁγιον δωρεισθαι, λαβωμεν· μη κατ' ιδιαν προαιρεσιν, κατ' ιδιον νουν, μηδε βιαζομενοι τα ὑπο του θεου δεδομενα, αλλ' ὁν τροπον αυτος εβουληθη δια των ἁγιων γραφων δειξαι, ὑτως ιδωμεν. ibid.

[d] ὁπως συνᾳδῃ τα προφητικα τοις αποστολικοις, κ. λ. Epiph. H. 57, p. 486. B.

[e] See chap. xxxv.

[f] Epiphan. Anaceph. T. 2, p. 145.

[g] —αφανιζοντες τον νομον και τους προφητας. ibid.

[h] Περι Ουαλησιων ακουομεν πολλακις, ου μεν τοι εγνωμεν που, πις, η ποθεν ὡρματο, ἡ τι λεγων, η νουθετων, η φθεγγομενος ὁ Ουαλης ὑτος. Adv. H. 58. p. 489.

'flesh, till they have been made eunuchs, either with their own consent, or by force; then they 'may eat what they please. Nor do they only serve their own people in that manner, but 'others also, strangers and travellers, as is commonly said.' Epiphanius, having given that account of this sect and their principles, proceeds to argue against them from the New Testament.

These people are not mentioned by Philaster, nor Theodoret.

Augustine [a] agrees with Epiphanius; and it is manifest he had no other knowledge of these people than what he had from him.

The author of Prædestinatus follows Augustine; but he adds one thing omitted by the other two; that [b] the Valesians were condemned by a synod of Achaia. I wish that author had told us whence he had this particular.

Damascen has nothing beside what is in the Recapitulation of Epiphanius.

It is plain that this was a very obscure sect, if ever there was such an one. Epiphanius indeed says, he had often heard of them: however he seems not to have known any thing in particular concerning them, but what he had received by doubtful and uncertain information. If ever there were such people, they seem to have received the books of the New Testament without scruple: for, though Epiphanius says they rejected the law and the prophets, he brings no charge against them with regard to the New Testament, either adding to it, or detracting from it; and in his brief confutation of them, he alleges divers texts of St. Matthew's gospel, and another from the first epistle to the Corinthians. I do not pretend to assign any particular period to these heretics, whose very existence is uncertain.

III. The next article in Epiphanius (whose order is followed likewise by Augustine, the author of Prædestinatus, and John Damascen,) is that of the Pure, or Novatians. But of them I say nothing now, intending to speak of them in the history of their founder Novatus; or, as he is more commonly called, Novatian. After them follow Angelics: of whom Epiphanius says, in his Summary, that [c] they were then no where to be found, but had entirely ceased. They seem to have been so called, either because they boasted of their having an angelical institution, or else because they invoked angels.

In his larger work Epiphanius says, 'We [d] have heard of the heresy, [or sect] of the 'Angelics, but it is by name only: for we could never gain any certain information wherein 'their heresy consisted; probably because it hastened to its period soon after it had sprung 'up. Nor do we so much as know, certainly, what was the original of the name: whether it 'was, because they said the world was formed by angels, as some have done, or [e] that they 'boasted of being an angelic sort of people, and that they lived a most excellent life; or 'whether they had their name from some place; for [f] there is a country beyond Mesopotamia, 'called Ingilin, [or Angelin.] About this we can say nothing positively.'

This is the account which Epiphanius gives of these people. It is his usual method to add, after the history of any heretics, a confutation of them. But he forbears to attempt any thing of that nature here, not knowing what their principles were.

Philaster makes no express mention of these Angelics. Nor is there any thing concerning them in Theodoret.

Augustine [g] says, 'they were inclined to the worship of angels, and that Epiphanius 'assures us, they had ceased in his time.' This shews that Augustine had no particular knowledge of this sect.

Let us however take the account in Prædestinatus: it may serve to convince us that he is an author not to be relied upon. 'The thrirty-ninth heresy,' says [h] he, 'is that of the An-'gelics. They chose to be so called: for they say that angels ought to be adored and rever-'enced in the mind, and that prayers ought to be presented to them; that, as they are able;

[a] Valesii et se ipsos castrant, et hospites suos, hoc modo existimantes Deo se debere servire. Alia quoque hæretica docere dicuntur et turpia: sed quæ illa sint, nec ipse commemoravit Epiphanius, nec uspiam potui reperire. Aug. de Hær. cap. 37. [b] Hi a synodo sunt damnati Achaiæ. Prædestin. l. i. c. 37. [c] ..... ἐτοι παντελως εξελιπον. αυχουντες δε ησαν αγγελικην ταξιν εχειν, η δια το αγγελους προσκεκλησθαι. Epiph. Anac. p. 146, n. 14. [d] H. 60. p. 505. [e] Ητοι δια το εν ταξει αγγελων ἑαυτους σεμνυνειν, κ. λ. ib. c. [f] ..... επειδη χωρος τις εστιν Ιγγιλινη. ib. [g] Angelici, in angelorum cultum inclinati, quos Epiphanius jam omnino defecisse testatur. Aug. de Hær. c. 39. [h] .... Hi Angelicos se vocari voluerunt. Dicunt enim angelos debere adorari et excoli animo, et ipsis preces effundi, ... Hos Epiphanius jam omnino defecisse testatur, victos a Theophilo, Apameo episcopo. Præd. l. i. h. 39.

'they may be induced by the petitions of men to give them help. Epiphanius assures us that 'these people had quite ceased, having been overcome by Theophilus, bishop of Apamea.' So this writer. But Epiphanius says no such thing, nor yet Augustine, nor [a] John Damascen; who has nothing more relating to this sect, than what was transcribed above from the Summary of Epiphanius.

The reader has a right to think for himself: but possibly some will be of opinion, that there never was any sect of this name distinct from all others; and that Angelics is only an appellation, sometimes bestowed in the way of ridicule, upon some rigid and conceited sect, which ordinarily went under another denomination.

IV. The people next mentioned by Epiphanius, are 'the [b] Apostolics; who,' as he says, 'are also called Apotactics, [or Renouncers.] They are to be found in Pisidia. They receive 'none but renouncers; [that is, such as are of the same opinion with themselves.] They 'mightily resemble the Encratites, though they have some notions different from theirs.' So writes Epiphanius in his Recapitulation. And [c] the Encratites are summarily described by him in the same work after this manner; 'That they condemned marriage as proceeding from 'Satan, and forbid the eating any kind of animal food.'

In the Panarium he writes: 'Others there are who call themselves Apostolics and Apotac-'tics: for this is their darling maxim, to possess [d] nothing. They are a sort of sprout from 'Tatian's sect, partaking of the principles of the Encratites, Tatianists, and Pure. They divide 'and wound the holy church of God by their superstition and will-worship. They likewise over-'throw the divine clemency; for they no more receive any one that has once offended. With 'regard to marriage and other matters, their sentiments have a near affinity with those of the 'people before spoken of: [that is, the Novatians.] But whereas the Pure are contented with 'the scriptures commonly received, these are very fond of the Acts of Andrew and Thomas, 'and [e] are altogether averse to the ecclesiastical canon.' He afterwards says, that [f] this sect is confined to a very small tract, and are no where to be found but in Phrygia, Cilicia, and Pamphylia.

In his confutation of these people, Epiphanius quotes the gospels, the Acts, and divers of St. Paul's epistles, very freely. He argues, from reason and scripture, that marriage is not defiling or abominable; and that there is no crime in being rich, when an estate has descended to any by legal inheritance, or has been gained in the way of honest industry and fair dealing, and is employed in good uses. However the church, too, as he adds, has its renouncers; but then it does not teach them to be proud and arrogant, and to despise and condemn all others. If [g] any are disposed to part with their goods, and aim at an apostolical life, they are at liberty; provided they still maintain favourable sentiments of other men, and keep up a friendly correspondence with them. The same is to be said of those who forbear marriage, provided they do not look upon it as a thing abominable in itself, and refuse not communion with those who are not so contracted. The church, says he, may be compared to a ship, which does not consist of one plank only, but of many: beside its keel, it has its forecastle, and stern, masts, and sails, and anchors; its company too is various, and it refuses none but robbers and pirates. In like manner the church excludes none but great and scandalous sinners: it receives all who are sincerely desirous to be saved, and [h] conducts them all to salvation in the way suitable to their several capacities, stations, and conditions. So Epiphanius.

The Apostolics are not mentioned in Philaster or Theodoret.

Augustine [i] says, 'that these people arrogantly called themselves Apostolics, or Apostolical, 'because they received not any into communion who lived in the marriage state, or that pos-'sessed any thing of their own. Indeed, the catholic church has many such, both monks and 'clergy: but these are therefore heretics, because they separate themselves from the church, 'and allow no hopes of salvation to those who enjoy such things as they have not. They re-

[a] Vid. Joh. Dam. de Hær. cap. 60. ap. Coteler. Mon. Gr. T. i. p. 295.
[b] Anac. p. 146, n. xv.
[c] Ib. p. 144, n. i.
[d] ... φυλαττεται δε παρ' αυτοις το μηδεν κεκτησθαι. Adv. H. 61, n. i. p. 506. B.
[e] ... παντακασιν αλλοτριοι τε κανονος τε εκκλησιαστικε. ib. c.
[f] N. ii. p. 507.
[g] Ib. n. iv. p. 508.
[h] Αλλ' οιδε μεν παντας σωζειν, εκαστον δε κατα την ιδιαν αξιωματειαν και σωτηριαν. ib. n. iv. p. 509. B.
[i] Apostolici; qui se isto nomine arrogantissime vocaverunt, eo quod in suam communionem non reciperent utentes conjugibus et res proprias possidentes: quales habet catholica et monachos et clericos plurimos. Sed ideo isti hæretici sunt, quoniam se ab ecclesiâ separantes, nullam spem putant eos habere, qui utuntur his rebus, quibus ipsi carent, &c. Aug. de Hær. cap. 40.

'semble the Encratites, and are likewise called Apotactics; but they are also reported to teach 'some other, I know not what, heretical things peculiar to themselves.'

The author of Prædestinatus [a] so agrees with Augustine, that no particular notice needs to be taken of him.

Damascen has nothing beside the Recapitulation of Epiphanius; and entirely agrees with it, except that, whereas it is there said, the Apostolics are to be found in Pisidia, he says, they [b] had their rise there.

The time of this people does not appear: however, it is observable, that the Apostolics, as well as Angelics, are placed after the Pure, or Novatians, and a great way below Tatian and the Encratites, both in Epiphanius and the other writers that mention them. They renounced the world, and condemned all others that did not: this was their peculiar principle, against which Epiphanius has argued very well; his confutation of them is a rational and sensible performance. But perhaps it may be questioned, whether there ever was any sect of this name different from all others. The reasons of this doubt are such as these: they are not mentioned by Philaster, or Theodoret. Augustine seems not to have known any thing of them, but what he had learned from Epiphanius. Whereas if there had been any such people, who arose after the Novatians, one would think they should have been well known to those learned ancients. According to all the accounts we have of them, they mightily resembled the Encratites and Novatians. Possibly therefore, Apostolic, or Apostolical, is nothing but a different appellation of some rigid sect, that ordinarily went by another name; whose rigid sentiments too, as may be supposed, is here aggravated beyond truth and reality. If, after all, there ever was such a sect, it made little progress, and had but a short duration. What Epiphanius says, therefore, of their admiring the Acts of Andrew and Thomas, needs not to give us much concern.

V. The next article in Epiphanius, and the writers that follow him, is that of the Sabellians; of whom I have already taken some notice in this chapter, in the article of Noetus, and shall be obliged to say more in the [c] history of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria. After them follow two distinct articles, concerning two different sorts of people, called Origenists; the former generally called impure, or infamous Origenists: of whom, in his Recapitulation, Epiphanius says, that [d] they were so called from a certain Origen. In his Panarium, or larger work against heresies, he declares, that he [e] did not know from whom they were so called, whether from Origen Adamantius, or from some other; all he could say was, that he understood they were called Origenists. The others [f] he plainly speaks of, as so named from Origen, called Adamantius, the famous writer, and son of Leonides, the blessed and holy martyr. Of these last I say nothing here, not choosing to give any farther account of the opinions of Origen, or his followers and admirers, than I have already done in the history of him: it is no necessary part of my design, nor will it be expected of me by any body.

Of the former Origenists, Epiphanius says, they [g] were guilty of things not fit to be mentioned. He charges them with licentious principles, as well as shameful practices; and says, that they resembled those called Gnostics. They [h] received and read, as he adds, divers scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and also some apocryphal scriptures, particularly those called the Acts of Andrew, and of some others. Augustine, who had read only the Recapitulation of Epiphanius, follows that work, saying, that [i] these Origenists were not so called from that Origen, who was well known to almost every body, but from some other, he knew not whom: then he adds in general, as from Epiphanius, that they were guilty of shameful actions. Augustine plainly had no knowledge of this people, beside what he had from that writer. The author [k] of Prædestinatus follows Augustine, but adds a particular of his own head; that this sect had its original from a wicked Syrian, named Origen. John Damascen [l] has nothing different from the Recapitulation of Epiphanius.

[a] Hær. 49, apud Bib. Patr. T. 27. p. 549. H.

[b] Και οὗτοι περι Πισιδιαν ὁρμωμενοι. Joh. Dam, ap. Cotel. Mon. G. T. i. p. 296.

[c] See Chap. xliii. num. vii.

[d] ... τινος Ωριγενες. Anaceph. p. 146, n. xvii.

[e] Καλενται δε Ωριγενιοι· ε πανυ δε σαφως ισμεν τινος ἑνεκα, η απο Ωριγενες τε Αδαμαντιε, καλεμενε Συντακτε, η αλλε τινος ειναι, αγνοω. κ. λ. Adv. H. 63. n. i. Vid. etiam. H. 64, n. 3, p. 526. D.

[f] Vid. Anaceph. p. 146. num. 16. Adv. Hær. 64. n. i.

[g] Vid Anac. ubi. supra. Adv. H 63, p. 520....524

[h] Γραφας δε ἑτοι αναγινωσκουσι διαφορες καινης και παλαιας διαθηκης. Adv. H. 63, n. i. p. 520. Κεχρηνται δε, ὡς εφην, διαφοροις γραφαις, και καινης διαθηκης, και αποκρυφοις τισι, μαλιστα ταις λεγομεναις Πραξεσιν Ανδρεου και των αλλων. Ib. n. ii. in.

[i] ... a quodam Origene dicti sunt, non illo qui fere omnibus notus est, sed ab alio nescio quo, &c. Aug. de H. c. 42.

[k] ... sed ab alio Syro quodam sceleratissimo. Præd. ib. c. 42.

[l] Dam. de Hær. c. 63. u. s.

It is disputed by learned moderns, whom these people followed, and from whom they were named. Basnage [a] thinks it likely, that there was some other Origen, unknown to us, who was the author of this sect. I do not perceive that [b] Tillemont determines this question one way or other. Baronius [c] thought there was but one Origen about this time, and that these Origenists had their name from him: of this opinion too are [d] Huet and [e] Pagi; who deserve to be consulted; comparing likewise a note of the Benedictines, upon the forty-second chapter of Augustine's book of Heresies, I cannot but own, that I am much inclined to be of the same opinion: and, if I may be allowed to proceed somewhat farther, I would say, it seems to me that this whole story of the impure Origenists is without foundation. For, first, it depends entirely upon the authority of Epiphanius: this appears from what was observed before. Secondly, the account is in itself improbable; there are wicked people at all times: but it exceeds all bounds of probability, that men should avow principles and practices so absurd and shameful as those imputed to this people. Farther, thirdly, these people made high pretensions to strict piety: for, as [f] Epiphanius says, they spoke disadvantageously of marriage, as not sufficiently pure; and [g] they had among them men and women who professed a monastic, or solitary life; and [h] they sometimes censured the looseness of other Christians, finding fault with those ecclesiastics who had subintroduced women in their houses. The account thereof in Epiphanius is inconsistent, and overthrows itself. Fourthly, if Epiphanius had had any certain knowledge, or good information, concerning this people, as a distinct sect, he would have been able to say whom they followed: but he owns he was an absolute stranger as to that point. This sect, therefore, of impure Origenists, is a fictitious and imaginary sect; owing its supposed existence to the calumnies of some bitter enemies of Origen and his admirers; the credulity of Epiphanius, and his too great facility in receiving the stories brought to him; together with his favourable sentiments of the virtue of the great Origen: for, being persuaded that [i] Origen was a good man, when some angry, not to say wicked, people brought him the relations he refers to, he concluded there was some sect called Origenists, whose rise and original he could not account for: whereupon he makes a distinct heresy of them.

It is easy to suppose there were shameful things done by some called Origenists; but so there were likewise by those who were for appropriating the title of good catholics to themselves: and perhaps such things were no where more frequent than among those who affected a monastic life. But I can see no good reason to make a new sect, for the sake of accounts which have so much the appearance of proceeding from the enmity and bitterness of a party spirit.

We need not labour to settle the time of these people; they were in being in the time of Epiphanius, and probably had their beginning when some persons were first distinguished by the name of Origenists. I have spoken of them here out of regard to the order in which they are placed by Epiphanius, and because I was willing to put together some things of a like nature, and which are not of the utmost importance.

Nor need we be at all concerned about what is said of their making use of some apocryphal scriptures, particularly the Acts of Andrew, and of some others; for they who forged the other calumnies against this people, that is, the Origenists, or some of the followers of the great Origen, would make no scruple to add a particular or two of this sort; and yet perhaps they did use such writings, but not as writings of authority, any more than other Christians did.

Next after the two last mentioned articles, succeeds in Epiphanius, and divers other authors who write of heresies, that of Paul of Samosata. I shall have occasion to take notice of this in the history of the above-named [k] Dionysius.

[a] Quidni igitur ignotus et Origenes aliquis turpibus Origenistis se fontem præbuit? Basn. A. 203, num. 25.

[b] Tillem. Origène Art. 26, M. E. T. 3. P. 3, p. 209, 210.

[c] Baron. Ann. 256, n. 47. [d] Origenian. l. i. c. i. n. vii. p. 5. [e] Pagi, 253, n. 25. [f] Αθετουσι δε γαμον. H. 63. n. i. p. 520. D. [g] Οι μεν γαρ εισι προσχημαπι μοναζοντων, αι δε συν αυλοις εσαι προσχημαπι μοναζουσων. ib. [h] Κατηγορουσι δε δηθεν των εν τη εκκλησια τας αγαπητας λεγομενας συνεισακτους γυναικας κεκτημενων. Ib. n. ii. in. [i] Vid. Epiphan. H. 64. n. ii. iii.

[k] See Ch. xliii. num. viii.

CHAP. XLII.

ST. GREGORY, BISHOP OF NEOCÆSAREA.

I. *His history.* II. *Testimonies to him.* III. *His time.* IV. *His works.* V. *His character.* VI. *His testimony to the books of the New Testament.*

I. I HAVE already mentioned Gregory of Neocæsarea in Pontus, as [a] one of Origen's most noted scholars, and an account of Origen's letter to him. It is fit we should now have a more particular history of this renowned convert and bishop, of the best times, or near them; who is usually called Thaumaturgus, or the Wonder-worker, for the many and great miracles wrought by him.

Says [b] Jerom, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, 'Theodore, who was afterwards 'called Gregory, bishop of Neocæsarea in Pontus, being yet very young, for the sake of 'Greek and Roman learning, came with his brother Athenodorus from Cappadocia to Berytus, 'and thence to Cæsarea in Palestine. Origen, perceiving their fine genius, recommended to 'them the study of philosophy, with which he gradually instilled into them the faith of Christ, 'and took them into the number of his disciples. Having staid with him five years, they re-'turned to their mother: [perhaps it should be country.] Theodore, before he went away, 'composed a panegyrical oration, to thank Origen, and recited it in a numerous audience, 'Origen being present; which is still extant. He wrote likewise a short, but very useful, 'paraphrase upon the book of Ecclesiastes. There are also several of his epistles to be found. 'But he is chiefly famous for the miracles he wrought when bishop, to the great honour of the 'churches.'

That is a summary of Gregory's whole life. There is an authentic history of the former part of it in the farewell, or panegyrical oration at Cæsarea, just mentioned, which was spoken in the year 238 or 239, as is generally supposed; though perhaps some may place it a few years sooner.

Gregory's parents [d] were gentiles. He lost his father when he was not more than fourteen years of age. Having received those rudiments of learning which are usually taught young persons of a plentiful condition, his [e] mother sent him and his brother Athenodorus to a master of rhetoric. He had besides another master to teach him the Latin tongue; not indeed with a design he should speak it, but that he might not be altogether ignorant of the language of the empire. This master was well skilled in the Roman laws. He earnestly recommended that study to his scholar: Gregory complied, and his master taught him with great application. It happened that at this time Gregory's sister married to a lawyer, in esteem with the governor of Palestine, and chosen by him to be one of his assessors or counsellors, was sent for by her husband to come to him at Cæsarea. The [f] officer, who came to conduct the lady to her husband, brought with him a good number of carriages, more than sufficient for her and her necessary attendants; and Gregory was induced to accompany his sister to Cæsarea, partly with a view of accommodating her, and rendering her journey more agreeable, partly because of the convenience that offered for going to Berytus in Phœnicia, where he might improve himself

[a] Chap. xxxviii.

[b] Theodorus, qui postea Gregorius appellatus est, Neocæsareæ Ponti episcopus, admodum adolescens, ob studia Græcarum et Latinarum literarum, de Cappadociâ Berytum, et inde Cæsaream Palæstinæ transiit, juncto sibi fratre Athenodoro. Quorum cum egregiam indolem vidisset Origenes, hortatus est eos ad philosophiam: in quâ paulatim fidem introducens, sui quoque sectatores reddidit. Quinquennio itaque eruditi ab eo remittuntur ad matrem, e quibus Theodorus proficiscens πανηγυρικον ευχαριστιας scripsit Origeni, et convocatâ grandi frequentiâ, ipso quoque Origene præsente, recitavit, qui usque hodie exstat. Scripsit et μεταφρασιν in Ecclesiasten, brevem quidem, sed valde utilem. Et aliæ hujus vulgo feruntur epistolæ, sed præcipue signa atque miracula, quæ jam episcopus cum multâ ecclesiarum gloriâ perpetravit. Hieron. De Vir. Ill. c. 65.

[d] Gregor. Orat. Paneg. ad Orig. p. 55, B. Ed. Paris. 1621.

[e] Εδοκει τη μονη εκ των γονεων κηδεσθαι· ημων παραλειπομενη μητρι, τ' αλλα εκπαιδευομενες, οια παιδας εκ αγενεις δηθεν και φυντας και τρεφομενες, φοιτων και ρητορι, ως δε ρητορας εσομενες· ib. p. 56. B.

[f] P. 57. B. C.

in the law under the celebrated professors of that science who resided there. Thus Gregory, by attending his sister, was conducted not to Berytus, but to Cæsarea, where [a] Origen was newly arrived from Alexandria, as if on purpose to meet them.

As soon as Origen saw Gregory and his brother Athenodorus, he was desirous of retaining them with him, and he neglected no means to inspire them with a love of philosophy, as [b] a foundation of true religion and piety. At length they were persuaded by the force of his arguments, and the charms of his conversation. Of [c] Origen they learned logic, physics, geometry, astronomy, ethics. He [d] encouraged them likewise in the reading of all sorts of ancient authors, poets, and philosophers, whether Greeks or barbarians, restraining them from none but such as denied a deity or a providence, from whom no possible advantage could be obtained. But [e] above all he inculcated a diligent attention to the mind of God, as revealed in the prophets; he himself explaining to them the obscure and difficult passages, when any such occurred: as certainly, says Gregory, there are many such in the sacred scriptures.

This is a very brief abstract of that oration, which, I think, if read throughout, must appear a monument of the composer's eminent abilities, and demonstaate likewise Origen's excellent method of educating those who were under his care; which indeed is honourable both to himself and the Christian profession of that age.

Gregory now left Cæsarea with much regret. What was the reason is not certain, though there are some expressions [f] near the conclusion of the oration, which may lead us to think that some affairs of the family required his presence at home.

Gregory, of Nyssa in Cappadocia, brother of St. Basil, who flourished [g] about the year 372, and about a hundred years after Thaumaturgus, has left us a panegyric upon him, entitled, An Oration upon the Life of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. We can by no means omit to take particular notice of this piece; but I shall transcribe only the most material things, and in as brief a manner as is suitable to our design.

The native country of our author, whom Nyssa calls the Great Gregory, was Pontus, his city Neocæsarea, and his family was rich and noble. But [h] these things, the advantages of that country, the splendour of his city, the honourable offices and titles of his ancestors, he forbears to insist on, having more important things to mention. His parents were involved in the error and folly of idolatry, which [i] Gregory abandoned and became a disciple of the gospel, when he was enriched with the treasures of all the Greek learning; herein resembling Moses, of whom the scripture says, that "he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," Acts vii. 22. Thus our Gregory [k] renounced heathenism, at a time when he was able to judge of the strength or the weakness of all the Gentile philosophy and theology.

Nyssen says, that [l] Gregory studied secular learning for some time at Alexandria, where there was a great resort of youth from all parts for the sake of philosophy and medicine. Our young Gregory [m] was even then distinguished by the sobriety and discretion of his behaviour. And a lewd woman having been employed by some idle people to disgrace him by indirect but impudent insinuations of intimacy with her, his reputation was vindicated in a remarkable manner: for the woman was immediately seized with such horrible fits, as demonstrated them to be a judgment of Heaven; nor [n] was she relieved from the dæmon that had taken possession of her, till Gregory had interceded with God for her, and obtained the pardon of her fault.

Hitherto Gregory was a heathen; but his conversion was near: for soon after this he [o] was

[a] Τον δε ιερον τουτον ανδρα εκ της Αιγυπτε εκ της Αλεξανδρεων πολεως, ενθα την εξιαν εχων ετυχε προτερον, και αυτον εκινει και μεταναστη επι τοδε το χωριον, ωσπερ απαντησοντα ημιν, ετερα πραγματα. p. 57. B. [b] Ου τοινυν εδε ευσεβειν ολως δυνατον ειναι εφασκεν, ορθως λεγων, μη φιλοσοφησαντι. p. 59. C.. [c] P. 63, 64, 65. [d] φιλοσοφειν μεν γαρ ηξιε αναλεγομενες των αρχαιων παντα οσα και φιλοσοφων και ὑμνωδων εστι γραμματα πασῃ δυναμει, μηδεν εκποιουμενες, μηδ' αποδοκιμαζοντας...πλην οσα των αθεων ειη, οσοι...εκ ειναι Θεον, η προνοιαν, λεγεσι...τοις δε λοιποις πασιν εντυγχανειν και προσομιλειν, γενος μεν εδε ἑν, εδε λογον φιλοσοφον προτιμησαντας, ετε αν αποδοκιμασαιλας ετε Ἑλληνικον, ετε βαρβαρον, παντων δε ακουσας, p. 69, C.D. [e] μονῳ δε προσεχειν Θεῳ, και τοις τοτε προφηταις, αυτος ὑποφητευων και σαφηνιζων, ὁτι ποτε σκοτεινον και αινιγματωδες ἡ, οια πολλα εν ταις ιεραις εστι φωναις. ib. p. 72. D. [f] Φεροντες εκ των σπερματων και τες καρπες και τας δραγμιδας, τελειας μεν εχι. πως γαρ; οιας δε δυνατον ἡμιν απο των εν πολιτεια πραξεων. κ. λ. p. 76. C. D. [g] Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. 369, xvii. [h] αλλ' εδε των προγονων αυτε των προκαθηγησαμενων της κατα σαρκα γενεσεως μνημην επι τε λογε ποιησομαι, πλετον και φιλοτιμιας, και τας κοσμικας περιφανειας αυτων διηγησομαι. Greg. Nyss. de Vit. Greg. Thaum. Tom. iii. p. 537. D. vid. ib. A. B. C. et p. 536. D. [i] P. 538, 539. [k] Ουτως και ὁ μεγας ετος δια πασης ελθων της των Ἑλληνων παιδευσεως, και γνως τη πειρᾳ των παρ' αυτοις δογματων το ασθενες και ασυστατον, μαθητης τε ευαγγελιε καθισταται. p. 540. A. [l] Εις ἡν και ἡ παντοχοθεν συνερρει νεοἡης των περι φιλοσοφιαν τε και ιατρικην εσπουδακοτων. p. 540. B. [m] p. 540, 541, 542. [n] Και ε προτερον ανηκεν καταπνιγον αυτην το δαιμονιον, πριν ἡ τον μεγαν εκεινον επικαλεσασθαι τον Θεον, και ὑπερ αυτης ἱλεωσασθαι. p. 541. B. [o] καταλιπων πασαν την περι της εξω φιλο-

conducted to Origen, then the chief master of the Christian philosophy, and still celebrated for his writings. To his instructions Gregory now committed himself; and when he returned into his native country, as Nyssen says, he retired from the world to a private life in a desert place.

His ordination was very remarkable, if not singular. Phedimus, bishop of Amasea, knowing the worth of this young man, and being grieved that a person of such accomplishments should live useless in the world, was desirous to consecrate him to God and his church. On the other hand, Gregory was shy of such a charge, and industriously concealed himself from the bishop of Amasea, whose design he was aware of. At length Phedimus, tired of his fruitless attempts to meet Gregory, and being blessed with the gift of foreknowledge, looking [a] up to God, to whom they were both present, instead of laying his hands upon Gregory, addressed a discourse to him, and consecrated him to God, though bodily absent; assigning him also a city, which till that time was so addicted to idolatry, that in it, and in all the country round about, there were not above seventeen believers.

Gregory was then at the distance of three days journey. Nyssen does not inform us how Gregory came to the knowledge of what had been done: however, he says, that now Gregory thought himself obliged to acquiesce; and that afterwards he was ordained with the usual ceremonies. He only desired [b] of him, by whom he had been ordained, a short time to prepare himself for the office to which he was appointed: nor [c] had he courage to undertake the work of preaching, till he had been informed of the truth by revelation. And, [d] whilst he was engaged in deep meditation, he had a magnificent and awful vision in his chamber: two persons appeared, one in the habit of a man, the other of a woman; encompassed also by a bright light, too strong for him to look upon directly. He heard these persons discourse together about the doctrines in which he desired to be informed: and he perceived who they were; for they called each other by name. The person in the habit of a woman desired that John the evangelist would teach that young man the mystery of piety: and he replied, that he was not unwilling to do what was desired by the mother of our Lord. John then gave him the instruction he wanted; which, when they had disappeared, Gregory wrote down. According to that faith he always preached, and [e] left it with his church, as an invaluable treasure, a doctrine received from heaven: by which means his people from that time to this were preserved pure from all heretical pravity. Nyssen then puts down the faith or creed which Gregory received from John; of which I shall speak more distinctly hereafter. And then he adds, 'If [f] any are desirous of farther satisfaction about this matter, let him enquire of the church, in 'which Gregory preached that doctrine, and with whom it is still preserved in the hand-writing 'of that blessed man.'

Gregory, being now well qualified for his work, both by a certain knowledge of the truth, and a sufficient degree of assurance, left [g] his solitude, and went directly toward the city that had been assigned him, and in which he was to form a church to God. As he was in his journey, being benighted, and overtaken by a violent storm, he and his friends with him were obliged to take shelter in a heathen temple. It was a temple of great fame, in which the dæmon who was there worshipped used to appear evidently to the priests, and deliver oracles. Gregory having gone away early in the morning, the priest performed the accustomed rites: but he was answered by the dæmon, that he could no more appear in that place, because of him that had lodged there the foregoing night. The priest, greatly enraged at hearing this, pursued Gregory; and, having overtaken him, threatened to inform the magistrates against him: but Gregory, not at all dismayed, told the priest, that he had such confidence in the power of the Being whom he served, that he not only relied upon his protection from men, but was also persuaded, that with his assistance he could expel dæmons from any place, and re-admit

σοφιας σπεδην, προσφοιτα μετ' εκεινε τω κατα τον χρονον εκεινον της των Χριστιανων φιλοσοφιας καθηγεμενω. Ωριγενης δε ουτος ην τοτε πολυς επι συγγραμμασι λογος. p. 542. D.

[a] P. 544. D. 545. A. [b] Και βραχυν χρονον αιτησαμενος παρα τε την ιερωσυνην επικηρυξαντος. κ. λ. p. 445. A.

[c] Και ε προτερον επεθαρσησε τω τε λογε κηρυγματι, προιν δια τινος ευφανειας εκκαλυφθηναι αυτω την αληθειαν. ibid. B.

[d] P. 545. C. D. 546. [e] Τον δε παραχρημα την θειαν εκεινην μυσταγωγιαν γραμματιν ενσημηνασθαι, και κατ' εκεινην μετα ταυτα κηρυσσειν εν τη εκκλησια τον λογον· και τοις εφεξης, ωσπερ τινα κληρον, την θεοσδοτον εκεινην διδασκαλιαν καταλιπειν· δι' ης μυσταγωγειται μεχρι τε νυν ο εκεινος λαος, παση αιρετικης κακιας διαμεινας απειρατος. p. 546. B. C.

[f] Ουτω δε φιλον περι τετων πεισθηναι, ακρυετω της εκκλησιας, εν η τον λογον εκηρυττεν, παρ' οις αυτα τα χαραγματα της μακαριας εκεινης χειρος εις ετι και νυν διασωζεται. p. 547. A.

[g] Ib. D. 548, 549.

them as he saw fit. And as a demonstration of such power, he took a slip of paper, and [a] wrote upon it, 'Gregory to Satan: Enter.' This paper being laid upon the altar, and the accustomed rites performed, the dæmon appeared as usual. The priest was now convinced that Gregory was guided by a power superior to dæmons: he therefore returned to him, relating what had happened, and desired to be farther instructed in the Christian religion. But some doubts still remaining, Gregory wrought another evident miracle: at his command [b] a large heavy stone lying before them moved, as if it had life, and settled again in the place Gregory directed. The priest was now fully satisfied; and, forsaking all things, wife, children, relations, his priesthood, home, and all his possessions, followed Gregory; esteeming his company, and fellowship with him in his divine philosophy, instead of all other things. This priest [c] was afterwards one of Gregory's deacons.

The [d] fame of these great works out-went Gregory, so that the city was before-hand provided for his reception; and he entered in the midst of a vast crowd of people, who even came out to meet him with their wives and children. Gregory, as [e] Nyssen says, had before now disposed of all his estate, and at this time had nothing of his own; no land, no house, no habitation. His friends therefore, who accompanied him, were in pain for him; but he trusted in God; and when he entered the city he had many kind and pressing invitations made him. He took up his abode with one Musonius, a man of the greatest distinction in the city for his quality, estate and authority, and who had made the first offer of entertaining our young bishop. That very day, before sunset, he had made many converts. Early the next morning, men and women, of every rank and age in the city, were before the door of the house; and his success continued. Every one who had need of help was relieved, whether possessed with dæmons or afflicted with any bodily distemper; and all were admonished of the duties peculiarly suited to their age, relation, or station in life. He [f] preached, he argued, he persuaded, he healed.

The number of believers being greatly increased, in a short time he [g] formed a design of building a church, to which all readily contributed by their labour or their purses. Tillemont [h] observes, that this is no unlikely thing, the Christians enjoying all manner of liberty under Philip, who began his reign in the year 244. But, as he adds, this is the first church of which history gives us any certain and express information. This church, as [i] Nyssen says, was standing in his time: it must therefore have escaped the general demolition of churches in the Dioclesian persecution; as it did likewise a terrible earthquake afterwards, in which, as Nyssen [k] affirms, almost all the other buildings of the city, public and private, were overthrown.

Gregory being in great reputation for wisdom, abundance of people referred their differences to him, who readily acquiesced in his determinations. But [l] there were two brothers whom he could by no means reconcile. A certain lake was the matter in dispute. When they were about to decide the cause by arms, the tenants of the two brothers fighting on each side, Gregory went to the lake the night before, and at his prayers it was dried up. The river [m] Lyc, or Lycus, often overflowing, to the great damage of the neighbouring country, at the desire of the people who suffered by those inundations, Gregory prescribed it proper limits, which it never passed afterwards.

Gregory Nyssen [n] then relates the story of our Gregory's remarkable ordination of Alexander, called the collier, at Comana. As Gregory was returning home from thence, two men agreed to put a trick upon him. One of them laid in the road as dead; the other begged of the bishop to give him somewhat to bury his poor companion. As Gregory passed by, he threw his cloak upon the pretended dead man. As soon as Gregory was out of sight, the other called to his companion to get up; but he had expired at the very instant Gregory cast his cloak upon him, which therefore now served for his burial cloth. Sozomen, [o] relating a like story concerning Epiphanius, recollects this also of Gregory, and he thinks they may be both true.

After his return to Neocæsarea, Gregory [p] cured a young man possessed of a dæmon: and [q]

[a] Ην δε τα γραμματα επ' αυτης της λεξεως ταυτα· Γρηγοριος τω Σατανα· Εισελθε. p. 549. c.
[b] P. 550. A. B.
[c] Vid. p. 569. D.
[d] 551, 552.
[e] Ibid.
[f] Και εν μεσοις εκεινος ποις την εκασ'ε των συνειλεγμενων χρειαν αρμοδιως τη δυναμει τε πνευματος μεριζομενος, κηρυσσων, συνεξεταζων, νουθετων, διδασκων, ιωμενος. p. 553. D.
[g] P. 554. B.
[h] S. Gregoire Thaumaturge. Art. vii. Mem. Ec. T. iv. P. ii. p. 679.
[i] P. 554. A. B.
[k] Ibid. C.
[l] P. 555, 556.
[m] P. 558, 559, 560.
[n] P. 561, 562.
[o] Zozom. l. vii. cap. 27.
[p] Nyssen. p. 566.
[q] Αλλ' ... προς τε τον των δαιμονων απαλλαγην, και προς την κατω των αμαρτηματων το σωματος το εκ τη στομαιος αυτη ασχημ. δια της αυτης τω ... συνει προσαχθεισαν. p. 567. A.

many people were delivered from dæmons, and relieved of their diseases, by only having pieces of linen brought to them, which had been breathed upon by him.

During the episcopate of Gregory, a [a] persecution of the Christians was ordered by imperial edicts, which was very severe in those parts. It is universally allowed that Nyssen means the Decian persecution, though he does not name the emperor. Gregory, [b] considering the weakness of human nature, advised his people, as many as could, to save themselves by flight: and, to remove all scruples, he gave them an example by retiring into a solitary place, taking with him the priest beforementioned, now his deacon. Here Gregory was sought for, but was miraculously preserved: for though his pursuers came to the place where he and his companion were, they did not see, or did not know them. In short, their eyes were so withheld, that they could see nothing but two trees. However, notwithstanding the forementioned good advice of Gregory, many [c] of his people were taken up, and imprisoned, and endured divers torments, and even death itself; he assisting them by his prayers, and by the counsel which he sent to them.

When the persecution was over, Gregory returned to Neocæsarea; and peace being restored to the church about the year 253, as may be supposed, he visited the several parts of his diocese, and [d] transferred the bodies of divers who had suffered martyrdom in the late persecution to several places at proper and convenient distances; where he appointed anniversary festivals and solemnities in memory of the martyrs, indulging the people upon those occasions with a little more than ordinary mirth: which, says Nyssen, was wisely done, for many weak and ignorant people being fond of the heathen superstition, because of the diversions it allowed of, Gregory approved that people should be merry and divert themselves on the memorials of the martyrs; hoping by that means to bring them off from idolatry to the general principles of religion, and gradually to more complete virtue.

In some part of Gregory's episcopate the country of Pontus was afflicted with a sore and terrible plague. As Gregory [e] gave some intimations of it beforehand, and he was helpful to many, not only by the charitable relief he afforded, but [f] likewise by the miraculous cures he wrought, great numbers were brought to the profession of christianity at that season. In a word [g] when this bishop was near his death, reflecting upon his labours, and hearing there were still seventeen unbelievers in that country, it gave him no small concern: however, he thought it matter of much joy and thanksgiving, that he left his successor no more idolaters than he had found Christians.

This is the account which Gregory of Nyssa has given of his namesake of Neocæsarea; upon which many remarks might be made. It is plain it is a panegyric, not a history. Nyssen is so intent upon the marvellous, that he has scarce any regard to common things: he relates distinctly the mysterious faith which Gregory received one night from John the evangelist; but he dispatches in a very few words the instructions which Gregory received from Origen: though he was five years under his tuition, and had before him excellent materials to enlarge upon concerning that part of our bishop's history. Then he takes little or no notice of circumstances of time and place, or the names of persons; these he omits as things of no moment. Indeed he has been so good as to inform us of Gregory's native city and country, and that he studied some while, as he says, at Alexandria; but he does not let us know where Gregory was acquainted with Origen, whether at Alexandria, or at Cæsarea. He has not once named the city where Gregory was bishop: and in the description of Gregory's arrival in the city assigned him, and where he was to reside, there is no notice taken that it was his native place: nay, one might be almost apt to think he was an absolute stranger there, and unknown to every body. He does not inform us of the temple where Gregory lodged and silenced the dæmon; neither where it stood, nor to what god it was dedicated. He has not so much as once mentioned the name of the priest who was converted in so extraordinary a manner; who, so far as appears, was our bishop's first convert, and was afterwards a deacon of the church. Nor has he mentioned the name of any one of the many persons, subjects of Gregory's miraculous works. However, it should be owned that he has not concealed the name of the river, whose

[a] P. 567, 568. [b] P. 569. C. D.
[c] P. 570, 571, &c. [d] Τας ὑπερ των ενηθλημενων τη πιστει πανηγυρεις νομοθετησας. και διαλαβοντες αλλος αλλαχη των μαρτυρων τα σωματα, κατα την ετησιον τε μιαυσιαυ κυκλε περιοδον συνιοντες ηγαλλοντο, τη τιμη των μαρτυρων πανηγυριζοντες. p. 574. A. B. [e] P. 576.
[f] P. 577. [g] P. 574. D. 575. A.

inundations are said to have been restrained by this mighty man. As before observed, he omits the name of the emperor, author of the persecution that was so severe, and which was so remarkable for Gregory's flight and preservation, and many glorious martyrdoms. Finally, perhaps, it may be reckoned by some an inexcusable defect, that in this long oration not any the least notice is taken of Athenodorus, Gregory's brother, and the companion of his travels and studies and conversion to the faith, and afterwards bishop likewise in the same country of Pontus. All these omissions seem unaccountable.

Possibly it will be said, that it was contrary to the rules of rhetoric to be more particular in an oration. If that be so, and all that Nyssen aimed at was to entertain his hearers or readers with a fine piece of oratory, we must consider it as such; but then, though it may afford us some good entertainment, it will hardly be a ground of much faith: for a story to be amusing is one thing, to be credible another.

Farther, the relations of most of the miracles are liable to some other exceptions. The story of the woman at Alexandria, is trifling and unlikely. Nay, [a] Basnage says, Gregory never studied at Alexandria. And he may be in the right as to this, so far as I know; then this is a mere fiction, as the same learned writer argues. The moving of the stone at the command of Gregory is silly and romantic, or at least vain and insignificant, and therefore also improbable. The silencing the dæmon by a message sent in writing must surely appear absurd, though it should be allowed to be referred to by some other [b] writers. Besides, Gregory leaves Satan in possession of the temple, which I think was not well done, if he was able to send him away: and this continuance of Satan at the temple confutes the former account; it seems to shew it to be a mere fiction. If Gregory had once dispossessed Satan, he would not have allowed him to resume and keep possession afterwards. Basnage, though he does not dispute every thing related by Nyssen, greatly dislikes this [c] story.

I do not intend to deny, that Gregory wrought miracles; for I suppose he did, as I shall acknowledge more particularly by and by: nevertheless there is no harm in making these remarks, if they are just; or in shewing that Nyssen's relations are defective, and want some tokens of credibility, with which we should have been mightily pleased.

As for what he says of Gregory's appointing anniversary festivals and solemnities in honour of the martyrs that had suffered in his diocese, and allowing people upon those occasions some unusual mirth and rejoicings, I am sure this is no apostolical method of making conversions; nor was it practised in the most primitive times next after the apostles; and I am not satisfied of the truth of what Nyssen says. As I am unwilling to lay hold of every thing he writes to advance this bishop's honour, so neither do I take this particular upon his credit, which tends to diminish that honourable idea I am willing to have of him, and for which I think I have good ground. This childish method of making converts appears unworthy of so wise and good a man as Gregory. Nor is it likely that those festivals should be instituted by one who had the gift of miracles, and therefore a much better way of bringing men to religion and virtue.

We have now perused the summary of Gregory's life in Jerom: the history of the early part of his life we have had from himself; and Gregory of Nyssa has afforded us an entertaining account of this great man from the beginning to the time of his death.

II. Gregory is mentioned by many ancient writers. I shall here add some of their passages; they may be considered as testimonies. The writers I shall cite are, Origen, Eusebius, Jerom again, Basil, Theodoret, and Socrates; omitting some others, as not so material witnesses, and for avoiding too great prolixity.

Origen, in his letter to Gregory, probably written not many months after his return home,

[a] Quæ igitur de meretrice Alexandriæ, quæ sese cum Gregorio consuescere simulavit, et numerata scorto pecunia, et dæmone in fauces ejus involante, narrantur, lepidæ sunt fabulæ, quæ fractis illabentis Alexandrinæ profectionis ruderibus obruuntur. Basn. Ann. 240, iv.

[b] Socrates certainly refers to it. L. iv. cap. 27. And Basil is thought to do so likewise, when he says, Gregory had a power terrible to dæmons: ὡς φοβερὸν μεν εἰχεν ἐκ της τῦ πνευματος συνεργιας κατα δαιμονων το Χρατος. De Sp. S. cap. 29. p. 62. D. But here the reference to this matter is not clear and certain. Basil might intend some of Gregory's miracles, dispossessing dæmons out of the bodies of men.

[c] Fidem tamen a nobis non impetrat festiva Nysseni narratio. Nempe quod dæmoni, quem templo suo expulerat, rogatus a sacerdote, ut rursus in ædem suam exulem introduceret, in exiguo frustulo scripserit: Gregorius Satanæ [illegible]. Quæ fecunda vix absque peccato dari potuit, neque vel ad [illegible] concedendam, missâ ad diabolum epistolâ opus fuit. Quod sane mirum est scribendi genus, ac indignissimum viro sancto commentum. Basn. A. 240. vi.

tells him, 'his [a] capacity was such, that he might be either a Roman lawyer of the first rank, 'or a celebrated Greek philosopher.' But he adviseth him to make the Christian religion his chief study.

Eusebius speaking of Origen's scholars, says, 'The [b] most noted of them were Theodore, called also Gregory, the most renowned bishop of our time, and his brother Athenodorus; 'whom when Origen observed to be too fond of Greek and Roman learning, instilling into 'them a love of philosophy, he drew them off from their former studies to divine things. 'Having stayed with him five whole years, they made such progress in the knowledge of the 'divine oracles, that whilst they were yet very young they were both appointed bishops in 'Pontus.' In another place, relating things under Gallienus, about the year 260, he says, 'At '[c] that time Gregory and his brother Athenodorus governed the churches in Pontus.' And among the bishops assembled from several parts in the first council at Antioch in 264, 'The 'most considerable,' he [d] says, 'were Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, the two 'brothers Gregory and Athenodorus, pastors of the churches in Pontus, Helenus of Tarsus, 'and some others.'

Jerom, in his letter to Magnus, so often cited already, among other eminent Christian authors, mentions [e] Theodore, afterwards named Gregory, and calls him a man of apostolical signs and wonders.

What Basil, bishop of Cæssarea, in Cappadocia, has written of our Gregory, may deserve some special notice.

In his Treatise of the Holy Spirit, after having mentioned divers ancient ecclesiastical writers of chief note; such as Irenæus, Dionysius of Rome, and him of Alexandria, Origen, Africanus, and others; he adds; 'But [f] where shall I place the great Gregory, and his words? 'Ought he not to be ranked with the apostles and prophets; a man who walked in the same 'spirit with them, who always followed the footsteps of the saints, and in the whole of his 'conduct was a complete model of the evangelical life? 2 Cor. xii. 18 For my part, I must 'say, we should be injurious to the truth, if we do not reckon that soul in the number of those 'who were dearest to God, who shined in the church as a large burning lamp, who by the 'mighty operation of the Spirit had a power terrible to dæmons, who received such grace of 'the word "for the obedience of faith among all nations," (Rom. i. 5.) that though at first he 'found only seventeen Christians, he brought over to the acknowledgment of God all the 'people both of the city and the neighbouring country. He also turned the course of rivers, 'commanding them in the all-powerful name of Christ; and dried up a lake, which was the 'subject of contention between covetous brothers. His predictions of things future are such, 'as not to be inferior to those of other prophets. But it would be too long to reckon up 'all the miracles of this person, who for the abundance of the gifts wrought in him by the 'Holy Spirit, "in all power," [or, mighty deeds] "signs and wonders," (2 Cor. xii. 12) was 'called a second Moses by the enemies of the truth. Such was the grace of all his words and 'actions, that he appeared to be adorned with a peculiar light and splendour, and indication of 'the heavenly power by which he was conducted. He is still the admiration of all the people 'of that country; and the memory of him is ever fresh and lively in the churches, not at all 'abated by length of time; for [g] which reason they have not taken up any custom, word, or 'mystical rite, beside what they received from him. Insomuch, that that church appears defec- 'tive in many respects, because they have nothing but what is ancient; for they who have 'succeeded him in the government of the churches would admit of none of those things 'that have been since invented, but have kept entirely to the first institutions, as derived from 'him.'

This is the great character which Basil gives of Gregory, and this is what he says here of

[a] Δυναται εν ἡ ευφυια σε Ῥωμαιον σε νομικον ποιειν τελειον, και Ἑλληνικον τινα φιλοσοφον των νομιζομενων ελλογιμων αἱρεσεων. Orig. Ep. ad Greg. T. i. p. 30. D. Bened. [b] ὡν επισημοτατος μαλιστα εγνωσμεν Θεοδωρον, . . . ὁς ην αυτος ἑτος ὁ καθ' ἡμας επισκοπων διαφανεστατος Γρηγοριος, κ. λ. H. E. L. vi. cap. 30.

[c] L. vii. cap. 14. [d] Ib. c. 28.

[e] Exstant et Julii Africani libri, qui temporum scripsit historias; et Theodori, qui postea Gregorius appellatus est, viri apostolicorum signorum atque virtutum. Hieron. ep. 83. [al. 84.] p. 656. m.

[f] Basil. De Sp. S. cap. 29. T. iii. p. 62, 63. Bened.

[g] εκεν ε πραξιν τινα, ου λογον, ε τυπον τινα μυστικον, παρ' ὁν εκεινοις κατελιπε, τη εκκλησια προσεθηκαν. Ταυτη τοι και πολλα των παρ' αυτοις τελουμενων ελλειπως εχειν δοκει, δια το της παραδοσεως αρχαιοτροπον. ουδεν γαρ ηνεσχοντο οἱ κατα διαδοχην τας εκκλησιας οικονομησαντες, των μετ' εκεινον εφευρεθεντων παραδεξασθαι εις προσθηκην. Ib. p. 63.

his people. Nevertheless, this church of Neocæsarea, the people of Gregory, were very troublesome to the same Basil, or he gave himself a great deal of trouble and uneasiness about them; for in divers of his letters he complains that they were all Sabellians; and he laments the strange aversion they had for him; which appears to have been general in the bishop, clergy, people, and even the near relations of Basil in that church.

In a letter to the Neocæsareans, written about the year 375, entreating their good will and reconcilement to him, he says, 'That[a] one thing which should unite them in affection is that 'he and they had the same instructors in the mysteries of religion, and the same spiritual 'fathers: I mean, says he, the great and admirable Gregory, and those who have succeeded 'him in the episcopal chair with you, as stars arising one after another, all walking in the same 'steps, leaving to all who are disposed to attend manifest traces of an heavenly conversation.' Afterwards, in the same letter, 'And[b] what stronger proof can there be of [the orthodoxy of] 'our faith, than that we were educated by our grandmother, that blessed woman sprung from 'among you? I mean the celebrated Macrina, by whom we were taught the words of the most 'blessed Gregory, as she had received them and preserved them in her memory, when she 'taught us in our childhood the principles of religion and virtue.'

In another letter written to the clergy of Neocæsarea, after complaining of their[c] universal agreement with their bishop in an opposition against him, he writes, '[d] Do not follow those 'who introduce among you impious doctrines; nor do you sit still whilst in your sight the 'people of God is subverted by corrupt principles. Sabellius, an African, and Marcellus of 'Galatia, are the only persons that have taught and written those things, which some leading 'men among you now produce as inventions of their own; talking, indeed, with much assur-'ance, but bringing no plausible arguments for what they say. These men reproach us without 'any regard to truth, but will not come to discourse with us...Yea, they are arrived at such 'impudence as[e] to calumniate our doctrine as pernicious.' He goes on: 'And[f] what is the 'ground of this implacable hatred of me? They say that I have introduced psalms and a 'method of singing different from your custom; and other such like things they say, which 'they might be ashamed to mention. We are likewise accused that we have among us men who '"exercise themselves unto godliness," who have renounced the world and all earthly cares, 'which the Lord compares to "briars and thorns, which suffer not the word to bring forth 'fruit to perfection;" men who "bear about the dying of Jesus in their body," and "take up 'the cross, and follow God." 1 Tim. iv. 7. Matth. xiii. 22. Luke viii. 14. 2 Cor. iv. 10. Matth. xvi. 24. Basil adds, he hears there are already such men in Egypt, and perhaps likewise in Palestine and in Mesopotamia, and more than in his diocese. 'Moreover,' says he, 'if some 'women, chusing an evangelical life, prefer virginity to marriage, bringing into subjection the 'desires of the flesh, practising that mourning on which a blessing is pronounced; (Matt. v. '4.) blessed are they for this their purpose, in whatever part of the world they are.....For[g] I 'would have you to know that we glory in this, that we have societies of men and women 'whose "conversation is in heaven," (Philip. iii. 20.) who "have crucified the flesh with it's 'affections and lusts, (Gal. v. 24.) who are not solicitous about meat and dress, but are "with-'out distraction," (1 Cor. vii. 35.) and constantly attend on the Lord, and "continue in sup-'plications night and day," (1 Tim. v. 5.) whose mouth speaketh not the works of men, but 'they sing hymns to our God without ceasing, "working with their own hands, that they may 'give to him that needeth," (Eph. iv. 28.) Then he returns to the charge brought against him for the new psalmody, by which especially, as[h] he says, they terrified the more simple people, and exasperated them against him. Here Basil describes that new way of singing which gave offence, and then goes on again: 'But[i] these things, they say, were not in the time of the

[a] Ep. 204. [al. 75.] p. 303. C. D. ibid.

[b] Πίστεως δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας, τίς ἂν γένοιτο ἐναργεστέρα ἀπόδειξις, ἢ ὅτι τραφέντες ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ τινὶ τῇ μακαρίᾳ γυναικὶ, παρ' ὑμῶν ὡρμημένῃ; Μακρίναν λέγω τὴν περίβωτον, παρ' ἧς ἐδιδάχθημεν τὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Γρηγορίου ῥήματα, ὅσα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀκόλουθα μνήμης διασωθέντα αὐτῇ τε ἐφύλασσε, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἔτι νηπίους ὄντας ἐπλάττε καὶ ἐμόρφου τοῖς τῆς εὐσεβείας δόγμασιν. p. 306. B.

[c] Ἡ μὲν συμφωνία τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν μίσους, καὶ τὸ μέχρις ἑνὸς πάντας ἀκολουθῆσαι τῷ προέχοντι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς πολέμου, κ. λ. Ep. 207 [al 63.] p. 309. D

[d] Ibid. E.

[e] διαβαλλόντες ἡμῶν τὰς διδασκαλίας, ὡς βλαβερὰς. Ibid, p. 310. B.

[f] Καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐρωτήσωσι τοῦ ἀνηκέστου τούτου καὶ ἀσπόνδου πολέμου, ψαλμῳδίαν λέγουσι καὶ τρόπον μελῳδίας, τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν κεκρατηκυίας συνηθείας παρηλλαγμένον, καὶ τοιαῦτα τινα, ἐφ' οἷς ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς ἐγκαλυπτεσθαι. Ἐγκαλοῦμεθα δὲ, ὅτι καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἔχομεν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀσκητὰς, ἀποταξαμένους τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ πᾶσαις ταῖς βιωτικαῖς μερίμναις. κ. λ. ib. p. 310. C.

[g] γινώσκειν δὲ ὑμᾶς θέλω, ὅτι ἐν τούτῳ ἡμεῖς εὐχόμεθα καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν [illegible] ἡγούμενα τοῦ γάμου τὴν παρθενίαν, p. 310. E. 311. A.

[h] Πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἐν ψαλμῳδίαις [illegible] ἐγκλήματι, ᾧ μάλιστα τὸν ἁπλούστερον φοβοῦσιν οἱ διαβάλλοντες [illegible] p. 311. A.

[i] Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν, φησὶ, ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου. p. 311. D.

'great Gregory. To which I answer, Nor yet the litanies [penitential prayers] you make use 'of: not that I blame you for that, for I could wish that you all lived in tears and in continued penance...But after all,' says Basil, 'you retain nothing of Gregory; for[a] he did not pray with his head covered...He did not swear....He did not call his brother fool....He did not come to the altar before he had been reconciled to his brother.' Thus Basil goes on, giving these men hard words, when perhaps the same, or like things, might be said too truly of Basil's own friends and admirers, or any other people; especially if a man is out of humour with them because they do not submit to his will and pleasure. 'But,' says[b] he, 'we forgive 'every thing; only let the great things of religion be preserved: let there not be any innovations made in the faith: do not overthrow the subsistences, [hypostases:] do not deny the 'name of Christ: do not misinterpret the words of Gregory.'

From these several passages I think it appears, that Gregory's church at Neocæsarea were now an old-fashioned people, Christians of the primitive sort. There were some new hymns, or psalms, begun to be made use of by others which they did not approve of. They likewise disliked the new psalmody, which was a more artificial way of singing than was heretofore in use in the churches of Christ. Monasteries of men and women were another innovation which gave them offence: and when it is considered that Basil was fond of all these things, particularly of monasteries, and was the[c] first person who introduced them into the countries of Cappadocia and Pontus, some will be able to account for the angry and contemptuous treatment which Basil gives the Neocæsareans. The opposition which those good people made to his new schemes was, it seems, a high provocation. But some may think that those Christians had good reason to oppose some of his measures and take offence at them; and not a few persons of good judgment may still be displeased when they observe how he debaseth the sublime sense of many texts, and perverts the scriptures in support of his monastic institutions.

Basil says, that the Neocæsareans then had litanies, or penitential prayers, not used in Gregory's time; and insinuates, that they prayed with their heads covered. What they would say for themselves with regard to these two points, I cannot tell; but as for their doctrine about the hypostases, or subsistences, it is plain from Basil, that they defended their sentiment out of Gregory's writings. What Basil says of their having nothing of Gregory left among them, is extravagant. He has himself bore them his testimony, that they had a vast respect for the founder of their church; and that they were so shy of admitting later inventions, that they appeared defective and antiquated, in comparison of many other churches of that age.

We must make extracts out of another letter of Basil, written to the chief men of Neocæsarea. Basil was then at a place in the neigbourhood of that city: his coming so near them put the whole city into confusion: to abate their resentments, he reminds them of his education[d] by his grandmother, in that very place, and assures them, that he came thither now for retirement. He reminds them also of the respect they formerly had for him, when their whole city invited him and pressed him with much earnestness and importunity to undertake the education of their youth. 'But,' says he, 'I will tell you what is the ground of this ani'mosity against me, which prevails to such a degree in your city. It is no other than this: there '[e] is among you a design to overthrow the faith, in opposition to the apostolical and evangelical 'doctrine, and the tradition of the truly great Gregory, and all his successors to the blessed 'Musonius, whose words must still sound in your ears. For the heresy of Sabellius, which 'some now endeavour to revive, was formerly extinguished by the tradition of that great 'man.....Sabellianism[f] is Judaism, brought into the church under the name of Christianity.... 'These[g] men pretend, in a letter to Anthimus, bishop of Tyana, who is of the same mind with

[a] Γρηγοριος ω κατεκαλυπτετο επι των προσευχων. ibid. E.

[b] Μονον ερρωσθω τα προηγεμενα, και τας περι την πιστιν καινοτομιας κατασιγασατε· τας υποστασεις μη αθετειτε· το ονομα τε Χριστε μη απαρνεισθε· τας τε Γρηγοριε φωνας μη παρεξηγεισθε. ib. p. 312. C.

[c] Vid. Vit. St. Basil. cap. xii. num. i. p. 53. B. C. D. Bened.

[d] Ενταυθα γαρ ετραφην παρα τη εμαυτε τιτθη. Ep. 110. al. 64. p. 313. D.

[e] Πιστεως διαστροφη παρ' υμιν μελεταται· εχθρα μεν τοις αποστολικοις και ευαγγελικοις δογμασι, εχθρα δε τη παραδοσει τε μεγαλε ως αληθως Γρηγοριε, και των εφεξης απ' εκεινε, μεχρι τε μακαριε Μυσωνιε. ω τα διδαγματα εναυλα υμιν εστι και νυν δηλονοτι. το γαρ Σαβελλιε κακον, παλαι μεν κινηθεν, καταβεβεσθαι δε τη παραδοσει τε μεγαλε επιχειρουσι νυν αναιρεισθαι τοι. p. 314. D. E.

[f] P. 315. A.

[g] Καθηκαν δε τινα πειραν οι επιστολης, και προς τον διοψωμενον ημων Ανθιμον των Τυαναν επισκοπον· ως αρα Γρηγοριε ειποντος εν εκθεσει πιστεως, πατερα και υιον επινοια μεν ειναι δυο, υποστασει δε εν. Τουτο ος ότι η δογματικως ειρηται, αλλ' αγωνιστικως, εν τη προς Αιλιανον διαλεξει, συκ ηδυνηθησαν συνιδειν οι επι λεπτοτητι των φρενων εαυτες μακαριζοντες· εν η Πολλα των απογραφομενων εστι σαλματα, ως επ' αυτων των λεξεων δειξομεν ημεις εαν ο Θεος θελη. Επειτα, μεντοι τον Ελληνα πειθων, εκ ηγειτο χρηναι ακριβολογεισθαι περι τα ρηματα· αλλ' εστιν ότε και συνηθως αι

'us, that Gregory says, in his Exposition of the Faith, that the Father and Son are two in our 'conception, but one in hypostasis. These accute and subtle people, it seems, cannot see that 'that is not spoken dogmatically, [or as a point of doctrine;] but agonistically, [or, in the 'haste and fervour of disputation] in his conference with Ælian; in which too there are many 'faults of the transcribers, as I will shew, if God permit. Besides, teaching a Gentile, he did 'not think it necessary to be accurate in his expressions; for it was fit to yield a little to a 'man that was to be brought over to the faith, that he might not reject the chief things: 'insomuch, that you may find three several words which afford the greatest advantage to the 'heretics of this time; such as creature, made, and the like.'

Thus writes Basil. Certainly this is a slight apology: no one can think that Gregory owes any thanks to the author of it. However, let us make a few remarks.

1. Basil says, the people of Neocæsarea had been taught the right faith by all their bishops down to Musonius; whose successor therefore, their present bishop, was the first person who taught among them the doctrine which Basil dislikes: and Basil here says fine things of that Musonius, and calls him a blessed man, now he was dead and gone; but when he was living Basil did not agree with him; no better, perhaps, than with his successor, the present bishop. That they differed to a great degree Basil owns in a letter [a] written soon after the death of Musonius; though he says it was not about some doctrinals that they differed, but only about some matters relating to the discipline or peace of the churches.

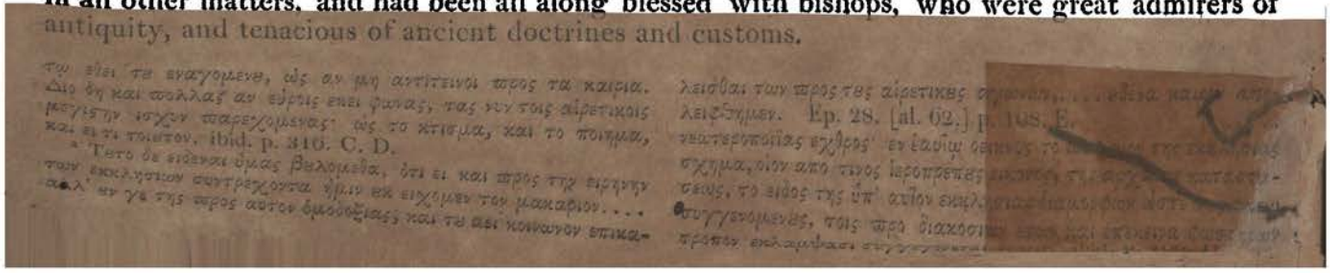
In that letter, which is a consolatory epistle to the Neocæsareans upon occasion of the death of their pastor, and written six or seven years before this, he gives such an account of Musonius that I cannot forbear inserting it in this place. He says, 'he was an ornament of 'the churches, "a pillar and ground of the truth, a support of the faith which is in Christ 'Jesus," (1 Tim. iii. 15. Col. ii. 5.) an [b] enemy of all novelty; shewing in himself a pattern of 'the primitive constitution of the church, so that they who conversed with him might imagine 'to themselves that they saw one of the lights that shined two hundred years ago and more.' This is a most glorious character! Heu pietas, heu prisca fides! If Musonius was such a man, how can it be for Basil's honour to have disagreed with him? May there not be some reason to apprehend that, by this commendation of another, Basil has passed a censure upon himself, who seems to have countenanced all the innovations of the times?

2. Basil says, the heresy of Sabellius had been extinguished by the tradition of Gregory: but what is meant by this I do not know. Gregory was at the first council against Paul at Antioch, but Paul was not then deposed; nor was Gregory at the second council. Besides, by his tradition, I guess to be intended not Gregory himself, whilst living, but rather his doctrine after his death. But what Basil refers to in that expression I cannot say.

3. Basil does not deny that Gregory used the words alleged by the Neocæsareans.

4. Basil labours extremely in the rest of his answer. Since the passage insisted upon is genuine, what does it avail to say, there are faults of transcribers, perhaps in things of little moment only? Then he owns that Gregory spoke inaccurately, at least in his judgment: nay, he makes Gregory disguise or conceal the truth, and thus cast a mist before an honest heathen, in order to make a proselyte of him. This is not defending Gregory, but abusing him: that the Neocæsareans may be confuted, Gregory is vilified.

5. As for the doctrine now held by the Neocæsareans, whether downright Sabellianism, or somewhat differing from it; I think that, considering the passages before alleged, and the great respect they had for Gregory, it seems probable that there must have been some grounds in his writings for the doctrine which now obtained among them. It is not easy to suppose that a sentiment entirely different from Gregory's, in a point of importance, should universally prevail in a church that greatly respected his memory; who were averse to novelty in all other matters, and had been all along blessed with bishops, who were great admirers of antiquity, and tenacious of ancient doctrines and customs.



We have now seen Basil's passages relating to our bishop, and have made some remarks upon them.

Theodoret, who flourished about the year 426, speaking of the council of Antioch in 264, says, 'They [a] of the first rank among those who assembled there were, Gregory the great, the 'renowned, who by the indwelling grace of the Spirit performed those wonderful works which 'are celebrated by all mankind; his brother, Athenodorus; Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea in 'Cappadocia, an illustrious person, equally master of divine and human knowledge; and 'Helenus, who presided in the metropolis of the Cilicians,' meaning Tarsus.

Socrates, who flourished before the middle of the fifth century, speaks of our Gregory after this manner: That [b] he was born at Neocæsarea, and that to his time Gregory was famous at Athens, and Berytus, and in all Pontus, and in a word, all over the world. Having been some while at Athens, he went to Berytus for the sake of the law. Being informed that Origen explained the sacred scriptures at Cæsarea, he went immediately thither; and, giving over the study of the Roman laws, became a disciple of Origen. Having learned of him the true philosophy, he returned home at the desire of his parents. 'There [c] he did many miracles, even [d] 'whilst he was yet a layman, healing the sick, and driving away dæmons by his letters. He 'converted many Gentiles by his discourses, and yet more by his works. Pamphilus the martyr 'makes mention of him in his Apology for Origen; to which he added Gregory's farewell 'oration, spoken in praise of Origen.'

III. These I suppose to be the most valuable, as well as most ancient, accounts of our author. We will now, so far as we are able, collect from them his age, and some other particulars, which have not been so distinctly expressed by the ancients as might be wished.

Dr. Cave, in his Historia Literaria, [e] placeth Gregory at the year 254; but for what reason he has set him so late I do not know, when he usually placeth ecclesiastical writers, if they are bishops, about the time they were ordained; and he supposeth that Gregory was a bishop before the Decian persecution. He digests the history of Gregory in this order: after the rudiments of learning received at home, he went to Alexandria; thence to Athens; afterwards to Berytus; and at last, about the year 234, he came with his brother Athenodorus to Origen at Cæsarea in Palestine, where he stayed five years; having been at the council of Antioch in 265, he died the same year.

Du Pin [f] says, Gregory was ordained about the year of Christ 240: that having been present at the first council in the affair of Paul of Samosata, he died a short time after, in the year 265.

Basnage [g] thinks that Gregory came to Cæsarea in 231, the same year that Origen arrived there from Alexandria: that he took his leave of Origen in the year 235, at the beginning of the persecution under the emperor Maximinus, having been with Origen five years, the first and last years both incomplete. It is true, Eusebius says, that Gregory and his brother were [h] five whole years with Origen: nevertheless, Basnage thinks those years may be understood as just now explained. He farther [i] argues, that Gregory did not study at all at Athens, nor Berytus, nor Alexandria; but only at Cæsarea, whither he came directly from his native country: from which place also he returned home, according to Gregory's own history of himself in the panegyrical oration; which, as that learned writer supposeth, confutes the stories of all the other journies. He says Gregory was ordained in 240, and died in 265.

Tillemont [k] supposeth that Gregory came to Origen at Cæsarea in 231: that in 235, Origen being obliged to retire, upon occasion of the persecution under Maximinus, Gregory took that

[a] Των δε συνελθοντων επρωτευον Γρηγοριος τε ὁ μεγας, ὁ περιβοητος, ὁ τας παρα παντων ἀδομενας θαυματεργιας επιτελεσας δια της ενοικησης τε πνευματος χαριτος.... Hær. Fab. l. 2. c. 8.

[b] Socr. l. 4. c. 27. [c] Κἀκει πρωτον μεν λαϊκος ων, πολλα σημεια επoιησε, νοσουντας θεραπευων, και δαιμονας δι' επιστολων φυγαδευων, και τους ἐλληνιζοντας, τοις τε λογοις, και πλεον τοις γινομενοις υπ' ἀυτε, προσαγομενος. ibid. p. 244. C.

[d] Even whilst he was yet a layman.] I have translated agreeably to Valesius, whose words are: Ubi primo quidem dum adhuc laïcus esset, multa fecit miracula, &c. But I would propose that the Greek should be rendered thus: "And there, having been first for some while a layman, he wrought many miracles, healing the sick, and driving away dæmons by his letters, and converting Gentiles by his words, but more especially by his works." If the words are so understood, Socrates agrees with Gregory of Nyssa, and likewise with Jerom in his Catalogue. See above p. 591. According to this sense Valesius's version may be amended with only a small alteration in this manner: Ubi, quum aliquamdiu laïcus fuisset, multa fecit miracula, &c.

[e] Part i. p. 93. [f] Nouv. Bib. St. Greg. Thaumaturge. [g] Basn. Ann. 240. n. iii.

[h] Παντε δε ὁλοις ετεσιν αυτῳ συγγενομενοι. Eus. l. vi. c. 30. p. 230 A. [i] Basn. ib. n. iii. iv. v.

[k] Mem. Ecc. T. iv. P. ii. St. Greg. Thaum. Art. iv. p. 669, et. note i. p. 903, &c.

opportunity to go to Alexandria, where he was in 235, 236, and 237; and returning thence to Cæsarea, he completed his five years with Origen, or made up eight years from the time he first came to him, and then left him to go home in 239; and [a] Fabricius appears to approve of this method of removing the difficulties relating to this matter. As for the time when Gregory was made bishop, Tillemont thinks it not easy to be determined: all that we can find, says [b] he, is, that Gregory left Origen in 238 or 239, and that Nyssen gives us ground to think he had laboured a good deal, when his church was tried by the Decian persecution in 250; and [c] he observes, that [d] Baronius computes the death of Gregory to have happened soon after the first council relating to Paul, for no other reason but this, that we have no particular account of him after that; whereas the modern Greeks say, he lived and flourished under Aurelian, who did not begin his reign till 270: and, adds Tillemont, perhaps we ought to read Aurelian in Suidas, where the printed editions of that author say Gregory died under Julian. This may be reckoned a happy conjecture; for Kuster says, that two manuscript copies of Suidas have Aurelian in that place instead of Julian, which manuscripts he has followed in his edition. And Fabricius [e] declares it to be his opinion, that Gregory died in the time of Aurelian, not before the year 270. However, Pagi [f] gives it as his judgment, that Baronius was in the right to conclude that Gregory died soon after the forementioned council, since his attendance there is the last thing we hear of him.

Such are the opinions of learned moderns, very skilful in these matters; and though these things may appear to some of no importance, I must own I should be glad to settle the time of this great man, or come near it, upon probable grounds. As for Gregory's journey to Athens, it is mentioned by Socrates only, who makes many mistakes in what he says of this writer; as all may perceive from what has been taken from others, without our staying here to shew those mistakes distinctly. Therefore I think there is no reason to suppose that Gregory ever studied in that city. The journey to Alexandria likewise I could willingly set aside with Basnage; for neither Eusebius nor Jerom make any mention of it. It seems to have been put down by Nyssen without any ground. But Alexandria was a flourishing city, and much resorted to. It cost him little or no labour to send Gregory thither, and tell a strange adventure or two of him whilst there; or perhaps Nyssen thought Origen was still at Alexandria; though if he did he was plainly mistaken, it being very evident from Gregory's Oration, that Origen was settled at Cæsarea before he became acquainted with him: but as for the journey to Berytus, methinks there is somewhat to be said for it; because it is particularly mentioned by Jerom, and Socrates, and Suidas; though it must be owned, that this last only transcribes Sophronius's Greek translation of Jerom's Catalogue. It is true likewise, that Gregory in his Oration affords us no authority for this supposition. Nevertheless, perhaps, this opinion is not inconsistent with the oration; for Gregory there mentions a term of eight years; and yet Eusebius, who could not but be well informed, speaks of Gregory's being with Origen but five years. There was therefore in that space of eight years room for him to make an excursion from Cæsarea. And Berytus appears to me as likely a place as any, because it is mentioned by the authors before cited; and because, though at Origen's request Gregory laid aside his first intention of being a lawyer, yet he might think it not improper to visit the place, for the sake of which he left his native country, and stay a short season there. This might be thought likewise a piece of respect due to those who had recommended to him the study of the Roman laws. Nor was Berytus far from Cæsarea. Finally, it may be thought by some, that what Origen writes to Gregory, of his ability to become a lawyer of the first rank, implies, that his scholar at his return home had gained some farther knowledge of the law than he brought thence, which yet he could not receive from him at Cæsarea.

As Origen was settled at Cæsarea, when Gregory arrived there, he could not come thither before 231, if so soon. Since that is the earliest date possible of his arrival, and he mentions a term of eight years in his oration, I think he could not leave Origen before the year 239. And since from Origen's letter to Gregory, written some while after his return home, he was a mere layman, and there appears no prospect of his being immediately devoted to the service of the church; and since Nyssen says, Gregory lived retired for some time, and when Phedimus sought for him he kept out of the way; it appears to me probable, that he could not be

[a] Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 247. [b] Ibid. Art. vi. p. 675. [c] Ibid. Art. xi. p. 691. [d] Baron. Ann. 266. n. xiv.
[e] Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 248. [f] Pagi Crit. in Baron. 265. n. v.

ordained before the year 243, if so soon: I am indeed inclined to a later date, and should choose to place him at 245. And supposing him endowed with extraordinary gifts, (of which I make no doubt but he was at the time of his ordination, or soon after) he would convert many Gentiles, and make large additions to the small church he at first found in Neocæsarea, before the persecution in 250, when he retired; and afterwards, peace being restored, he returned to his people. He was certainly at the first council of Antioch in the cause of Paul in 264. Eusebius and Theodoret put that out of question. I do not at present recollect any learned moderns, who say he was at the second council in that city. Undoubtedly the generality of learned men have not been of opinion, that Gregory was present at that second council, because they have supposed he died very soon after the first. And Fabricius, who thinks he lived to the year 270, mentions only his presence at the first [a] council, as having no ground to say he was at the second. However, Tillemont [b] observes, that there is one Theodore among the bishops of the last council; and, as he adds, he may be our saint. But I think that to be very improbable; for, in the account which [c] Eusebius gives of the first council, he calls our bishop Gregory, not Theodore; and placeth him and his brother Athenodorus next after Firmilian, who is the first. But in his Catalogue of the names of those who were present at the second council, Theodore, meant by Tillemont, is the fourteenth; and the next is Malchion, a presbyter; therefore he cannot be our bishop: that Theodore was either a presbyter, or the youngest of the bishops expressly named as present. In the account which Theodoret gives of the bishops at the first council, Gregory is first, his brother next, and after him Firmilian, as we saw [d] before. I think, therefore, that our Gregory did not attend at the second council of Antioch.

And perhaps some will recollect what was said formerly [e] concerning the different results of those two councils. At the first, when Firmilian was present, and by his advice Paul was spared; at the second, when Firmilian was dead, he was deposed. If it be now farther considered, that those other two great lights, Gregory and his brother, were wanting in the second council, perhaps we may still better account for the sentence then pronounced, which by some has been reckoned indiscreet, and not for the honour of the Christian name at that time.

The exact time of Gregory's death cannot be determined. I have mentioned two opinions; one supposing that he died in 265, soon after the first council at Antioch; the other supposing him to have lived till the reign of Aurelian, and not to have died before the year 270. I must leave it to every one to judge for himself, which of these two opinions is the more probable. I have before mentioned the reasons for each of them, and have nothing farther to add.

IV. Gregory's works, so far as we know any thing of them, are such as these.

1. A Panegyrical Oration, in praise of Origen, pronounced in 239, still extant, and unquestionably his. Du Pin [f] says of it, 'that it is very eloquent, and that it may be reckoned one 'of the finest pieces of rhetoric in all antiquity.' It is the more admirable, because perhaps it is the first thing of the kind among Christians.

2. A Paraphrase of the Book of Ecclesiastes, mentioned by Jerom in his Catalogue, and quoted by him [g] in his Commentary upon that book, and still extant.

3. Jerom afterwards adds in his Catalogue, that Gregory wrote several epistles; of which, however, we have now only one remaining, called a Canonical Epistle to an anonymous bishop, written [h] in 258 or [i] 262; consisting as we now have it, of eleven canons, all allowed to be genuine, except [k] the last, which is doubted of, or plainly rejected, as no part of the original epistle, but since added to it.

These are all the works of Gregory taken notice of by Jerom.

4. To these may be added the Creed, or Faith, before referred to in Gregory Nyssen; and which, he says, our Gregory received from John the evangelist, before he began to act in his episcopal character. Of this Du Pin [l] speaks after this manner. 'St. Gregory of Nyssa, in 'his Life of this father, puts down a formulary of faith, which he pretends [or affirms] our 'saint received from St. John in a vision which he had in the night, and was preserved till

[a] Fabr. ib. p. 248. [b] Ibid. Art. x. fin. [c] Vid. Euseb. L. vii. cap. 28, 29, 30. [d] See before, p. 601. [e] See vol. i. chap. 39. [f] As before. [g] Vir [illegible]tus, Gregorius Ponti episcopus, Origenis auditor, in Ecclesiasten Salomonis ita hunc locum intellexit. Hieron. Comm. in Eccl. Cap. iv. v. 13. . . . 16. [h] Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 253, and Tillemont, as before, Art. xii. [i] Basnag. Ann. 240. n. vii. et 262, n. ii. [k] See Fabricius and Tillemont as before. [l] Saint Grégoire de Nysse rapporte, dans la Vie de ce Père, une formule de Foi qu'il prétend que ce saint avoit reçu de Saint Jean dans une vision qu'il avoit eue pendant la nuit, et qu' on conservoit encore, à ce qu'il dit, écrite de la main de Saint Grégoire Thaumaturge. Bib. T. i. p. 184, 185.

'that time, as he says, in the hand-writing of St. Gregory the wonder-worker.' It seems to me, therefore, that Du Pin was not satisfied of the genuineness of this creed. But that others who are able may with the less trouble judge of the force of his expressions, I have put the original French in the margin. It is, however, received as genuine by [a] Fabricius, [b] Bull, and many others. Basnage [c] says, it may be supposed to have been written in the year 240. He owns that Jerom's silence might occasion some doubt, in that he has not mentioned it with Gregory's other pieces. But since it is in Nyssen and Rufinus, he readily allows it, with other learned moderns, to be genuine. Frederic Spanheim, if I understand him, rejects [d] not only the Particular Exposition of Faith, to be mentioned hereafter, but likewise this creed. Mr. Lampe [e] seems to reject both the creed and the history of it; for he says, if those things related by Nyssen were true, and John had been sent from heaven on purpose to deliver this Formulary, it ought to be esteemed at least equally with his other writings.

For my part, I think this creed can by no means be relied upon as Gregory's. I shall mention the following reasons.

1. The account which Nyssen gives of the revelation of this creed is altogether improbable. Gregory, as he says, would not preach till he had a revelation of the faith made to him. But what need could Gregory have of such a thing? had he not been taught the Christian faith by Origen, under whose instruction he sat five whole years? if he still needed some farther light, was not Phedimus, bishop of Amasea? were not other bishops able to inform him? not to add, that Gregory had before him continually the sacred scriptures, in which all necessary truths are clearly revealed; and that he had been trained up by Origen in a high veneration for those divine writings. There is, therefore, no reason to think that Gregory would desire a particular revelation; and still less to suppose it would be granted, if desired; and that in so profuse a manner, and without any occasion for it; by sending to him not only John, (though [f] he by some people has been thought better acquainted with the doctrine of the Trinity than any other apostle or evangelist) but likewise our Lord's mother; as if John, or any other evangelist, could not have been sufficient. This overdoing ruins the credit of a relation with men of judgment and sedate thought. And Basnage, though he allows the creed to have been composed about the year 240, as before shewn, disputes [g] the account of this revelation by a variety of arguments, and seems to give no credit to it. It follows therefore, I think, that Nyssen is not to be relied upon in this matter.

2. The whole history of this matter is more suitable to the affairs of the fourth than of the third century, and that the middle or even former part of it. This creed contains nothing but the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity. But why should Gregory desire information about that only? Was there nothing else to be taught by a Christian bishop? This shews that this story is a fiction of the fourth century, when the controversy about the Trinity filled all men's heads. In the early times of Christianity the creeds, though short, usually contained in them, beside the doctrine of the one God, divers historical matters relating to our Lord's life, death, resurrection, exaltation, and other important articles, concerning future retributions; as, our Lord's second coming to judgment, the resurrection of the body, and the like: of all which things there is not one article, one tittle, in this creed.

3. This creed is not taken notice of in Jerom's Catalogue. Indeed, in some copies of that work there is added after Gregory's Epistles, and Of the Faith, [et de Fide.] But it is allowed [h] by the best critics that those words are not genuine: whereas, if Jerom had known of that

[a] Ut supra, p. 249. [b] Bull. Def. Fid. Nic. p. 136, 137.

[c] Mystica igitur expositio hæc anno 240 videtur exarata. Num adscribenda sit Gregorio, movere scrupulum potest silentium Hieronymi, qui Gregorianis operibus illam non inseruit. At cum a Nysseno et a Rufino vindicetur, recentiores ut prætereamus, faciles largimur esse Gregorii. Basn. Ann. 240. n. vii.

[d] Plurima tamen Gregorii hujus nomen falso præferunt, ver. gr. Expositio Fidei, adversus Arianos, seu Symbolum quoddam ex revelatione scilicet Johannis, et Mariæ Virginis, in quo expressa vox τριαδος, et quod in apparitione tradiderint Gregorio, ut Nyssenus et hodieque Mss. extat in Græcorum monasteriis, teste Sponio Itin. Spanh. Hist. Ecc. p. 778.

[e] Hæc si vere ita gesta essent, formula talis, ab ipso Johanne apostolo cœlitus misso communicata, merito omnibus ejus scriptis mortali digito exaratis esset aut præferenda, aut saltem æquiparanda. Jo. Frid. Lampe in Evang. Johann. Prolegam. l. i. cap. vi. p. 102.

[f] Αλλ' ὁμως ὁ τοιουτος, ὁ αγραμματος,... ιδε ποιου τετυχηκε πνευματος, ὡςε ἁ μηδεις των αλλων ευαγγελιςων ἡμας εδιδαξεν, αυτος ταυτα βροντησαι. Theophyl. Proleg. in Joh. Evang. Conf. Lampe Prolegom. in Joh. Ev. Lib. 2, cap. ii. init. et cap iii. p. 178.

[g] Revelationis ejusmodi nobis est difficillima fides. Tanto nil opus miraculo fuit ad indicandum beatissimæ trinitatis mysterium, quod oraculis scripturæ diserte panditur. Neque Deo moris est, sanctos e cœlo mittere, qui scripturarum contenta consignent in [illegible] ibid. n. v.

[h] Vid. Fabr. ib. p. 251.

creed, and believed it to be genuine, he could not have omitted it. Would any author, writing the life of Moses, though in the most brief and summary way conceivable, take no notice of the ten commandments delivered to him in so honourable a manner? Nor could any writer of Gregory's life omit to mention a creed received from John the evangelist; and preserved in his own hand-writing in the records of his church, and published, and often copied thence, undoubtedly, if there was any such thing. Whether this argument be decisive or not it is of some force. They who made the interpolation before-mentioned did not like this omission.

4. If Basil may be relied on, in a dialogue now lost, Gregory expressed himself inaccurately about the doctrine of the Trinity. This may be thought to weaken, if not to overthrow, Nyssen's relation: for if, as he says, Gregory was[a] particularly solicitous to have information in that doctrine, before he begun to preach, and did actually receive a[b] distinct revelation of it, he must have discoursed accurately upon that head at all seasons, when arguing with heathens, and upon every other occasion; nor could he ever be at a loss for the greatest propriety of expression. One would think, likewise, that Basil should not have dared to censure any expressions of Gregory relating to the Trinity, if it had been a thing well known in those times, that he had been instructed in that doctrine by express and particular revelation.

5. St. Basil, in all his disputes with the people of Neocæsarea, says nothing of any written creed of our Gregory. He reminds them, over and over, of his grandmother Macrina, that blessed and famous woman, sprung from among them, who had the doctrine of Gregory safely preserved in her memory, which she likewise as carefully delivered to him in his childhood; but not one word of a written creed deposited with the Neocæsareans. This argument appears to me unanswerable: and every one is able to judge of it from St. Basil's epistles, which have been so largely transcribed. It appears to me to a great degree probable, that either there was no written creed at Neocæsarea reputed Gregory's, or that it was not to Basil's purpose; otherwise he must have referred to it. What good reason can be assigned why, in so warm a dispute, Basil should so often appeal to the instructions he received from his grandmother when he was a child, but say nothing of a written creed in Gregory's hand-writing, which he had, or might have seen and read when a man, if there had been any such thing? Basil, who made so good use of that circumstance, that he had been educated by a relation, his grandmother, sprung from among them, to shew the Neocæsareans that his faith was the same with that of their great Gregory, would have triumphed much more if there had been an authentic written creed, and his sentiments had been agreeable to it. Nyssen, in an oration delivered we know not where nor to whom, talks of a creed at Neocæsarea in Gregory's hand-writing: but Basil, in his epistles to the Neocæsareans themselves, mentions no such thing, though extremely to his purpose, much more than any thing said by him. I think it not difficult to know who ought most to be regarded, Basil, or his brother Gregory of Nyssa.

The creed then in Nyssen is not the creed of our great Gregory, but a fiction of the fourth century, after the rise and heats of the controversy about the Trinity; when the whole church was divided upon that head, and some people were willing to have Gregory on their side, to support their doctrine, or their manner of expression.

6. There are some other pieces which have been published as his; as, A particular Exposition of the Faith, three or four Homilies, and some other things. But[c] learned men being now generally agreed that they are supposititious, I need not take any farther notice of them.

7. However, there are some Fragments in a Greek chain, which Fabricius[d] seems to allow to be Gregory's: they are four in number; I intend to make use of three of them hereafter in the article of Testimonies to the books of the New Testament.

V. Having seen such a history, and such testimonies to Gregory, as time has spared us, and having likewise observed what are his genuine works, we are better able to form to ourselves some idea of him; and may now take at least his more remarkable features, which are extremely beautiful.

His farewell Oration at Cæsarea is the monument of a bright genius improved by education: here likewise appears a mind of a fair and candid complexion, with a grateful temper toward

[a] Vid. Greg. Nyss. de Vit. Greg. Thaum. p. 545. A. B.
[b] Vid. ibid. p. 546. B.
[c] Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. Du Pin. Biblioth. Fabr. ib. p. 253, 254. Tillem. ib Art. xii.
[d] Fragmenta quædam Gregorii Thaumaturgi occurrere in Catenâ ad Jeremiam Ghisleriană, Tom. i. . . jam notavit præstantissimus Caveus. Illa non ex Commentario in Prophetam, sed ex Homiliâ quâdam vel epistolâ videntur esse repetita. Fabric. ib. p. 254.

the conductor of his studies. The nobility of his family is unquestioned. Origen himself, who was well acquainted with our Gregory, and was no flatterer, bears witness to his excellent capacity, which he consecrated to God and true religion, abandoning all earthly pursuits and expectations. He was a bishop of singular note and eminence, as appears from Eusebius and the concurring testimony of many other ecclesiastical writers. His history, as delivered by authors of the fourth and following centuries, particularly by Nyssen, it is to be feared, has in it somewhat of fiction; but there can be no reasonable doubt made but he was very successful in making converts to Christianity in the country of Pontus, about the middle of the third century; and that, beside his natural and acquired abilities, he was favoured with extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, and wrought miracles of surprising power. The plain and express testimonies of Basil and others, at no great distance of time or place from Gregory, must be reckoned sufficient grounds of credit with regard to these things. Theodoret mentioning Gregory, and his brother, and Firmilian, and Helenus, all together, ascribes miracles to none but him alone. They were all bishops of the first rank: nevertheless Gregory had a distinction even among them. It is the same thing in Jerom's Letter to Magnus: there are mentioned Hippolytus, Julius Africanus, Dionysius of Alexandria, and many others, of great note and eminence for learning and piety. But Theodore, afterwards called Gregory, is the only one who is called a man of apostolical signs and wonders. Jerom's words [a] likewise in his Catalogue, though somewhat obscure, are very remarkable. I have rendered them thus; 'he is 'chiefly famous for the miracles he wrought when bishop, to the great honour of the churches.' They imply, if I mistake not, that Gregory was in his time the admiration of all mankind, not only in Pontus and the neighbouring countries, but also in other parts. The extraordinary gifts of the Spirit had not then entirely ceased: but Gregory was favoured with such gifts greatly beyond the common measure of other Christians or bishops at that season. This was much taken notice of, and it was greatly to the honour of the Christian profession all over the world. So Jerom. I see no reason, therefore, why we may not adopt the words of Eucherius, bishop of Lyons in the fifth century, as containing in short a just and true character of this person: 'that [b] he was at first great and eminent in the world for philosophy and eloquence, 'but afterwards greater and more eminent for his virtues,' or miracles.

His church continued stedfast in the faith after his death; and near the end of the fourth century the Neocæsareans were all Christians, having been all along to that very day blessed with pastors who were men of true worth. As Gregory therefore was an honour and ornament to the churches in his time, so his church continued to be an honour to him. The people of Neocæsarea retained for a long while remarkable impressions of religion; and they had an affection for the primitive simplicity, very rare and uncommon, almost singular at that time, when innovations came into the church apace. In particular, they could by no means approve of the common zeal for the monastic life. Those good people must have been apprehensive of the bad consequences of that institution, if they did not actually see some inconveniences attending it: for [c] Basil complains that they made reflections upon the conduct of the women in those societies; which it is not easy to think they would do without ground. It seems that they made the best stand they were able against that and other innovations. But popular things will have their course, notwithstanding the most judicious reasons and the most pathetic remonstrances to the contrary. Every age of the world seeth examples of this kind both in the church and in civil life.

And now I cannot but think there is reason to lament two things:

1. That no more of this great and excellent man's works are come down to us. It is plain some of his writings are lost; for Jerom speaks of his epistles, whereas we have no more than one remaining. And Basil mentions an Exposition of Faith, or a Dialogue with a Gentile, which is not in being.

2. That we have no history of his life, written by some contemporary in the plain and simple way he lived. This I take to be the greatest loss of the two: for though he might leave

[a] See before, p. 501.

[b] Gregorius, e Ponto sacerdos, philosophiâ primus apud mundum et eloquentiâ præstans; sed postea major præstantiorque virtutibus. Eucher. ad Valerian. ap. Bibl. Patr. Max. T. vi. p. 859. H.

[c] Ει δε τινα ακοσμιαν τῳ βιῳ των γυναικων επιφερουσιν, απολογεισθαι μεν ὑπερ αυτων ου κατα[illegible] Ερεινο δε ὑμιν διαμαρτυρομαι, ὁτι ἁ μεχρι νυν ὁ Σατανας, ὁ πατ[illegible] ειπειν ου κατεδεξατο, ταυτα αἱ αφοβοι καρδιαι, και [illegible] τα ςοματα αει φθεγγεται αδεως. Basil. Ep. 207, al. 63. p. 310. E.

behind some letters and some other pieces, which were both edifying and instructive, yet it is likely, as Jerom intimates, that he was more eminent for his signs and wonders than his writings. It may be well supposed that this apostolical man was chiefly employed in increasing his church, or in building it up in knowledge and virtue, by oral instructions and works of goodness, charitable or miraculous. Possibly such a history as we now wish for was composed, but was seldom transcribed, and therefore soon lost, as not suiting the taste which not long after prevailed in the church. This may be thought very probable, that if such a relation had been then drawn up, and still preserved, it would be more valuable than any thing written afterwards. A father of the fourth century, destitute of the gifts of the Spirit, whose chief talent is oratory, whose mind is heated with the controversies, and tainted with the credulity and partiality of his age, is not fit to write the life of a man of primitive simplicity, endowed with a large measure of apostolical gifts and virtues.

VI. Nothing farther remains, but that we observe Gregory's testimony to the scriptures of the New Testament.

1. And here, since nothing appears to the contrary, it ought to be taken for granted, that he had the same or very near the same canon of scripture with his master Origen. However, I shall take notice of some particulars, though much cannot be reasonably expected in the few and short pieces of his which we now have.

2. When Gregory came to Origen he was ignorant of the scriptures, as he plainly [a] intimates; but when he left him he was well acquainted with the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as appears from his quotations and allusions to them in his Panegyrical Oration.

3. In his Canonical Epistle are these words: 'the [b] apostle says; "Meats for the belly, 'and the belly for meats: but God shall destroy both it and them:" 1 Cor. vi. 13. And our 'Saviour also, purifying all meats says; "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man, 'but that which cometh out of the mouth;" Matth. xv. 11.

4. The fragments, formerly mentioned as preserved in a sort of Greek chain, are fine sentences. It is not certain from what work they are taken; but if they are genuine, it appears not improbable that they are taken from some homily or epistle of our Gregory.

In one of those fragments he says: 'The [c] scribes and pharisees of the Jewish people would 'never have received such repeated woes from our Saviour, if it had not been for their hypo-'crisy: for our Lord's reproofs of their faults continually begin and are prefaced in this [d] manner; "Woe unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites." And he calleth them "whited sepulchres, 'which indeed appear to men beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones and of 'all uncleanness:" Matt. xxiii. 27.

5. In another of these fragments he says; 'For [e] if we do any good to our neighbour out of sincere and undissembled love, we shall hear from our Saviour: "Inasmuch as ye have done 'it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me;" Matt. xxv. 40. What follows in this fragment is a fine reproof of false pretences of kindness, and the practice of artifice and deceit toward honest and undesigning persons. But I must not allow myself to transcribe it here at length.

6. In his Panegyrical Oration he refers to and enlarges upon the history of the poor widow which we have in Mark xii. 41....44. Luke xxi. 1...4. which he says is in the [f] sacred books; referring however, perhaps, more particularly to St. Luke's than St. Mark's gospel; and calling again our Lord's estimation of that poor widow's gift [g] a determination of the divine word

7. In the same Oration he has a beautiful allusion [h] to the parable of the prodigal, which is in Luke xv. He there also alludes to [i] Luke x. 30.

[a] Τετο ανεγνων μεν υστερον εν τοις ιεροις γραμμασιν. Orat. ad Orig. p. 60. A. [b] ὁ δε αποστολος φησι, Τα βρωματα..... Αλλα δε ὁ σωτηρ ὁ παντα καθαριζων τα βρωματα. κ. λ. Ep. Can. cap. i. p. 38. A. [c] εκ αν οἱ γραμματεις και οἱ φαρισαιοι τε λαε των Ιεδαιων πολυ το και παρα τη σωτηρος εκληρονομησαν, ει μη δια την ὑποκρισιν. εν γαρ τοις ελεγγοις αμαρτιων αυτων εκ επαυσατο κατα πασαν αιτιαν προλεγων ὁ κυριος· και ὑμιν, γραμματεις και φαρισαιοι [illegible] κεκονιαμενης ταφης αποκαλων αυτες· οἱ εξωθεν μεν ινονται τοις ανθρωποις ὡραιοι, εσωθεν δε γεμεσιν ὀστεων νεκρων, και πασης ακαθαρσιας. ap. Mich. Ghislerium in Jerem. cap. ix. v. 4. T. i. p. 788, 789. Lugdun. 1623. [d] See Matth. xxiii. 13, 14, 15, 23, 25, 27. [e] Εαν γαρ τι εις το πλησιον αγαθον εργασωμεθα δια της ανυποκριτε, αγαπης, ακεομεν παρα τε σωτηρος· Εφ' ὁσον εποιησατε ενι τετων των αδελφων με των ελαχιστων, εμοι εποιησατε. κ. λ ap. eund. in Jerem. cap. ix. v. 8, 9. p. 796. [f] Ουτως εν ιεραις βιβλοις φερεται, ὁτι ὁη μικρα τις και πτωχη γυνη, κ. λ. Orat. ad Orig. p. 60. A. [g] ὁ ιερος λογος εβαθμησατο. ib. D. [h] Vid. p. 75. A. B. [i] Ib. p. 76. B.

8. It is very probable from that Oration, that he was acquainted with [a] St. John's gospel particularly the beginning of it.

9. In the Canonical Epistle he says, 'it is not easy [b] to represent in one letter all that the 'divine scriptures have said, not only against so horrible a sin as robbery, but even against 'covetousness, or the love of filthy lucre.' However, he largely quotes one place of scripture, thus; 'but [c] "fornication," says he, "and covetousness, let it not be named among you: for 'which things sake the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience. Be not ye 'therefore partakers with them: for ye were sometime darkness, but now are ye light in the 'Lord. Walk as children of the light, (for [d] the fruit of the light is in all goodness, and 'righteousness, and truth;) proving what is acceptable to the Lord. And have no fellowship 'with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them. For it is a shame even to 'speak of those things, which are done of them in secret. But all things that are reproved 'are made manifest by the light." These things says the apostle,' Eph. v. 3.....13.

10. Origen, in his Epistle to Gregory, refers to several texts of scripture, and among others to [e] Heb. iii. 14.

11. In the third of the fragments before mentioned it is said; 'Pride [f] cannot but be 'evil, it being founded in much false conceit. For it is most manifest, that every perfect good 'cometh from God: nor is it otherwise to be obtained by man.' Here seems to be a reference to James i. 17. and if this fragment is genuine, it may be reckoned a proof that Gregory was acquainted with the epistle of St. James, and had a respect for it.

I have now quoted three of the fragments which I spoke of formerly. I have no occasion at present to make any use of the fourth.

12. In Gregory's Panegyrical Oration is supposed to be a reference [g] either to Rev. iii. 7. or to Is. xxii. 22.

13. He speaks of Origen's advices [h] to attend to God and his prophets. He there likewise makes mention of the assistances Origen gave him for understanding the difficult places of the sacred scriptures. His veneration for which scriptures has appeared in several passages above cited.

14. If the last, or eleventh canon of the epistle had been genuine, I should here have observed somewhat in it: but since it is an addition of later times, it ought not to be taken notice of in this place.

It is needless to add any thing more, considering the relation Gregory had to Origen and his respect for him. They must both have had the same canon of scripture, or very much alike, as was observed before; and undoubtedly they agreed in a peculiar regard for those writings, which they received as sacred and divine.

[a] Ib. p. 53. D. 54. A. [b] Δειγη δε πλεονεξια, και εκ εστι δι' επιστολης μιας παραθεσθαι τα θεια γραμματα, εν οις. κ. λ. Ep. Can. ii. p. 38. C. [c] Πορνεια γαρ, φησι, και πλεονεξια μηδε ονομαζεσθω εν ὑμιν...(ὁ γαρ καρπος τε φωτος εν πασῃ αγαθοσυνῃ, και δικαιοσυνῃ, και αληθεια)...Τοιαυτα γαρ αποστολος. ib. p. 38. 39. A. B. [d] Fruit of the light.] This reading deserves to be taken notice of. It is no uncommon reading, but is found in MSS. versions, and writers. Perhaps it is the true reading. See Mill. Grot. Beausobre and Lenfant, upon the place. [e] Orig. Ep. ad Greg. T. i. p. 32. C. Bened. [f] εκ αγαθον ἡ ὑπερηφανια, ψευδοδοξιαν εχουσα πολλην· Δηλον γαρ, δηλον ὡς παν αγαθον τελειον θεοθεν ερχεται· και εκ εστι λεπτον αλλως ανθρωπῳ. κ. λ. ap. Ghisler. in Jerem. cap. ix. v. 23, 24. p. 831. [g] P. 73. B. [h] μονῳ δε προσεχειν Θεω, και τοις τοτε προφηταις, αυτος ὑποφητευων και σαφηνιζων, ὁτι ποτε σκοτεινον και αινιγματωδες η, οια πολλα εν ταις ιεραις εστι φωναις. ib. p. 72. D.

CHAP. XLIII.

DIONYSIUS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.

I. *His history in general.* II. *Some revelations vouchsafed to him.* III. *More select passages.* IV. *His concern in the controversies of that time, as Novatianism.* V. *The millennium.* VI. *The baptism of heretics.* VII. *Sabellianism.* VIII. *The affair of Paul of Samosata.* IX. *Dionysius's works.* X. *His character.* XI. *His testimony to the books of the New Testament, as the four gospels.* XII. *The Acts, Paul's epistles, and to the Hebrews.* XIII. *The Catholic epistles.* XIV. *The Revelation, and other books of the New Testament.* XV. *What Dionysius writes of the Revelation largely examined.* XVI. *A brief review of that whole argument, with remarks.* XVII. *The sum of his testimony.*

I. UPON the promotion of Heraclas to the bishopric of Alexandria, in the year of Christ 231 or 232, Dionysius[a] succeeded him in the chair of the catechetical school of that city: and Heraclas having died in the year 246 or 247, Dionysius was chosen bishop in his room, in the year[b] 247, or[c] 248, and died in the twelfth of the emperor Gallienus, in the year of Christ 264, or at the utmost in[d] 265. He is[e] reckoned the thirteenth bishop of Alexandria. He was succeeded by Maximus.

We may observe some passages of ancient authors concerning the time of his death. Eusebius, speaking of the first council of Antioch in the affair of Paul, bishop of that city, computed to have been held in[f] 264, says, 'At[g] this time died Dionysius, in the twelfth year 'of the reign of Gallienus, having been bishop of Alexandria seventeen years. His successor 'was Maximus.' Theodoret[h] says, 'that Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, a man of uncommon 'learning, in a letter excused his coming thither, because of the infirmities of age.' The bishops of the second council of Antioch, assembled in[i] 269, speak of Firmilian and Dionysius as dead, calling[k] them men of blessed memory. Moreover, Eusebius assures us, that their synodical epistle was[l] sent to Dionysius bishop of Rome, and Maximus bishop of Alexandria, and to all the provinces of the empire. This latter council therefore was not in the time of Dionysius himself, but of his successor.

It is generally taken for granted that he was an Alexandrian: and from some things said by himself it has been concluded that he[m] was of an honourable and wealthy family, and that[n] for some time he was involved in the darkness and errors of Gentilism. He had Origen[o] for his master, and was one of the most noted of his scholars. His episcopate was full of troubles; there having happened in the time of it the two persecutions of Decius and Valerian, beside a pestilence that ravaged the whole Roman empire, and other calamities in common, and some civil commotions with which Alexandria in particular was affected. It was likewise a busy and active period, on account of the controversies about Novatianism, the millennium, the baptism of heretics, and the doctrine of the Trinity, in all which Dionysius had some concern, and signalized himself by his learning, zeal, moderation, and prudence. This is a summary account of the life of this bishop of Alexandria: but his eminent merit, and the time in which he flourished, require of us a more particular history.

[a] Dionysius, Alexandrinæ urbis episcopus, sub Heraclâ scholam κατηχησεων presbyter tenuit, et Origenis valde insignis auditor fuit... Moritur duodecimo Gallieni anno. Hieron. de V. I. cap. 69. Conf. Euseb. H. E. l. vi. c. 29 et 35. vii. cap. 28.

[b] ... tandemque anno 247, mortuo Heraclæ in sede Alexandrinâ successit. Cav. Hist. Lit. P. i. p. 95. Heraclæ, qui superiore anno mortem invenerat, successit Dionysius, qui annis xvii. Alexandrinæ præfuit ecclesiæ, initio a currente deducto. Basn. An. 247. n. v.

[c] See Tillemont Mem. Ecc. T. iv. P. ii. p. 539, 540. St. Denys d' Alexand. Art. ii. and Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 263.

[d] Vid. Pagi Crit. 265. n. iv. et Fabric. ib.

[e] Alexandrinam ecclesiam tertius decimus episcopus tenuit Dionysius ann. xvii. Euseb. Chron. p. 174.

[f] Vid. Basn. Ann. 264. n. iii. &c.

[g] Eus. l. vii. cap. 28.

[h] ... ανεβαλλετο μεν την επδημιαν, δια την του γηρως ασθενειαν. Hær. Fab. l. 2. c. 8. Conf. Eus H. E. l. 7. cap. 27. p. 277. D.

[i] Vid. Pagi Crit. 269. xii. 271, ii. iii. Basn. Ann. 269. n. iv.

[k] ... τους μακαριτας. ap. Euseb. ib. c. 30. p. 279. D.

[l] Ibid. B.

[m] ... πολλα γε εστιν εχει και' εαυτε γενομενα, οσας αριθμησαι δυναται περι ημων αποφασεις, δημευσεις, προγραφας, υπαρχοντων αρπαγας, αξιωματων αποθεσεις, δοξης κοσμικης ολιγωριας, επαινων ηγεμονικων και βελευτικων καταφρονησεις. κ. λ. Dionys. ap. Eus. L. vii. cap. xi. p. 260. A. B.

[n] και σοι γεγονε τουτο εξαρχης, και της πιστεως αιτιον. ap. Eus. L. vii. cap. 7. p. 253. C.

[o] See before note.[a]

The Decian persecution[a] began in the year 249, or the beginning of 250: but there was a persecution raised against the Christians of Alexandria in the year[b] 248, whilst other churches enjoyed great peace under the emperor Philip. This persecution[c] lasted a whole year, and was concluded by nothing but a sedition and disturbance among the Gentiles themselves. In a fragment of a letter of Dionysius to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, is an account of several who[d] suffered martyrdom in that popular persecution, and of the breaking open and plundering the houses of Christians in that city, 'Nor[e] had we,' says Dionysius, 'a safe 'passage any where, through high streets or narrow lanes, neither by night nor by day; but 'continually, and every where, the people were universally crying out, "If any one refuse to 'pronounce such or such impious words, let him be immediately taken up and thrown into the 'fire." So things went for a long time, till a sedition among themselves, and a civil war, returned 'this cruelty upon them. We[f] had then a little breathing time: but presently news came of the 'end of that reign which had been favourable to us, and all were seized with fears of an 'impending storm. Then came the edict;' that is, Decius's edict of persecution, published at Alexandria in the beginning of the year 250.

Soon[g] after the arrival of that edict, as Dionysius writes to Germanus, Sabinus, prefect of Egypt, gave orders for apprehending him. The officer, supposing he must needs have fled and absconded in such a time of manifest danger, made a diligent search every where, excepting only the bishop's own house, where Dionysius continued four days after the prefect's order for taking him up; but on the fifth day, having received a special direction from God, who likewise opened a way for his escape, he removed, accompanied[h] by his servants and many of the brethren. He was nevertheless very soon after, that very night as it seems, apprehended by a band of soldiers, and carried to Taposyris, a small village in that part of Egypt which was called Mareotis. Then he was taken out of their custody by some country people in a very odd and unexpected manner, and against his own consent. Being thus rescued out of the hands of that strong guard by which he had been first taken, he retired and lived privately in a desert part of Libya, distant three days journey from Parætonium. The Decian persecution being over, Dionysius returned to his charge at Alexandria some time in the year 251.

Gallus succeeded Decius before the end of the year 251; and Dionysius speaks of a persecution in his reign: for he says expressly that[i] 'Gallus banished those holy men that offered 'up prayers to God for his peace and safety.' Whether any suffered at this time in Egypt is not certain; nor is there much notice taken of this matter in ancient ecclesiastical writers. Pagi[k] therefore concludes, that this was only a local persecution, and that it was felt in few places except Rome, where Cornelius, and afterwards Lucius, were banished by this emperor.

In the year 253, Valerian and his son Gallienus succeeded Gallus and Volusian. The persecution began in the year 257, and ended in other parts of the empire in 259, when Valerian was taken captive by the Persians; but at Alexandria it continued till the year 261, when Gallienus overcame Macrian, in whose power Egypt had been till that time. Then Gallienus sent the same favourable edicts to Alexandria which had been sent before to several other parts of the empire. Our Dionysius speaks of this persecution having lasted[l] forty-two months, or three years and a half; which ought to be understood of Egypt only, not of the rest of the empire. The difficulties relating to this point have been finely cleared up by Pagi, to[m] whom I refer, and[n] to Basnage, who does not much differ from him.

Soon after the arrival of the edict at Alexandria, before the end of the[o] year 257, as seems most probable, Dionysius was summoned before Emilian, then prefect of Egypt. He went to him, as[p] Dionysius himself writes, 'attended by his fellow-presbyter Maximus, and by 'Faustus, Eusebius, and Cheremon, deacons, and a Christian brother from Rome, then at 'Alexandria. Emilian requiring him to renounce the Christian religion, Dionysius answered 'without delay, that "we ought to obey God rather than men," (Acts v. 29.) and assured the 'prefect that he was a worshipper of the one God, and could worship no other, nor could 'he ever cease being a Christian. Whereupon he ordered them to a place called Cephro, in

[a] Vid. Pagi. 250. num. iv. Basnag. Ann. 250. num. ii. iii.
[b] Vid. Pagi. Crit. 248. n. viii.
[c] εκ απο τε Βασιλικε προσαγματος ὁ διωγμος παρ' ἡμιν ἠρξατο, αλλα γαρ πολυν ενιαυτον προυλαβε. Dionys. in Ep. ad Fab. ap. Eus. l. vi. c. 41. in.
[d] Ibid. p. 236, 237.
[e] Ib. p. 237. D.
[f] και σμικρον μεν προσανεπνευσαμεν.. ευθεως δε η της Βασιλειας εκεινης της συμενεστερας μεταβολη διηγγελται.. και δη και παρην το προσαγμα. ib. p. 238. A.
[g] Vid. Eus. l. vi. cap. 40.
[h] εγω τε και οι παιδες και πολλοι των αδελφων αμα συνεξηλθομεν. ib. p. 235. C.
[i] Eus. l. vii. cap. i.
[k] Pagi. 252. n. x. xii. xvi.., xxi.
[l] Ap. Euseb. l. vii. cap. x. in.
[m] Pagi 261. n. viii. et seq.
[n] Bas. 257. n. iii.
[o] Vid. Pagi Crit. in Bar. 257. n. iv. Bas. 247. n. vi.
[p] Ap. Euseb. l. vii. cap. xi. p. 251.

'Libya, forbidding them to hold any assemblies. Nor could Dionysius obtain a delay of one 'day, though he was sick.'

In his banishment he retained a tender affection and concern for his people, and watched over them, carefully convening them, as he[a] says, "absent indeed in body, but present in spirit;" 1 Cor. v. 3. At Cephro he had a large number of the faithful, partly such as came to him thither from Alexandria, partly such as came from other places of Egypt. 'And here,' says[b] he, "God opened a door to us for preaching the word;" 1 Cor. xvi. 9. 2 Cor. ii. 12. 'At first the people of the place were rude, and ready to pelt us with stones, but afterwards not 'a few of the Gentiles, "forsaking idols, turned unto God;" 1 Thess. i. 9. Then first the 'seed of the word was sown among them by us; for hitherto it had not been preached unto 'them: and, as if for that purpose God had brought us to them, when we had "fulfilled 'that ministry," he removed us; Acts xii. 25. For Emilian, as if desirous to send us into 'some more uncomfortable place than Libya itself, gave orders for dispersing some others in 'several villages of Mareotis; and us he commanded to reside in the district of Colluthio, 'near the great road, that we might be the nearer at hand to be brought to Alexandria, if he 'should think fit.'

How long this banishment lasted, is not absolutely certain. Tillemont[c] says, it is evident that Dionysius continued in this exile about two years at least, because in that time he wrote two festal epistles, concerning the observation of Easter, as[d] Eusebius relates. One of those epistles was directed to Flavius, the other to Domitius and Didymus. I would just observe, that in the same place Eusebius adds; 'beside these, Dionysius wrote another letter to his 'fellow-presbyters of Alexandria, and other letters to divers other persons, the persecution 'still raging.' Pagi[e] has taken notice of several of the letters written at that time. Basnage[f] computes Dionysius's exile to have lasted four years, supposing him to have been banished in 257; as does[g] Pagi: But I do not see any proof of so long a continuance of that exile; though it might be full three years, or somewhat more.

In the year[h] 261, if[i] not before, Dionysius returned to his people at Alexandria, and officiated again among them, to their great satisfaction and profit. But, as[k] Eusebius observes, the peace was of short duration at Alexandria; for that city was again afflicted with sedition and war, and then[l] with pestilence. The disturbance here intended, Valesius[m] and[n] Pagi and[o] Basnage suppose to be the rebellion of Emilian, which broke out in the latter part of the year 261. The Festal, or Paschal epistle of Dionysius to Hierax an Egyptian bishop, of which[p] Eusebius has preserved some fragments, describing the unhappy circumstances of Alexandria in the time of that sedition, is supposed by[q] Pagi and[r] Basnage to have been written in the year 262. There follow in[s] Eusebius fragments of a letter to Dionysius, giving an account of the pestilence in that city, which letter appears plainly to have been written in[t] the year of Christ 263. Tillemont[u] thinks that this may be the same that Jerom calls[x] the Letter concerning the mortality. After this Eusebius[y] mentions one more Festal epistle of Dionysius, and consequently written in the year 264. Eusebius[z] particularly observes, that the city of Alexandria then enjoyed peace. And thus we have brought down our general history of this great man to the end of his life, or near it; for it is not improbable that[aa] he died in this very year 264.

II. Dionysius was favoured with some revelations from heaven: We[bb] formerly saw an account of a special direction he received[cc] from God to leave Alexandria, at the beginning of the persecution under Decius. He had another like direction, to encourage him to try all things, and to read all sorts of books. For Eusebius informs us, that Dionysius, in his third letter concerning baptism, sent to Philemon, presbyter at Rome, writes after this manner:

[a] Ib. p. 259. A. [b] Ib. p. 259. A. B. C.
[c] Mem. n. iv. p. ii. p. 588. S. Denys d'Alex. Art. xiii.
[d] L. vii. cap. 20. [e] Crit. 257. n. iv.
[f] Pace apud Ægyptum constitutâ, post extinctum Macrianum, ejusque liberos Macrianum et Quietum, Dionysius, quadriennii exilium passus, edicto Gallieni Alexandriam, anno 261, revocatur. Basn. A. 247. n. vi. [g] Vid. Pagi 257. n. iv. [h] Vid. Basn: ib. et Pagi 262. n. ii.
[i] επιλαβουσης δε ὁσον ουπω της ειρηνης, επανεισι μεν εις την Αλεξανδρειαν. Euseb. l. 7. cap. 21. in. [k] Vid. Euseb. ib. [l] Ibid. cap. 22. [m] Vales. Ann. in Eus. p. 151. [n] Pagi 262. n. ii. [o] Basn. 247. vi. [p] L. vii. cap. 21 [q] Pagi 262. n. ii.
[r] An. 247. n. vii. sub fin. [s] ib. c. 22.
[t] Vid. Basnag. An. 247. n. vii. sub fin. Tillem. St. Denys d'A. Art. xiv. p. 593. [u] as before. [x] et alia de Mortalitate. De V. I. cap. 69. [y] ibid. p. 269. D.
[z] ειρηνευσαντων των κατα την πολιν. ibid. [aa] See Tillemont, p. 594. Basn. 247. n. vi. and before, page 609, note [d]. [bb] See p. 610. [cc] Και μολις μετα την τεταρτην ἡμεραν κελευσαντος μοι μεταστηναι του Θεου, και παραδοξως ὁδοποιησαντος. . . Και ὁτι της του Θεου προνοιας εργον εκεινο γεγονε, τα ἑξης εδηλωσεν. Eus. l. 6. c. 40. p. 235. C.

'As [a] for me,' says he, 'I have read the works and the traditions of the heretics; defiling my 'mind undoubtedly, for a while, with their execrable opinions. But then I have had this 'advantage in the end, that I have been more fully convinced of their falsehood, and my 'detestation of them has been increased. One of the brethren, a presbyter, would have dissuaded me from this course, fearing the consequence, and telling me that my mind would be 'defiled: and indeed I am sensible he spoke truly: nevertheless, I thought I ought to proceed 'as I had begun: and [b] I was confirmed therein by a vision from heaven; for a voice came to 'me, expressly commanding me to this purpose; "Read whatever comes to your hands, 'for you are able to examine and try all things; and this was the first occasion of your 'embracing the faith." I therefore gladly received the vision, as agreeing with [c] the aposto-'lical precept, directed especially to such as are strong: "Be ye skilful money-changers,"' or, in [d] other words, "prove all things," and what follows. 1 Thes. v. 21.

Nothing certainly more worthy to be the matter of a revelation than this command; nor could any thing be more honourable to Dionysius than this vision. Here is an admirable argument for freedom of inquiry; it had been the first occasion of Dionysius's becoming a Christian; it must therefore be advantageous afterwards. By this means Christianity was spread at the beginning; and by this means it cannot be obstructed: the reason is, because it is true; and examination and inquiry are prejudicial and detrimental to error, beneficial and friendly to truth. Such Christians therefore, as discourage inquiry in matters of a religious nature, disparage their religion or their judgment. They give men ground of suspicion, that the Christian religion will not bear examination; or that they do not know it to be so excellent or so well founded, as it is. For if they are persuaded that their religion is true and excellent, and supported by sufficient evidence, why are they afraid it should be tried and examined? If it have those properties, it must be the more respected the more it is examined and considered. I would therefore humbly recommend to these persons, for their improvement, the observation of the apostle's precepts, referred to likewise by Dionysius, and which are directed to such as were already Christians: "Prove all things: hold fast that which is good: abstain from all appearance of evil:" 1 Thess. v. 21, 22; that is, examine all things that are proposed to you; embrace that which is good, and reject every thing that is evil.

III. Alexandria [e] seems to have had a large share in the affliction of the plague that raged about this time in the Roman empire. In the fragments of the Festal epistle of Dionysius, [f] before-mentioned, there is a description of the very laudable temper and behaviour of the Christians in that time of distress; which I could gladly have inserted here, but shall content myself with this [g] reference to it.

I hope therefore it will be allowed me to transcribe a part of another letter, containing some account of the persecutions, and likewise taking some notice of the plague at that time. The letter just mentioned was written, as [h] was formerly shewn, in the year 263. But that which I now intend to make some extracts out of, is the letter to Domitius and Didymus, written in the time of the persecution under Valerian, in the year 259 or 260, certainly before Dionysius's return home, and before the peace granted to the church of Alexandria by Gallienus. Since therefore here likewise is notice taken of that pestilence, it must have raged a great while at Alexandria, or have broken out there more than once. I would premise one thing more for preventing scruples; that though this letter was written about the year 260, before the end of the persecution ordered by Valerian, yet Dionysius may possibly in the former part of it refer to the sufferings and fortitude of Christians under Decius. It is to this purpose: 'Moreover,' says [i] Eusebius, 'the same 'Dionysius, in his Letter to Domitius and Didymus, writes again of the persecution after this

[a] Ἐγω δε και τοις συνταγμασι και ταις παραδοσεσι των αιρετικων ενετυχον. κ. λ. l. 7. c. vii. p. 253. A.

[b] Ὁραμα δεσπεμπτον προσελθον επερρωσε με. Και λογος προς με γενομενος προσεταξε διαρρηδην λεγων· πασιν εντυγχανε οις αν εις χειρας λαβοις· διευθυνειν γαρ εκαστα και δοκιμαζειν ικανος ει. και σοι γεγονε τουτο εξαρχης και της πιστεως αιτιον. Ἀπεδεξαμην το ὁραμα, ὡς αποστολικη φωνη συντρεχον τη λεγουσῃ προς τους δυνατωτερους. Γινεσθε δοκιμοι τραπεζιται. Ib. p. 253. B. C.

[c] Mr. Whiston supposeth that Dionysius refers to the Apostolical Constitutions. Lib. ii. cap. 36. See his Essay on the Apostolical Constitutions, chap. iv. sect. 24, in his Primitive Christianity, &c. vol. iii. p. 425. But Mr. Whiston's arguments have been fully confuted by Mr. Robert Turner, in his Discourse of the pretended Apostolical Constitutions. Ch. xiv. p. 134, ... 136.

[d] See before, Ch. xxxviii. sect. xxvii. 14.

[e] Pestilens morbus multas totius orbis provincias occupavit, maximeque Alexandriam et Ægyptum, ut scribit Dionysius, et Cypriani de Mortalitate testis est liber. Euseb. Chron. p. 175.

[f] See p. 611.

[g] Vid. Euseb. l. vii. cap. 22, p. 268, 269.

[h] See p. 611.

[i] L. 7. cap. vi. p. 260. C. D. 261.

'manner: "It is needless to mention the names of all our people that have suffered, since 'they are many, and most of them unknown to you. It may suffice therefore to assure you, 'that [a] persons of both sexes, and of every age and condition, and soldiers and country 'people, have been victorious in this combat, and been crowned; some by scourging, some by 'fire, others by the sword. Nevertheless, in all this space of time, some there are who do not 'yet appear to be acceptable to the Lord. Me, in particular, he seems pleased to reserve for 'some other season, according to the words of the prophet, Is. xlix. 8, "In an acceptable 'time have I heard thee, and in a day of salvation have I accepted thee." Then, after a few 'words intervening, he says: "At present I have with me only Caius and Peter, deprived of 'the rest of the brethen." And soon afterwards: "Some have hid themselves in the city, 'that they may privately visit the brethren; as Maximus, Dioscorus, Demetrius, and Lucius, 'presbyters: for Faustinus and Aquilla, being much known, travel up and down Egypt. The 'deacons that survive, after those that have died of the plague, are, Faustus, Eusebius, Chæremon: Eusebius, I say, whom God qualified from the beginning, and furnished with great 'resolution and ability, for fulfilling the office of ministration to the confessors in prison, and 'for burying the bodies of the prefect and blessed martyrs, not without the utmost peril. For 'to this very day the prefect does not cease to treat our people in the most cruel manner, killing some, torturing others, making others pine away in fetters and dungeons; forbidding 'any one to be admitted to them, and strictly inquiring likewise whether his orders be obeyed. 'Notwithstanding which, such is the courage and alacrity with which God inspires the brethren, 'the afflicted are not without the consolation suited to their exigence." So writes Dionysius.

What follows in Eusebius appears very affecting. 'It [b] ought to be observed,' says he, 'that Eusebius, whom Dionysius mentions as deacon, was afterwards bishop of Laodicea in 'Syria. Maximus, whom he speaks of as presbyter at that time, succeeded Dionysius himself 'in the care of the brethren at Alexandria. And Faustus, who had then the honour to be a 'confessor together with Dionysius, having been preserved to the persecution in [c] our 'time, when he was very old, and full of years, was perfected by martyrdom, having been 'beheaded.'

Certainly these were honest and upright men. They were fully persuaded of the truth of the Christian religion; for they suffered for it, and yet continued to make a profession of it, till their life was taken away. By such as these was the Christian doctrine received at that time, and by such has it been delivered down to us.

IV. I shall in the next place give some account of the several controversies before-mentioned, and the part Dionysius had in them.

Cornelius was chosen bishop of Rome in [d] June 251. Soon after, Novatus, presbyter in the same church, got himself also ordained bishop of Rome: and beside the schism he is charged with on that account, he set up a rigid notion against all who had lapsed in time of persecution, not allowing any such to be again restored to the communion of the church, whatever tokens of repentance they might shew: whereas all other Christians in general allowed those who had fallen to be restored to such communion, either in the approach of death, or when they had performed penance, proportioned to the nature or aggravations of the fault they had been guilty of.

Of the part which Dionysius acted upon this occasion, and in this controversy, there is the following account in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History. He [e] wrote a letter to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, who is supposed to have been too favourable to Novatus, or Novatian, as he is often called, and his rigid sentiments concerning the discipline of the church. Basnage [f] thinks it probable that this letter was written some time before the end of the year 251. Dionysius also sent a letter to Novatus himself, in answer, as is supposed, to one received from him. Eusebius has preserved a copy of that epistle. The letter to Fabius seems to have been upon the point of penance, confuting Novatus's rigid notions relating to that matter. The letter to Novatus himself concerns rather his schism. Novatus, as Eusebius [g] says, endeavoured to cast the blame of all he had done upon some of the brethren, by whom, as he pretended, he

[a] Here may be a reference to some things that happened under the Decian persecution. Comp. Euseb. H. E. l. 6. cap. 40, 41, 42.

[b] Ibid. p. 261. C.

[c] Diocletian's persecution.

[d] Vid. Pagi 251. n. xix.

[e] Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. 6. cap. 42, 43, 44.

[f] Vid. Basnag. 247. n. vii. init.

[g] Euseb. ib. cap. 46. in.

had been constrained to take the course he did, to whom he had yielded unwillingly, and as it were by compulsion. The answer therefore returned by our bishop was this: 'Dionysius [a] 'sends greeting to our brother Novatus. If, as you say, you have been ordained unwillingly, you 'will make it appear by a voluntary resignation; for a man should undergo any thing rather 'than divide the church of God; and the martyrdom you should suffer rather than make a schism 'would in my opinion be more glorious than a martyrdom for not sacrificing to idols: for in 'this case a man suffers for his own soul only, in the other for the sake of the whole church. 'Now, therefore, if you can persuade or oblige the brethren to reunite, your merit will exceed 'your crime. This will be no longer imputed to you; that will be applauded. If there remain 'any whom you cannot persuade, however save your own soul.'

Dionysius must have written many letters upon this argument: for, as Eusebius [b] adds immediately after having transcribed that letter to Novatus, 'he also wrote a letter to the 'brethren throughout Egypt concerning repentance, in which he delivered his opinion concern-'ing those that had fallen, distinguishing the several degrees of offences. There is likewise a 'distinct piece concerning repentance, directed in particular to Conon, bishop of Hermopolis, 'and a letter of reproof to his flock at Alexandria. Here may be mentioned his epistle con-'cerning martyrdom, sent to Origen. He wrote also to the brethren of Laodicea, over whom 'presided Thelymidres as bishop; and in like manner concerning repentance to the Armenians, 'who had Meruzanes for their bishop. He wrote also to Cornelius, bishop of Rome, after he 'had received his letter against Novatus; in which he informs him, that he had been invited 'by Helenus, bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia, and by others with him, and by Firmilian of Cappa-'docia, and Theoctistus of Palestine, to meet them at a synod at Antioch, where some en-'deavoured to establish the schism of Novatus. He writes likewise, that he had heard that 'Fabius was dead, and that Demetrian was appointed bishop of Antioch in his room. There 'is another letter of his sent to the brethren at Rome by Hippolitus, concerning the office of 'a deacon; another letter to the same persons concerning peace and repentance; and again 'another to the confessors of the same city, who still favoured the opinion of Novatus; and 'two more to the same persons, after they were returned to the church. He wrote, as Eusebius 'there adds, many other letters to divers persons, from which they who are curious to inquire 'after his labours, (as certainly many are,) may receive much profit.'

The forementioned letter to Cornelius is supposed to [c] have been written in 252, and most of the others relating to penance, and to Novatianism, in the same or the foregoing year. The letter to Origen was [d] probably written in the Decian persecution, in the year 250, to comfort, animate and encourage him when [e] in prison.

Finally, in a letter to Stephen, bishop of Rome, (probably [f] written in 256;) as Eusebius assures us, he acquaints him, that all [g] the churches, having rejected the novel principles of Novatus, with regard to the treatment of such as had lapsed, were come to an unanimous agreement with each other. 'Know, brother,' says [h] he, 'that all the churches of the East, 'which before were divided, are now united.' And a little lower he says: 'And all the presi-'dents of the churches are of one mind, and are beyond measure filled with joy for the unex-'pected peace: I mean Demetrian, bishop of Antioch; Theoctistus of Cæsarea; Mezabanes, 'bishop of Ælia since the death of Alexander; Marinus, of Tyre; Heliodorus of Laodicea, 'successor of Thelymidres; Helenus of Tarsus; and all the churches of Cilicia; and Firmilian, 'and all Cappadocia with him: for I mention the names of the principal bishops [i] only, that I 'may not be troublesome by the too great length of my letter. But I would be understood to 'mean the churches throughout all the provinces of Syria and Arabia, whom [k] you often relieve 'in distress, and to whom you have lately written: as also, Mesopotamia, Pontus, and Bithynia. 'And in a word, all every where rejoice and praise God for the unanimity and brotherly love 'which reign among them.'

V. It is not easy to say the exact time of Dionysius's dispute about the millennium. But it was occasioned by the writings of Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, then dead; who flourished,

[a] Ap. Euseb. L. vi. cap. 45. Hier. De V. I. cap. 69.
[b] Ibid. cap. 46.
[c] Basnag. Ann. 247. n. vii.
[d] Id. ib.
[e] Vid. Euseb. L. 6. c. 39.
[f] Vid. Basn. ut supra. et Conf. Pagi Crit. An. 256. n. xiv. xv.
[g] Eus. l. vii. cap. iv.
[h] Eus. ib. cap. v. init.
[i] This letter of our Dionysius, written in the year 256, is an authentic witness of the vast progress which Christianity had made in the East. It had had a like progress in the West.
[k] Οἰς ἐναρξάμενοι ἐμάστευτε, καὶ οἰς νῦν ἐπεστείλατε. ibid. p. 252. A.

as [a] Cave thinks, about 244, or as [b] Basnage, about 241. Baronius [c] supposed this opinion to have given disturbance to the church in 263. Accordingly, it is spoken of by [d] Pagi at the same time. Tillemont [e] says, that Valerian, who begun his reign about the middle of the year 253, was very favourable to the Christians, till the year 257. These first three years of his reign, in which it seems that Egypt, as well as the church, enjoyed great tranquillity, are therefore very proper for considering the affair of Nepos; the time of which we do not know, but which seems to suit a time of peace. So that learned writer just mentioned.

Nepos wrote a book entitled, A Confutation of the Allegorists. This being in great repute with some persons, who had too carnal notions of an expected millennium, Dionysius wrote a confutation of it in two books, entitled, Concerning the Promises. St. Jerom makes particular mention of this work in his [f] Catalogue. I say no more of this matter here; I shall give a particular account of it from Eusebius, in the article of Dionysius's testimony to the books of scripture.

VI. When there arose a controversy between Stephen of Rome, and Cyprian of Carthage, about the baptism of heretics, Dionysius [g] wrote a letter to Stephen. It is the same letter, a part of which was before transcribed, where Dionysius informs Stephen of the peace of the eastern churches, with regard to Novatianism, and is supposed to have been written in 256. The second letter concerning baptism was sent to Xystus, or Sixtus, successor of Stephen, as [h] Eusebius expressly says. This letter must have been written in 257, or 258. And herein, as [i] Eusebius likewise informs us, Dionysius referred to his letter to Stephen, and then adds: 'I 'wrote likewise to our beloved and fellow-presbyters, Dionysius and Philemon, who were of 'the same mind with Stephen, and wrote to me upon that question. To them I wrote for- 'merly in a few words, but now largely.' And the letter now sent to Philemon I suppose to be that which Eusebius afterwards [l] calls Dionysius's third letter upon Baptism. The [m] fourth, concerning the same matter, according to Eusebius's way of computing, is that sent to Dionysius, then presbyter, afterwards bishop of Rome. Jerom [n] likewise reckons two distinct letters, one to Philemon, another to Dionysius. In this letter, as Eusebius says, Dionysius writes of Novatus to this purpose; 'We [o] do with good reason abominate Novatus, who has divided the 'church, and drawn some of the brethren into impiety and blasphemy, and has calumniated 'our most gracious Lord Jesus Christ as unmerciful.' Afterwards Eusebius adds, 'that [p] Dio- 'nysius's fifth letter concerning baptism was written to Xystus, bishop of the Romans:' out of which Eusebius transcribes a passage relating to that matter, and then adds; 'There [q] is 'extant yet another letter of the same person concerning baptism, as from himself and his 'people, to Xystus and the church at Rome, in which he treats largely of this question.' Thus, according to Eusebius, there were at least six letters of Dionysius upon this point sent to Rome; three of which were to Xystus, though Jerom in his Catalogue, [r] among the works of Dionysius, reckons but two letters to that bishop. And immediately after the words last cited from Eusebius it is added, that [s] beside these there is another letter of this Dionysius to Dionysius of Rome, concerning one Lucian.

What was our Dionysius's own opinion in this controversy is not certainly known. Jerom says plainly, 'that [t] Dionysius, agreeing with Cyprian and the African synod in the opinion of 'rebaptising heretics, wrote to divers persons a great number of letters still extant.' And [u] Valesius and [w] Pagi allow, that Dionysius [x] was somewhat inclined to Cyprian's side of the question. Nevertheless, there are some learned moderns who venture to contradict St. Jerom; though one would think he might be better able to judge of this matter than we at this time, who have so small a part of those letters come down to us. The learned moderns whom I mean are [y] Du

[a] Cav. H. L. P. i. p. 86. [b] Ann. 240. n. viii.
[c] Ann. 264. n. i. et seq. [d] Crit. An. 263. ii.
[e] St. Den. d'Alex. Art. ix. [f] Et duo libri adversum Nepotem episcopum, qui mille annorum corporale regnum suis scriptis asseverat: in quibus et de Apocalypsi Joannis diligentissime disputat. De V. I. cap. 69. [g] Euseb. l. vii. cap. 4, 5. [h] Τετῳ δευτεραν ὁ Διονυσιος περι βαπτισματος χαραξας επιστολην. κ. λ. ib. p. 252. A.
[i] Ib. A. B. [k] Ib. C. [l] Καὶ ἐν τῃ τριτῃ δε των περι βαπτισματος, ἡν Φιλημονι τῳ κατα Ῥωμην πρεσβυτερῳ ὁ αυτος γραφει Διονυσιος. ib cap. vii. in.
[m] Ἡ τεταρτη αυτε περι βαπτισματος επιστολων προς τον κατα Ῥωμην εγραφη Διονυσιον, τοτε μεν πρεσβεως ηξιωμενον. κ. λ. ib. p. 254. A. [n] Et ad Philemonem et ad Dionysium, Romanæ ecclesiæ presbyteros, duas epistolas. De V. I. cap. 69.
[o] Ibid. cap. viii. [p] Ib. cap. ix. in.
[q] Ib. p. 255. C. [r] Ad Xystum, qui Stephano successerat, duas epistolas. ib. cap. 69. [s] Euseb. ib. p. 255. C. [t] Hic in Cypriani et Africæ synodi dogma consentiens de hæreticis rebaptizandis ad diversos plurimas misit epistolas. De V. I. c. 69. [u] Vales. An. in Eus. l. vii. c. v. p. 141. [w] A. 256. n. xii
[x] In Afrorum et Orientalium sententiam magis propendebat.
[y] Bibl. Tom. i. p. 188.

Pin and [a] Basnage, whom any may consult that are so disposed. However it may be observed here, that the former of those two learned writers says, 'Dionysius was of opinion that all 'churches should be at liberty to follow their own customs. Some only required heretics to 'abjure their errors upon returning to the church: others as the Africans, and divers churches 'in the East, had a different method of receiving heretics, not without baptism; and every one 'should do as he saw fit. This,' says Du Pin, 'was Dionysius's sentiment; and Jerom is to 'blame for saying that he sided with Cyprian.' Cave[b] expresseth himself after this manner; 'That Dionysius, together with Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and a great many 'others in the East, stood on Cyprian's side, maintaining that heretics ought to be baptised. 'But, however, he carried himself with great temper and moderation. Besides that, he engaged 'more as a mediator than a party, writing to pope Stephen to use moderation in that case; as 'he did also to Sixtus his successor, and most other bishops of that time. This may be the truest judgment; for Dionysius's moderation is manifest. He is [c] against excommunicating churches upon this account: but what was his own opinion any farther in this point, does not appear clearly from the fragments or history in Eusebius.

VII. In the first letter to Xystus before-mentioned, the second upon the subject of baptism, written in 257 or 258, Dionysius, as [d] Eusebius says, informs him of the great increase of the Sabellian heretics at that time, in these words: 'For as concerning the opinion now advanced in 'Ptolemais, a city of Pentapolis, which is full of impiety and blasphemy against God Almighty, 'Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; containing likewise much infidelity toward his only begotten 'Son, and the first begotten of every creature, the word that became man, and a stupid notion 'concerning the Holy Spirit; there have been brought to me letters from both parties, some also 'having come from thence to discourse with me; I sent thither some letters, written according 'to the ability which God has given me, wherein I have spoken largely. Herewith you receive 'copies of them.'

Afterwards, in another chapter, Eusebius speaks after this manner: 'Beside [e] these, there 'are many other epistles of Dionysius; as those against Sabellius, written to Ammon, bishop 'of Bernice; and that to Telesphorus, and that to Euphranor; and again to Ammon and 'Euporus. He [f] composed likewise four other pieces upon the same subject, which he addressed 'to his namesake Dionysius of Rome.'

Concerning this matter, St. Jerom in his Catalogue [g] makes no additions: he only recites, as it were, the same words of Eusebius, or part of them at least; for he omits somewhat, and scarce expresseth himself so clearly as Eusebius. However, in another place, [h] he speaks again of four volumes of Dionysius against Sabellius.

Sabellius, as is supposed, published his peculiar notions a little before [i] the year 257, [k] about 255, or [l] in 256. Dionysius's letter beforementioned to Xystus was written in 257 or in 258. The books inscribed to Dionysius of Rome could not be sent to him before 259; probably [m] not till 260, or a short time after.

But Athanasius informs us of particulars omitted by both Eusebius and Jerom. It seems, some Arians of that time endeavoured to support their doctrine by some passages of Dionysius in his writings against Sabellius. This gave occasion for the Treatise, or rather Epistle of Athanasius concerning the opinion of Dionysius of Alexandria. Here then Athanasius writes to this purpose: 'In [n] Pentapolis, of the Upper Libya, at that time some bishops went into 'the notions of Sabellius.... Dionysius hearing of it sent to them, admonishing them to renounce

[a] Basn. A. 247. n. x. [b] See Cave's Life of St. Dionysius of Alexandria, p. 289, in his History of the Lives of the Primitive Fathers. London, 1677. [c] Vid. Eus. H. E. L. vii. cap v. p. 252. B. C. [d] Σημαινων δε εν ταυτω και περι των κατα Σαβελλιον αιρετικων, ως κατ' αυτον επιπολαζοντων. κ. λ. H. E. L. vii. cap. 6.

[e] L. vii. cap. 26. [f] Συνταττει δε περι της αυτης υποθεσεως και αλλα τεσσαρα συγγραμματα, α τω κατα Ρωμην ομωνυμω Διονυσιω προσφωνει. ib. p. 277. A.

[g] Et adversus Sabellium, et ad Ammonem Beronices episcopum, et ad Telesphorum, et ad Euphranorem, et quatuor libri ad Dionysium Romanæ urbis episcopum. De V. I. cap. 69.

[h] Et Dionysium Alexandrinæ urbis episcopum, virum eruditissimum [scribit] contra Sabellium quatuor voluminibus disputantem, in Arianum dogma delabi. Hieron. adv. Ruf. l. 2. p. 409. m.

[i] Il commença, un peu avant l' an 257, à troubler la Pentapole, dans la Libye Cyrénaïque, en combatant la distinction des trois personnes divines. Tillem. Saint Denys d' Alex. Art xv. T. iv. P. ii. p. 595.

[k] Sabellius n' a commencé à decouvrir son hérésie que vers l' an 255, dans le tems que l' église jouissoit de la paix sous Valérien. Tillem. Les Sabelliens. ibid. p. 531.

[l] Vid. Basnag. 247. n. ix. 256. xv. [m] Vid Basn. 247. n. ix. [n] Εν Πενταπολει της ανω Λιβυης τηνικαυτα τινες των επισκοπων εφρονησαν τα Σαβελλιου.... τουτο μαθων Διονυσιος.... πεμπει και συμβουλευει τοις αιτιοις παυσασθαι της κακοδοξιας· ως δε ουκ επαυοντο... ηναγκασθη προς την αναιδειαν εκεινων γραψαι την τοιαυτην επιστολην, κ. λ. Athanas. de Sent. Dionys. sect. 5. p. 240. D. E. T. i. Bened.

'their error.' But they persisting in it, he was compelled to write that epistle;' which the Arians made use of to support their doctrine. In this piece Athanasius often mentions the Letter [a] to Ammonius, and [b] the Letter to Euphranor and Ammonius; meaning, I suppose, either one and the same letter, or two letters, and the same that are mentioned by Eusebius.

Farther, Athanasius informs us, that after Dionysius had written that letter to Euphranor and Ammonius, 'some [c] of the brethren of the church, of orthodox sentiments indeed, but without consulting him, that they might understand from himself the true meaning of what he had written, went to Rome, and accused him to his namesake Dionysius, bishop of Rome... who then wrote to Dionysius, to inform him of what had been laid to his charge. He [d] soon replied, entitling his books a Confutation and Apology.' Afterwards Athanasius calls this work [e] an Epistle. He likewise [f] quotes the second book of it. By this work, entitled in Athanasius a Confutation and Apology, or Accusation and Apology, I suppose to be intended the four pieces mentioned by Eusebius, as sent to Dionysius of Rome. For it is upon the same argument of Sabellianism, and sent to the same person. And though Athanasius in one place calleth it an Epistle, it appears from him to have consisted of several parts: and St. Basil quotes as he expresseth himself, Dionysius's [g] second Epistle to his namesake concerning the Confutation [or Accusation] and Apology. I think learned men do generally allow that [h] Eusebius and Athanasius speak of the same writing.

The learned Benedictine, editor of St. Athanasius's works, in the advertisement before the Epistle of Athanasius, concerning the opinion of Dionysius, passeth a severe censure upon Eusebius; 'That,[i] being an Arian, he has been silent about this history, because it is prejudicial to his cause.' But, in answer to this, several things may be said. First, Eusebius has made mention of Dionysius's writings against Sabellius, and particularly the pieces sent to Dionysius of Rome. Secondly, the design of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History might not lead him to give a more particular account of that affair, or of the works composed upon that occasion, or to transcribe any passages from them. Though Eusebius enlarges considerably upon Dionysius, he has not written a complete history of him, or his works. Besides, Jerom was no Arian, and yet he adds nothing to Eusebius: scarcely says so much. And Theodoret, having given an account of Sabellius himself, and his doctrine, adds only in these few words; 'Against [k] him wrote Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria.' Thirdly, allowing Eusebius to have been an Arian, he might be well enough satisfied with Dionysius's sentiments relating to the doctrine of the Trinity: and there is at least as much reason to think he was so as not; for the great respect he has shewn for Dionysius affords an argument that he did not look upon him to be a man of the adverse side. It is plain from Athanasius, that some Arians did boast of Dionysius as a favourer of their doctrine: and why may not Eusebius form the same judgment of that great man? St. Basil, too, who is generally allowed to be orthodox, says he [l] does not like every thing in Dionysius; that [m] he had given encouragement to the Anomæan doctrine; and [n] that he expresseth himself differently in speaking [o] of the Trinity. Gennadius [p] calls Dionysius

[a] *ει δε γραψας την προς Αμμωνιον επιστολην υποπτευθη, κ. λ.* ib. p. 247. B. [b] *ετως εκ Αρειανος ὁ Διονυσιος, δια την προς Ευφρανορα και Αμμωνιον κατα Σαβελλιε επιστολην.* p. 249. B. vid. etiam 251. C. 252. B. 261. C. [c] Ib. p. 252. B. C. conf. eund. de Synodis, &c. p. 757, 758.

[d] *και αντεγραψεν ευθυς αυτος, και επιγραψε τα Βιβλια ελεγχε και απολογιας,* ib. p. 252. C. [e] *πρωτον μεν εν ελεγχε και απολογιας εγραψεν εαυτε την επιστολην.* p. 253. A.

[f] *ὁρα παλιν πως εν τῳ δευτερῳ βιβλιῳ γραφει περι τετων.* p. 260. E. [g] .. *εν τῃ δευτερα προς τον ὁμωνυμον εαυτε επιστολῃ περι ελεγχε και απολογιας, κ. λ.* Bas. de Sp. S. cap. 72. p. 60. E. Tom. 3. Ben. [h] Apud Eusebium vii. 26. Hist. ubi librorum quatuor Dionysii Alex. ad Dionysium Rom. adversus Sabellium mentio, (*ελεγχε και απολογιας* vocat Athanasius) &c. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 264. Conf. Cav. Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 96. de Dionys. Alex. Tillemont, Les Sabelliens, Mem. Ec. T. iv. P. ii. p. 535. [i] Quod autem Eusebius, qui Dionysii gesta fuse satis prosequitur, ne verbum quidem de hac historiâ fecerit; hinc sane augetur jam vulgata de ipso, nimisque firma, Arianismi suspicio. Callide profecto tacuit hæresis suæ exitiosam historiam, quam incautius, ut ait Athanasius, alii Ariani, in suamque perniciem, evulgârunt. ap. Athanas. ib. p. 243. [k] *κατα τετε συνεγραψε Διονυσιος, ὁ της Αλεξανδρεων επισκοπος.* Theod. H. F. l. 2. cap. ix.

[l] *ε παντα θαυμαζομεν τ' ανδρος* Basil. Ep. ix. [al. 41] p. 90. c. [m] *σχεδον γαρ ταυτησι της νυν περιθρυλλεμενης ασεβειας, της κατα το ανομοιον λεγω, ὁσος εστιν, ὁσα γε ἡμεις ισμεν, ὁ πρωτος ανθρωποις τα σπερματα παρασχων.* ibid.

[n] *και παντοδαπος εστιν εν τοις συγγραμμασιν:* ib. E.

[o] After all these, and other things, said by St. Basil in his Letter to Maximus, it appears to me very strange, which is said by Theodoric Ruinart: Ex his fuit Basilius Magnus, qui in Epistola 41, ad Maximum philosophum proferre non dubitavit, Dionysium, quantum sibi liqueret, primum hominibus impietatis Anomœanæ seminaria præbuisse, non ex malitia quidem, sed quod Sabellio obluctari cuperet. At paullo ante fassus fuerat, se nullum ex Dionysii libris legisse. Venerunt quidem ad nos, inquit, illius admodum multa, libri vero nondum adsunt. Ruinart. Act. Mart. Sinc. et Select. p. 181. Here, to vindicate Dionysius's reputation upon this head, and invalidate the character which Basil gives him, Ruinart is pleased to say, that Basil had never read any of his works; whereas it is plain from that letter to Maximus, that Basil was well acquainted with them; otherwise he could not have

the fountain of Arianism, speaking very agreeably to St. Basil. Rufinus endeavours to defend Dionysius, by saying that [a] his works had been interpolated by the Arians: though this is now esteemed a groundless assertion by learned moderns, particularly by [b] bishop Bull. Undoubtedly the abovementioned piece of Athanasius is well written. It is the work of one who knew how to manage an argument to the best advantage. But, as Dionysius had expressed himself differently, there might be ground for debating what was his real sentiment. And Eusebius might think Dionysius held the same doctrine that he did. But it was not proper to be more particular than he has been in his Ecclesiastical History, where he was to write of general things, about which Christians for the most part were agreed; not of points controverted by the Christians of his time. This is said in defence of Eusebius, not of Arianism, with which I have no particular concern in this work, no more than Eusebius had in his Ecclesiastical History.

Bishop [c] Bull has no scruples here. But Basnage says, that [d] though Dionysius thought justly and orthodoxly, he expressed himself improperly. Le Moyne [e] likewise, another defender of Dionysius, says his expressions need and ought to be mollified to make sound divinity.

This is what we have to say of Dionysius's conduct in the affair of Sabellianism; which, as Eusebius informed us, spread greatly at that time in Egypt.

But before we leave this article it will not be improper to take some further notice of Sabellius and his opinions.

Dionysius himself, as [f] before quoted, speaks of the rise of that doctrine in Ptolemais, a city of Pentapolis. Theodoret says, Sabellius [g] was an African, [or Libyan,] of Pentapolis. St. Basil likewise calls [h] Sabellius a Libyan: and Isidore of Pelusium says Sabellianism [i] had its rise in Libya.

With regard to his notions, Epiphanius says, 'that,[k] excepting a few things only, Sabellius 'agreed with the Noetians: that [l] Sabellius and his followers teach that the same is Father, 'Son, and Holy Ghost; so that there are only three denominations in one hypostasis, [or sub-'sistence;] or, as in man, body, soul, and spirit.' In that which is called his Recapitulation, Epiphanius says 'the [m] Sabellians agreed with the Noetians, except in this one thing, that they 'said the Father did not suffer.' This is Epiphanius's whole article concerning the Sabellians in that work.

Damascenus, says 'The [n] Sabellians agree with Noetus, except that they do not say 'the Father suffered. They speak of the Word brought forth and again resumed.' This is the same as the Summary, or [o] Synopsis, of Epiphanius.

The last sentence is difficult to be rendered in our language. I am far from thinking there is any particular propriety or exactness in my translation; but it was necessary that I should put down some English words instead of the original. What I have translated 'the Word 'brought forth' might perhaps be as well rendered 'the Word pronounced, or uttered, spoken 'forth, shewed, or discovered.'

spoken of them as he does. Nor is the passage, on which Ruinart builds that strange supposition, at all to his purpose. He understands Basil according to the Latin translation of Godfrey Tilman: libri vero nondum adsunt. But if he had looked upon the Greek, he would have perceived that Basil only said he had not Dionysius's works with him, and therefore he could not send them to Maximus, as he had desired, ει παρεσι γε μην τα βιβλια, διοπερ εκ απεστειλαμεν. Cæterum quæ postulas Dionysii scripta, venere quidem illa ad nos, et valde multa: sed non adsunt libri, et idcirco non misimus. Basil. T. 3. p. 90. B. C. Ed. Bened. [p] Nihil creatum aut serviens in Trinitate credendum, ut vult Dionysius, fons Arii. Gennad. de Ecc. Dogm. cap. iv. ap. Aug. T. 8. Append. p. 75. Bened.

[a] Dionysius quoque, Alexandrinus episcopus, eruditissimus assertor ecclesiasticæ fidei, cum in quamplurimis in tantum veritatem atque æqualitatem Trinitatis defendat, ut imperitioribus quibusque etiam secundum Sabellium sensisse videatur: in his tamen libris suis, quos adversus Sabellii hæresim scribit, talia inveniuntur inserta, ut frequenter Ariani auctoritate ipsius se defendere conentur. Rufin. de Adult. libr. Orig. ad Macar. sub. fin. ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 250, 251. Bened.

[b] Deceptus vero in eo est Rufinus Aquiliensis, dum existimavit Dionysii scripta ab Arianis fuisse corrupta et depravata, &c. Bull. Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. 2. cap. xi. p. 129.

[c] Vid. Bull. ibid. [d] Rem quod attinet, de augustissimo Trinitatis mysterio vera sensisse Dionysium existimamus; incommodam tamen duramque locutionem ipsius prorsus improbamus. Basn. Ann. 247. n. ix. [e] Cui licet quædam exciderint minus veritati congrua, ea sunt tamen benigniori interpretatione mollienda et condienda. Le Moyne Notis ad Var. Sacr. p. 236. [f] See p. 616.

[g] Hæret. Fab. L. ii. cap. 9. [h] Bas. Ep. 207. [al. 63.] p. 210. A. [i] Lib. i. Ep. 247. [k] Hær. 62. n. i. p. 513. A. [l] ... τον αυτον ειναι πατερα, τον αυτον ειναι αγιον πνευμα· ως ειναι εν μια υποστασει τρεις ονομασιας, η ως εν ανθρωπω σωμα, και ψυχην, και πνευμα. κ. λ. ib. B. [m] ... τα ομοια Νοητιανων δοξαζοντες, παρα τουτο μονον λεγουσι γαρ μη πεπονθεναι τον πατερα. Epiph. Anac. T. ii. p. 146. n. xvi.

[n] οι τα ομοια Νοητε δοξαζοντες, παρα το μη τον πατερα λεγειν πεπονθεναι· λεγοντες προφορικον και παλιν αναγομενον τον λογον. J. Dam. de Hær. n. lxii. p. 296. [o] Vid. Epiph. T. i. p. 398.

In order to judge of this matter, it should be observed that logos [word,] in the Greek language has two senses; reason, or thought, and speech. They therefore sometimes speak of λογος ενδιαθετος. inward, or internal logos, or word, that is, thought; and λογος προφορικος, outward, or declared logos or word, that is speech. With regard to God, therefore, the Word is either the reason, thought, wisdom, counsel, power of God within himself; or his reason, wisdom, power, displayed and manifested; or, in other words, the command, the will of God, active and effective. Beausobre, speaking of this matter, and particularly of the sentiment of the Sabellians concerning the Word, expresseth himself thus: 'The[a] Word never proceeds out of the 'Father but as our reason proceeds, as I may say, out of us, when it makes known by words 'and commands what are our thoughts and our desires. So the Word, which was in Jesus 'Christ, is only a declarative Word, which manifested to Jesus the knowledge of salvation, 'and an operative Word, which conferred upon him miraculous power. It is only an operation 'of the Deity, a full effusion of the divine wisdom and power in the soul of our Lord.' So that learned writer.

Perhaps some may be of opinion that some ancient Christians by λογος προφορικος, outward word, when applied to our Saviour, endeavoured to express and explain "God was manifested in the flesh;" 1 Tim. iii. 16. Compare John i. 14. xvi. 28. Prov. viii. 25. Is. lv. 11.

Epiphanius intimates, that the Sabellians embraced that which was their peculiar opinion out of a dread of polytheism: for, as he[b] says, when they met with other Christians, especially such as were unlearned, they would put this shrewd question to them; 'Well, good friends, 'what is our doctrine? Have we one god, or three gods?'

Philaster[c] calls Sabellius a disciple of Noetus: but possibly he meaneth no more than that, as to his doctrine, he agreed with or followed Noetus, who was more ancient. But I shall not stay to transcribe him here, nor[d] Augustine, at large. The reader may remember that I some time ago quoted[e] Augustine's article of the Sabellians in his book of Heresies.

St. Ambrose says, in short, 'that[f] the error of Sabellius lay in confounding the Father and 'the Word.'

St. Basil represents Sabellius and the Sabellians as teaching the[g] Father, Son, and Spirit, to 'be three persons in one hypostasis,' or subsistence. To[h] the like purpose Isidore of Pelusium.

If the author of the Conference between Zachæus and Apollonius may be relied upon, the[i] Sabellians said, that by the Holy Ghost in the New Testament ought not to be understood a person, but a gift; being spoken of as given and received. They argued particularly, as he says, from John xx. 22, and Acts xix. 2.

Sabellianism must have been very agreeable to the apprehensions of many people. Eusebius[k] speaks of its increasing very much in Egypt, when Dionysius of Alexandria opposed it. According to Athanasius, the occasion of Dionysius's writing upon that head was, 'that some[l] bishops of Africa followed the doctrine of Sabellius, and they prevailed to 'such a degree, that the Son of God was scarce any longer preached in the churches.' Perhaps this passage may give some ground to think that Sabellius himself was a bishop, though none of the authors I have quoted or referred to expressly say any such thing. Isidore, before

[a] Le verbe ne sort jamais du Père, que comme notre raison sort, pour ainsi dire, hors de nous, lorsqu' elle fait connoitre, par des paroles et par des commandemens, quelles sont nos pensées et nos volontés. Ainsi le Verbe, qui a été en J. Christ, n'est qu' un Verbe declaratif, qui a manifesté, à Jésus la science du salut, et un Verbe opératif, qui lui a conféré une puissance miraculeuse.... Ce n'est qu' une opération de la Divinité, une pleine effusion de la sagesse et de la vertue divine dans l' ame du Seigneur. Beaus. Hist. de Manich. P. ii. l. 3. ch. 6. n. ix.

[b] ... την πευσιν αυτοις υφηγνται ταυτην· τι αν ειπωμεν, ω ἀνδρες; ἑνα θεον εχομεν, η τρεις θεους; Epiph. Hær. 62. n ii. p. 514. B

[c] Phil. H. 54. [d] Aug. de Hær. c. 41.

[e] See p. 583. [f] Neque, ut Sabellius, Patrem confundamus et Verbum; ut eumdem Patrem adseramus et Filium. Ambr. de Fide. l. 1. c. 1. T. ii. p. 445. A. Bened.

[g] ει γαρ εν πραγμα πολυπροσωπον λεγων πατερα και υἱον και ἁγιον πνευμα, και μιαν των τριων την ὑποστασιν εκτιθεμενος. κ. λ. Basn. Ep. 210. al. 64. p. 315. A.

[h] την προσηκουσαν και μακαριαν τριαδα μιαν τινα τριπροσωπον ὑποστασιν εξελληνισεν. Isid. l. Ep. 1. 247.

[i] Credo teneas in præcedente titulo prænotatum, a Sabellianis præcipue Sanctum Spiritum denegari, et donum potius quam donatorem impiorum traditionibus dici; malique hujus auctoritatem sacris vel maxime testimoniis usurpari, quia et dari legatur et accipi, Salvatore ad apostolos sic loquente: et insufflans eis dixit: accipite Spiritum Sanctum. Quidam etiam discipulorum a Paulo interrogati, An accepistis Spiritum Sanctum? neque accepisse, nec, si esset, scire sé, dixerunt. Consulta. Zach. et Apoll. l. 2. cap. 14. in. ap. Acherii Spicileg. T. x. p. 81. qto.

[k] Eus. l. 7. c. 6.

[l] .... τηνικαυτα τινες των επισκοπων εφρονησαν τα Σαβελλιε· και τοσουτον ισχυσαν ταις επινοιαις, ὡς ὀλιγου δειν μηκετι εν ταις εκκλησιαις, κηρυττεσθαι τον υἱον του Θεου. De Sent. Dionys. p. 246. D.

cited, says, that [a] Sabellianism spread to a great degree. Epiphanius, in 375, says there [b] were then many of that opinion in Mesopotamia and at Rome. Tillemont [c] concludes that these people had a body of communion in 381, because the council of Constantinople [d] rejects their baptism. The frequent notice which [e] Augustine takes of Sabellians, in his tracts and sermons to the people, is an argument that in his time there was some considerable number of persons who maintained this opinion.

Of the scriptures received by Sabellius, and others of his sentiments we have the following informations. Epiphanius expressly says, that [f] they used all the scriptures of the Old and New Testament; and that there were some texts which they principally insisted on for the support of their doctrine. Nevertheless, he afterwards adds, that [g] their whole error and all the strength of it, is taken from some apocryphal writings, especially from the gospel according to the Egyptians. Moreover Epiphanius argues against them from many books of the New Testament, particularly [h] from the Acts of the Apostles, (ch. i. and vii.) and complains of them, not that they rejected scripture, but that [i] they did not understand the meaning of the scriptures.[k]

Theodoret's account of Sabellius is, 'that [l] he taught the Father and the Son and the Holy 'Spirit to be one hypostasis, [subsistence,] and one person with three names; that he speaks 'of the same sometimes as Father, sometimes as Son, and sometimes as Holy Ghost; and says, 'that in the Old Testament he delivered the law as Father, and in the New dwelt among men, '[or was incarnate] as the Son, and descended on the apostles as the Holy Spirit.' This passage confirms what Epiphanius said, that Sabellius received all the scriptures.

It appears likewise from the arguments of [m] Athanasius, and others, that the Sabellians received the holy scriptures as other Christians did.

I was obliged just now [n] to give a hint of the time of Sabellianism. I would here add [o] in the margin the sentiments of many learned men upon that point.

VIII. Before Dionysius died there arose another dispute of a like nature about the doctrine of the Trinity. The principal person concerned herein was Paul of Samosata, who had been bishop of Antioch from [p] about the year 260. We have already had divers references to this affair. I think it may now be proper to take Eusebius's account of it pretty much at length.

Says our ecclesiastical historian, 'Xystus, [q] bishop of the church of Rome, was succeeded 'by Dionysius of the same name with the bishop of Alexandria. About the same time Deme- 'trian, [r] bishop of Antioch dying, Paul of Samosata succeeded him in the episcopate of that 'city. He [s] having a low and abject opinion of Christ, contrary to the doctrine of the 'church, as if he had been no more than a man, a synod was appointed. Dionysius, bishop of 'Alexandria, when invited, excused his coming thither on account of his age and bodily infir- 'mity: however, he sent a letter containing his opinion upon the point in question. The rest 'of the pastors of the churches from all parts hastened to Antioch, and were convened there 'as against a destroyer of the flock of Christ. The [t] most eminent of which were Firmilian, 'bishop of the church of Cæsarea in Cappadocia; Gregory and Athenodorus, brothers, pastors of

[a] ἡ Σαβελλιθ κακονοια, εκ Λιβυης απαρασα, εις παλλης δε κωμωσασα. Isid. l. 1. Ep. 247. [b] Πολλοι δε εν τη Μεση των Ποταμων, και εσιν ἁ μερη της Ῥωμης, τα αυτα δογματις ὑπαρχουσιν. Hær. 62. p. 513. B. [c] Les Sabelliens. p. 535. [d] Can. vii. Labb. T. ii. p. 951.

[e] I quoted some such passages from Augustine in Ch. XLI. p. 583. note [g]. They who are desirous of seeing more may consult the Index to T. iii. P. ii. and T. V. Ed. Bened. V. Sabelliani.

[f] Κεχρηνται δε ταις πασαις γραφαις παλαιας τε και καινης διαθηκης. κ. λ. ib. p. 513. D. [g] την δε πασαν αυτων πλανην, και την της πλανης αυτων δυναμιν εχουσιν εξ αποκρυφων τινων, μαλιστα απο τε καλουμενε Αιγυπτιε Ευαγγελιε, ω τινες το ονομα επεθεντο τουτο. ib. p. 514. A. [h] p. 518. A.

[i] μη νοησας την φωνην των ἁγιων γραφων. ib. B.

[k] Non exstet evangelium Johannis, ne Sabellius discat: "Ego et Pater unum sumus." Joh. x. 30. Hilar. De Synod. n. lxxxv. p. 1199. A. [l] μιαν ὑποστασιν εφησεν ειναι τον πατερα και τον υἱον, και το ἁγιον πνευμα, και εν τριωνυμον προσωπον· και τον αυτον, ποτε μεν ως πατερα καλει, ποτε δε ως υἱον, ποτε δε ως ἁγιον πνευμα, και εν μεν τη παλαια, ως πατερα νομοθετησαι, εν δε τη καινη, ως υἱον ενανθρωπησαι, ως πνευμα δε ἁγιον τοις αποστολοις επιφοιτησαι. Theodoret. H. Fab. l. 2. cap. 9. [m] Vid. Athan. de Sent. Dionys. p. 261, 262. et. Or. iv. contr. Arian. p. 636. E. F. 637. T. i. Bened. [n] See p. 616. [o] Sed Libycus [Sabellius] ab illo Pentapolitano neutiquam diversus est, qui hæresim præceptoris sui Noëti disseminare latius cœpit A. C. 257, ut notârunt Benedictini notis ad S. Ambrosium T. ii. p. 445. [circiter annum 257.] Petav. Dogm. Theol. Tom. ii. p. 33. seq. et Rev. Christianus Wormius in Historiâ Sabellianismi editâ Francof. 1698, capite 3. Idem de Marcello Ancyrano videndus, capite 5. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. v. cap. 23. Tom viii. p. 335. Conf. Philastr. de Hær. n. liv. p. 108. not. [a] Ed. Fabric.

[p] Vid. Pagi 261, num. vi. [q] Eus. H. E. l. 7. cap. 27. [r] Demetrian had succeeded Fabius in 252, and was succeeded by Paul in 260. Vid. Pagi 261. n. vi. Basnag. 264. n. iii. [s] τοτε δε ταπεινα και χαμαιπετη περι τε Χριστε παρα την εκκλησιαστικην διδασκαλιαν φρονησας, ως κοινε την φυσιν ανθρωπε γενομενε. ib. p. 277. C.

[t] ib. cap. 28.

'the churches in Pontus: and, beside these, Helenus, bishop of the church in Tarsus; and Nico-'mas, of Iconium; Hymenæus, bishop of the church at Jerusalem; Theotecnus, bishop of Cæsarea 'in the same country; Maximus, who with great reputation presided over the brethren at Bostra; 'with many others, beside presbyters and deacons. These had divers meetings, and in every 'assembly there were many questions and disputes: Paul of Samosata on the one hand endea-'vouring to conceal his heterodox notion, they on the other hand striving to detect and 'expose his heresy and blasphemy against Christ. In the mean time Dionysius dies, in the 'twelfth year of the reign of Gallienus, having been bishop of Alexandria seventeen years. 'His successor was Maximus. Gallienus, having reigned fifteen years, was succeeded by 'Claudius: he having been emperor two years was succeeded by Aurelian. In [a] his time the 'last synod was convened, consisting of a very great number of bishops.' In this synod, as Eusebius proceeds to relate, Paul was evidently convicted of the heresy laid to his charge, and was excommunicated from the whole catholic church under heaven. The chief author of the conviction and condemnation of Paul was Malchion, presbyter in the church at Antioch. 'The [b] pastors of the churches, then assembled together, with one consent wrote an epistle to 'Dionysius, bishop of Rome, and Maximus, bishop of Alexandria, which was also sent to the 'churches all over the provinces.' In this epistle, written in the name of Helenus, and [c] the other bishops, and of the presbyters and deacons and the churches of God, an [d] account is given of their own labour and pains, of the perverse and obstinate heresy of Paul, their convictions of Paul, and conferences with him, and of his life and morals. Here the fathers of this council say 'they had sent to many bishops of the remotest provinces to come to their 'assistance upon this occasion; particularly to Dionysius of Alexandria, and Firmilian of 'Cappadocia, men of blessed memory: that the former had sent a letter to Antioch, but did not 'so much as vouchsafe a salutation to the author of that heresy: nor did he write to him by 'name, but to the whole church [of Antioch]; of which letter we here subjoin a copy.' Firmilian, they say, had been twice at Antioch; and condemned, as they are well assured, Paul's novel doctrine. 'But, [e] believing and hoping the matter might be determined without bring-'ing any reproach upon the Christian religion, he deferred the sentence, being deceived,' as they say, 'by him who had denied his God and Lord: and he was willing to come once more 'to Antioch, but when he was got as far as Tarsus he there died.' The [f] council then proceeds, blackening Paul's character, charging him with pride, avarice, exaction, an exorbitant love of praise and applause from all sorts of people. They say 'that [g] he accepted secular dignities 'and chose rather to be considered as a judge [or officer of the revenue] than a bishop. He 'has been used to walk through the high streets, receiving letters, and dictating answers as 'he went along, attended by a great number of people as his guards, some going before, 'others following him. It is not necessary,' they say, 'to insist on his vain-glorious 'behaviour in the ecclesiastical assemblies, where he affects all imaginary pomp proper 'to amaze and astonish weak ignorant people: for he has erected to himself a tribunal and 'lofty throne, not like a disciple of Christ, but after the manner of civil magistrates, with 'a closet as he calls it. It has been usual for him also to clap his hand upon his thigh, and 'stamp with his feet. And [h] if there are any who do not applaud him, nor, as it is customary

[a] Cap. 29. [b] Cap. 30. [c] .... και οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες, οἱ συν ἡμιν παροικουντες τας εγγυς πολεις, και εθνη, επισκοποι και πρεσβυτεροι και διακονοι, και αἱ εκκλησιαι τῳ Θεῳ, ἀγαπητοις ἀδελφοις εν κυριῳ χαιρειν. p. 279. C.

[d] την αυτων σπουδην τοις πασι φανεραν καθισταντες, και τε Παυλε την διαστροφον ετεροδοξιαν, ελεγχης τε και ερωτησεις ὡς προς αυτον ανακεκινηκασι, και ετι τον παντα βιον τε και τροπον τε ανδρος διηγουμενοι. ibid. p. 279 B.

[e] επαγγειλαμενε δε μεταθησεσθαι, πιστευσας και ελπισας ανευ τινος περι τον λογον λοιδοριας το πραγμα εις δεον καλυσησεσθαι ανεβαλετο. κ. λ. ib. p. 280. A. [f] ib. p. 280. B. C. D. 281, 282. A. B [g] κοσμικα ἀξιωματα υποδυομενος, και δημηγοριος μαλλον η επισκοπος βελων καλεισθαι. p. 280. C.

[h] An excessive fondness for praise and commendation is far from being justifiable in any man. But, if Paul's whole fault consisted only in receiving and encouraging applauses and acclamations, when he spoke in public, the fathers of the council may be reckoned to have aggravated to a great degree; for it is certain that these things were common in church assemblies in the fourth and fifth, and following centuries. The passages of authors relating to this matter are too numerous to be inserted or referred to in this place. It has been observed by some learned moderns, that Chrysostom, a man of a severe temper, reproved and checked those acclamations, but that Augustine received them very willingly. Ac videtur admirandæ sanctitatis vir B. Augustinus eum morem tulisse non invitus, atque adeo non improbâsse: quod ex libro iv. de Doctrinâ Christianâ, cap. 26, aliisque locis licet intelligere. Non ita Joannes Chrysostymus; qui vir divinus, ut erat austeriore ingenio, morem tot seculorum improbavit, damnavitque. Is. Casaub. Not. in Vulcat. Gallicani Avid. Cass. cap. 13. p. 467. Conf. Ferrar. lib. v. cap. 2. There is scarce any kind of acclamation or applause here mentioned by this council but was in use in Chrysostom's time. The people applauded his sermons by shaking their loose garments, moving their plumes, waving their handker-

'in the theatre, shake their handkerchiefs, nor make loud acclamations, nor leap up and down 'as some of his creatures do, but [a] hear with a composed attention and reverence, as becometh 'the house of God, he reproveth and abuseth them.' Afterwards they insinuate, that from views of interest he neglected to keep up a strict discipline among his clergy. 'What [b] shall 'we say of his [c] subintroduced women, as the Antiochians call them, and of those belonging 'to his presbyters and deacons? with regard to whom he conceals and tolerates this, and 'many other crimes, which he knows very well, and of which he has convicted them, that he 'may keep them in dependence, and that, standing in fear of him on their own account, they 'may not dare to bring accusations against him for his unrighteous actions: moreover, he has 'enriched them; for which reason he is beloved and admired by men of covetous and worldly 'dispositions. But why do we write these things? We are persuaded, brethren, that a bishop 'and all the clergy are bound to give the people an example of all good works. And we are 'not ignorant, that by introducing women, some have fallen into sin, and others have been 'suspected. Although [d] therefore it should be granted, that he has done nothing contrary to 'modesty, yet the very suspicion that arises from such a practice, ought to be guarded against, 'for fear of giving offence or a bad example to any. For how can he reprove another, or ad-'monish another not to [e] converse frequently with a woman, and to "take heed lest he slip," 'as [f] it is written; who, though he has sent away one, still has two in his house that are 'handsome and in the flower of their age; whom he likewise carries about with him wherever 'he goes; at the same time living well, and indulging himself in a plentiful diet?' At [g] the close of the epistle they say; 'Having therefore excommunicated this contumacious enemy 'of God, we have been obliged to ordain another bishop in his stead in the catholic church, 'and, as we are persuaded, not without the providence of God. The person we have ordained 'is son of Demetrian of blessed memory, who formerly presided so well in this see, by name 'Domnus, a man endowed with all the accomplishments requisite in a bishop. To him there-'fore you are to write. Paul, having fallen from the faith and the episcopate,' as Eusebius adds, 'Domnus took upon him the care of the church of Antioch. But when [h] Paul refused to leave 'the house of the church, a petition having been presented to the emperor Aurelian, he rightly 'determined the matter, giving orders that the house should be delivered to them, to whom

chiefs. Vid. Ferrar. l. v. c. 9. Jerom reminds Vigilantius that, when he preached upon the resurrection, Vigilantius himself had applauded him with hands and feet, leaping up and down, and crying out orthodox. Recordare quæso illius diei, quando me de resurrectione et veritate corporis prædicante, ex latere subsultabas, et plaudebas manu, et applodebas pedem, et orthodoxum conclamabas. Ad Vigilant. Ep. 36. al. 75. p. 277. m. In another place Jerom speaks of his being present at a sermon where the people applauded a certain interpretation of a text by stamping with the feet: Scio me audisse quem 'im de hoc loco in ecclesiâ disputantem, ... certe tunc in populo dicta placuerunt, et quodam plausu ac tripudio sunt excepta. In Ep. ad Eph. cap. 5. 14. It appears from Augustine that the acclamations of the people were very customary in Africa: Unde autem crebro et multum acclamatur ita dicentibus, &c. Aug. de Doctr. Chr. l. 4. c. 26. How can it then be thought strange by any, that this practice should prevail in the East, where it had its original? Concerning the acclamations of the ancients, may be seen, beside others, Fr. Ferrarius de Veterum Acclam. et Plausu; Suicer. Thes. V. Κροτος; J. Bingham Antiquities of the Christian Church, B. xiv. ch. 4. sect. xxvii. Casaub ut supra; Neocori Bibl. Librorum Novorum. p. 18, &c. A. D. 1697.

[a] τοις δ' εν, ὡς εν οικῳ Θεᾳ σεμνοπρεπως, και ευτακτως ακουσιν, επιτιμων και ενυβριζων. p. 281. A. [b] τας συνεισακτους αυτε γυναικας ὡς Αντιοχεις ονομαζεσι κ. λ. ib. C.

[c] According to this account, Paul's conduct was not exemplary, scarce reputable; but yet I am apt to think it was not criminal. The women here spoken of were not wives, nor concubines, but persons maintained as objects of charity, or else for the sake of domestic affairs. The thing was disliked by many, but nevertheless it was practised by some virtuous ecclesiastics. Vid. Epiphan. Hær. 63. n. ii. Cyprian. ad Pompon. Ep. 62. al. 4. It seems that Paul was not the first person who begun this practice at Antioch. This may be argued from the name by which the Antiochians called such women, which appears to have been then common and well known. And as much might be argued from some other considerations. That Paul was innocent, or free from crime, is probable, in that the fathers of the council do not charge him directly with unchastity or immodesty; which they would not have failed to do if there had been any ground for it, as we may be assured from the temper of the composer or composers of this Synodical epistle: and I think that Paul's open way of acting, without any reserve, must be of great use to prevent suspicion, or to remove it if it should arise in the mind of any one. The third canon of the council of Nice in 325 is to this purpose: 'That no bishop, or presbyter, or 'deacon, or any other of the clergy, should have an intro-'duced woman, unless she be a mother, or sister, or aunt, or 'however a person liable to no suspicion.' Vid. Moshem. de Reb. Christian. p. 703, 704.

[d] ὡς ε. και δοιη τις το μηδεν ασελγες ποιειν. p. 281. D. [e] .... μη συγκαταβαινειν επιπλεον εις ταυτον γυναικι· μη ολισθη φυλαττομενον, ὡς γεγραπται. p. 282. A. 'Valesius thinks the council intends somewhat in the xxvth chapter of the book of Ecclesiasticus: but it does not clearly appear to me what text is here referred to. Intelligit locum qui habetur in cap. 25, Ecclesiastici. Vales in Euseb. p. 157. n. [g] p. 282. B. C. [h] Αλλα γαρ μηδαμως εκκηναι τε Παυλε τε της εκκλησιας οικε θελοντος, βασιλευς εντευχθεις Αυρηλιανος, αισιωτατα πασι τα πρακτεα διειληφε, τετοις νειμαι προσωπων τον οικον, οις αν οι κατα την Ιταλιαν και την Ῥωμαιων πολιν επισκοποι τα πραγματα επιστελλοιεν. Ουτω δητα ὁ προδηλωθεις ανηρ μετα της ευκρατες αισχυνης, ὑπο της κοσμικης αρχης εξελαυνεται της εκκλησιας. ib. p. 282. D.

'the bishops of the Christian religion in Italy and at Rome should write. Thus the foremen-
'tioned person, with the greatest disgrace, was thrust out of the church by the secular power.'

So writes Eusebius. There were therefore [a] at least two councils at Antioch upon this occasion; one, at which Firmilian was present, when Dionysius likewise was living, and sent a letter, supposed to have been convened in 264; another, and the last, when Paul was excommunicated, computed to have been held [b] near the end of 269, and beginning of 270. Eusebius indeed seems to say, that the last council was held in the time of Aurelian, who did not [c] begin his reign before November 270; whereas [d] this council most probably was begun and ended in the time of Claudius. For the synodical epistle is sent to Dionysius of Rome, who died in December 269, and must therefore have been drawn up before the news of his death arrived at Antioch. But Paul, though excommunicated by the council in 269 or 270, could not be removed till 272 or 273, after [e] Aurelian became master of that country, upon the conquest of Zenobia. For Paul, as [f] is said, was favoured by Zenobia, and would not yield the house of the church, meaning either the bishop's dwelling-house, or the house in which the Christians held their assemblies, till compelled by the authority of Aurelian. And [g] perhaps Eusebius ought to be understood to mean as much: that when the council had been held under Claudius, its result had not its full effect till the reign of Aurelian, when Paul was actually thrust out of the church.

It may be best for us, in the next place, to take Theodoret's account of this matter, but briefly. He says, 'Paul [h] of Samosata was bishop of the church of Antioch. At that time 'Zenobia reigned.....He went into the heresy of Artemon, [i] in complaisance [k] to her who fol-
'lowed Jewish notions.' Then, having mentioned the names of the principal bishops present at the first council, he adds; 'And at first they endeavoured by entreaties to induce Paul to 'renounce his false doctrine. But when he openly denied that he held any such opinion, 'and affirmed that he adhered to the apostolical doctrines; praising God for the common agree-
'ment, they returned to their several flocks. But when some time had passed, fame again pub-
'lished every where Paul's perversion. Nevertheless, even then, those excellent men did not 'immediately proceed to his excision; but first of all endeavoured to remedy the evil by letters. 'But when they saw the case to be desperate, they readily came again to Antioch; applying, 'however, still healing medicines, exhorting and admonishing the man, and reminding him of 'former promises and agreements. At length, he denying, and the accusers being positive, 'and engaging to make good their charge, they convened in council. Here Malachion, for-
'merly a sophist, now honoured to be a presbyter, disputing with Paul, he [l] was convicted of 'saying that Christ was a man eminently favoured with the divine grace. Then they unani-
'mously pronounced sentence, striking him out of the sacred registers. But when he refused 'to yield, and retained the government of the church; informing Aurelian, who then reigned, 'of Paul's obstinacy, they petitioned him to expel him the church. And even an idolater 'judged it fit, that a man who refused to submit to the determination of those who were of 'the same religion should be separated from their communion.'

Thus ended that affair; in which Firmilian was shy of pronouncing any sentence, fearing some bad consequences of it, and that thereby a reproach might be brought upon the Christian church: and, in all probability, it must have made a great noise in the world at that time. But

[a] Ainsi il faut admettre trois conciles au moins sur cette affaire; celui qui la commença à la fin de l'an 264; un second, dont on ignore le tems; et le dernier, qui la termina à la fin de 269, ou fort peu apres. Tillem. Paul de Samosate, Art. iv. Mem. Ec. T. iv. P. ii. p. 624. Conf. Basn. A. 264 n. vi.

[b] Secunda Synodus Antiochena adversus Paulum Samosatenum celebrata est autumno anni ducentesimi sexagesimi noni, sequentique continuata; quod colligitur ex epistolâ Synodicâ, quam episcopi ad Dionysium Romanum pontificem scripsere. Dionysius autem, ut mox videbimus, die vicesimâ octavâ Decembris illius anni ad Deum migravit. Quare hæc Synodus ad eum annum retrahenda. Pagi Crit. in Bar. A. 271. ii. Conf. Tillemont. Paul. de Sam. p. 625, 626.

[c] Vid. Pagi 270. n. iii.

[d] Hactenus creditum fuit, Synodum hanc, Aureliano imperante, habitam fuisse; nisi quod Valesius in notis Eusebianis eam partim sub Claudio, partim sub Aureliano celebratam autumavit. Sed principatûs Aureliani initio tempori suo reddito, constat, illam Claudio imperante inchoatam et finitam, &c. Pagi 271. n. iii. vid. Till. ib. 625, 626.

[e] Sed Paulus anno tantum 273, quo Zenobia ab Aureliano capta, ab ecclesiâ penitus exturbatus; non vero eodem anno, ut videtur existimâsse Baronius. Pagi. ib. n iv.

[f] Ιεδαια την Ζηνοβια, και Παυλε πρωεστη τε Σαμοσατεως. Athan. Hist. Arian. n. 71. p. 386. D. Bened.

[g] Vid. Pagi 271. n. iii. iv. Conf. Tillem. ibid. note iv. sur Paul de Sam. p. 897.

[h] Theodoret. H. Fab. L. 2. cap. 8.

[i] Εις Αρτεμωνος αιρεσιν, ταυτη νομιζων θεραπευειν εκεινην τα Ιεδαιων φρονησαν. ib. init.

[k] St. Chrysostom speaks to the like purpose. ετω και τετον γυναικι τινι χαριζομενον, την σωτηριαν φασιν αποδοσθαι εαυτε. Chrys. in Joh. Hom. vii. p. 57. A.

[l] Εφωραθη, τον Χριστον ανθρωπον λεγων θειας χαριτος διαφερωντως ηξιωμενον. ib. p. 223. B.

the presbyter Malchion having been disobliged, as it seems, could not be satisfied, till his bishop was removed. I do not justify Paul in withstanding the decree of the council: so far as I am able to judge, he ought to have yielded, for peace sake, and should have submitted to the determination of the majority; especially if the majority of his own people, the church of Antioch, concurred with the synod; which, however, I think is not certain. Nor do I absolutely blame[a] the bishops of that time, who applied to a heathen emperor to expel one of their brethren out of the church, provided they freely allowed Paul and his followers to worship God, according to the best of their knowledge, in separate assemblies, as perhaps they did. Much less would I take upon me to judge of the reasons or policy of his imperial majesty's determination. But for the vast disgrace of being thrust out of the church by the secular power, I should think the justness of that remark of our ecclesiastical historian may be disputed. If Aurelian condemned Paul, Zenobia favoured him; and her protection may be reckoned no small honour, if she was so excellent a princess as fame proclaims her. A learned writer, who styles himself Phileleutherus Dubliniensis, has lately given Zenobia this short character: 'That[b] she was the greatest woman of her own, or perhaps of any other age.' To the many other things that have been said in her commendation, it may be added, that she was no persecutor. Du Pin[c] says; 'Of all the councils held in the first three ages, the most famous are 'the two councils of Antioch, assembled against Paul of Samosata, bishop of that city.' They must have been both held under Odenatus or Zenobia; the last undoubtedly in her time. And the numerous bishops, and other clergy, and all other Christian people, belonging to that council, had come to Antioch, and returned without hindrance or molestation. They likewise issued out their Synodical Epistle, and sent it abroad all over the provinces without control or opposition: for we have received no complaints of any obstruction whatever; no, though a sentence too had been pronounced against that princess's favourite divine. It is true, we do not know that she ratified that sentence; nor did she compel Paul to leave the house of the church. What were her reasons I cannot say: perhaps, being in the main of the same opinion with Paul, and being likewise a woman of solid virtue, she could not in conscience join with his adversaries. Possibly she was not satisfied that the fathers of the council had any proper authority out of their own dioceses; or there might be danger of disobliging a large part of her subjects, and she might be apprehensive of creating divisions among her own people: nay, she might not be fully convinced of her right to interpose in such ecclesiastical affairs. That these were the reasons of her conduct I do not affirm; but I make no question that her majesty was governed by reasons and considerations of no small importance.

After all, human judgments, unless impartial, and well informed of the point in debate, are of little value. And if Paul had been respected by Zenobia, he could look for no favour from Aurelian, let his merit be ever so distinguished, and his cause ever so just. There are, I suppose few Christians but regret Aurelian's putting to death that incomparable critic Longinus; though it ought to be remembered, that[d] he died so nobly as to comfort those who lamented his calamity. Nor does Eusebius vindicate all Aurelian's resolutions; but, presently afterwards, when that emperor's favourable dispositions toward the Christians were altered, and he was preparing his edicts to be published against them, Eusebius plainly says, that[e] 'divine 'vengeance laid hold of him.'

Eusebius informs us, that upon this occasion were assembled[f] very many bishops: St. Athanasius[g] says, they were seventy in number; St. Hilary,[h] eighty. Some later writers may mention a larger number: but it may be supposed that[i] Athanasius, from whom Hilary differs very little, is as much to be depended on as any one. Perhaps they were between seventy and eighty.

One thing principally to be observed, as concerning the person whose history we are writing, is Dionysius's letter, containing his opinion upon the question, and sent by him at the time of the first council. It is mentioned, as we have seen, by Eusebius, and by the fathers

[a] Bishops of that time, &c.] It does not certainly appear who those bishops were. They could not be the bishops assembled in council, by whom Paul was deposed; for their Synodical Epistle was drawn up in 269, or the beginning of 270, soon after which the council broke up. But this application to Aurelian could not be made till 272 or 273.

[b] See Reflections upon Polygamy; by Phileleuth Dublin. London: 1737. p. 166—188.

[c] Nouv. Bib. T. i. p. 213.

[d] . . ἦν ἐτῶ γενναίως ηνεγκεν ὁ Λογγινος, ὡςε και σχετλιαζοντας επι τῳ παθει παραμυθεισθαι. Zosim. l. i. p. 659 v. 21. 22.

[e] L. vii. cap. 30. p. 283. A.

[f] [illegible] κοπων. ib. c. 29.

[g] Athan. de Syn. p. [illegible] E. F.

[h] Hilar. de Syn. p. 1200. B. ed Bened.

[i] Val. Benedictin. Not. in loc. Athanasii.

assembled in the last council; and it was subjoined by them to their Synodical Epistle. It is also taken notice of by St. Jerom, who [a] says it was written by Dionysius a few days before his death. He likewise calls it an excellent epistle. Whether it be still extant will be considered hereafter.

In the fragments of the Synodical Epistle itself, preserved in Eusebius, and undoubtedly genuine, out of which I have already made large extracts, the fathers of the last council say, 'that [b] Paul had departed from the canon, or [c] rule [d] of faith.' They presently afterwards charge him with [e] esteeming "gain to be godliness;" referring to 1 Tim. vi. 5. But I need not stay to insist upon such references, or allusions to scripture.

Beside those fragments in Eusebius just mentioned, we have an [f] epistle written to Paul of Samosata in the name of Hymenæus, Theophilus, Theotecnus, Maximus, Proclus, and Bolanus. Baronius has inserted this epistle entire into his [g] Annals: and [h] Tillemont says, he does not know that the genuineness of it is contested by any one; but whereas Baronius ascribes it to the first synod, he thinks it more probable, with [i] Valesius, that it was written by the last council, at the beginning of their assembling, before Malchion had fully convicted Paul. Of this opinion too is [k] Pagi. But [l] Basnage thinks that, if it be genuine, it was written some time between the first and last council. However he denies it to be genuine, and alleges divers [m] arguments, which I refer to the reader's consideration. Du Pin [n] likewise declares it to be his opinion that this letter is supposititious.

I only observe therefore briefly, that in this epistle are cited many texts of scripture, both of the Old and New Testament, particularly [o] Luke i. 2. And [p] the doctrine of the apostles, the law and the prophets, the Old and New Testament, are more than once mentioned as the rule of judging concerning the controverted question.

Here some notice must be taken of Paul's opinions, according as we are informed of them in the accounts given by ancient writers; though, perhaps, we now have nothing remaining of Paul himself, or any of his followers.

Eusebius, as we have already seen, assures us, that [q] 'Paul had low and abject thoughts of 'Christ, as if he was no more than a man.' In another place of his Ecclesiastical History he says, that [r] Paul of Samosata had endeavoured to revive the heresy of Artemon. In the like manner, again, in [s] his Chronicle, as we now have it in Latin from St. Jerom; where it is also said, that Domnus, ordained in Paul's room, was the sixteenth bishop of the church of Antioch.

The fathers of the second council, by whom Paul was deposed, write in their Synodical Epistle, 'that [t] he had laid aside the hymns usually sung in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, 'as modern, and the compositions of modern men—that [u] he refused to acknowledge, with 'them, that the Son of God came down from heaven—that [x] he had abjured the mystery of our 'religion for the accursed heresy of Artemas.' And at the conclusion they say, 'Let [y] him 'write to Artemas, if he pleaseth; and let the followers of Artemas hold communion with 'him.'

St. Athanasius represents Paul's sentiments after this manner: 'That [z] he believed Christ 'to be God from a virgin: God from Nazareth, seen there, and taking there the beginning 'of his existence, and of his kingdom. And he acknowledgeth in him the powerful Word

[a] Sed et adversus Paulum Samosatenum, ante paucos dies quam moreretur, insignis ejus fertur epistola. De V. I. cap. 69. fin. [b] αποστας της κανονος.... H. E. l. 7. c. 30. p. 280. B. [c] Vid. Vales. Annot. p. 156.

[d] Compare ch. 12. Dionysius of Corinth, Vol. ii. chap. 12. [e] P. 280. C. [f] Vid. Concil. ap. Labb. T. i. p. 844, &c.

[g] A. 266. n. iv. &c. [h] As before, art. 4. p. 627.

[i] Ann. in Eus. p. 157. C. D. [k] A. 265. n. iii.

[l] A. 264. n. vi. [m] Ib. n. vii. [n] Bibl. T. i. p. 214. Amst.

[o] Και εχομεν παραδοθειταν, και τηρεμενην εν τη καθολικη και αγια εκκλησια μεχρι της σημερον ημερας εκ διαδοχης υπο των μακαριων αποστολων, οι και αυτοπται και υπηρεται γεγονασι τε λογε, καταγγελλομενην εκ νομε και προφητων, και της καινης διαθηκης, ταυτα εκθεσθαι. Ep. miss. ad Paul. Sam. ap. Labb. Conc. T. i. p. 848. E.

[p] εν τε παλαια και νεα διαθηκη εγνωκοτες ομολογημεν και κηρυσσομεν. ib. p. 845. A. Vid. etiam supra not.[o]

[q] L. vii. cap. 27. [r] L. v. cap. 28. in.

[s] Paulus Samosatenus a cunctorum prædicatione desciscens Artemonis hæresim suscitavit. In cujus locum Antiochenæ ecclesiæ sextus decimus ordinatur episcopus Domnus. Eus. Chr. p. 176.

[t] ψαλμες δε τες μεν εις τον κυριον ημων Ιησεν Χριςον παυσας, ως δε νεωτερες και νεωτερων συγγραμματα. ad. Eus. H. E. l. 7. c. 30. p. 281. A.

[u] Τον μεν γαρ υιον τε θεε α βελεται συνομολογειν εξ ερανε καταληλυθεναι. ib. C.

[x] Τον δε εξορκησαμενον το μυστηριον, και εκτομπευσια τη μιαρα αιρεσει τη αρειανα. ib. p. 282. B.

[y] Ib. C. [z] επειδη και παντες αιρετικοι τετο λεγειν ειωθασιν, ως Παυλος ο Σαμοσατευς θεον εκ της παρθενε ομολογει, θεον εκ Ναζαρετ, οφθεντα, και ενθυεν της υπαρξεως την αρχην εσχηκοτα, και αρχην βασιλειας παρειληφοτα· λογον δε ενεργον εξ ερανε, και σοφιαν εν αυτω ομολογει· τω μεν προορισμω προ αιωνων οντα, τη δε υπαρξει εκ Ναζαρετ αναδειχθεντα· ινα εις ειη, φησιν, ο επι πασι θεος ο πατηρ. Ath. contr. Appollin. l. 2. T. i. p. 942. A. Bened.

'from heaven, and Wisdom; by predetermination before all ages, in fact manifested at Naza-'reth. So that, as he says, there is one God over all, even the Father. This is his impiety.' In other places he speaks of [a] Paul's thinking 'Christ to be a man, and different from God 'the Word; and [b] that he was as to his nature a mere man, but after his birth as a man he be-'came God by his advancement in virtue.' In a piece ascribed to Athanasius, but [c] now generally supposed to be the work of a later writer, the followers of Paul are spoken of as believing, that [d] God dwelled in Christ, or the man Jesus, in an especial manner.

St. Epiphanius says, that [e] Paul revived the heresy of Artemon: that [f] he taught God the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, to be one God: that [g] the Word and Spirit of God are always in God, as reason in the heart of man: and that the Son of God has no distinct subsistence, but subsists in God himself: that [h] the Word came and dwelled in the man Jesus: that [i] in the main he agreed with Sabellius, and Novatus, and Noetus, and others; though in part he differed from them: and that [k] upon the doctrine of the Deity his followers said no more than the Jews.

Philaster says, beside other things, 'that [l] Paul taught that Christ was a just man, not the 'true God: thus Judaizing, and likewise teaching circumcision. He also converted Zenobia, a 'certain queen of that time in the East, to Judaism.'

But it is supposed that [m] Philaster is mistaken in saying that Paul taught circumcision; neither Eusebius, nor the fathers of the second council at Antioch, charging him with such a doctrine. It is not improbable, that this is a mere innocent mistake of Philaster; for as Arianism is [n] sometimes compared to heathenism, so it was likewise common with some Christians to call Unitarians Jews, or Judaizers, We [o] formerly saw how St. Basil writes, that Sabellianism is Judaism, brought into the church under the name of Christianity. In another place he says, we [p] abhor Sabellianism, as we do Judaism. So Epiphanius, who [q] had more learning than Philaster, said just now that, 'upon the doctrine of the Deity, the followers of Paul said 'no more than the Jews.' And again he says, 'that [r] the Paulians, introducing Judaism, and 'teaching nothing more than them, are Jews, and ought to be so called:' though, as he adds, 'to 'speak the truth, they do not practise circumcision, nor keep the sabbath, nor follow any 'other Jewish customs.' And St. Chrysostom, at the same time that [s] he says the followers of Paul resembled the Jews, allows they differed from them in the point of circumcision.

We have farther to observe from St. Chrysostom, that he supposeth the followers of Paul to deny that [u] the only begotten pre-existed before all ages.

St. Augustine writes, 'The [w] Paulians, so called from Paul of Samosata, deny Christ's eter-'nity, and affirm that he then began to be when he was born of Mary: nor do they think him any 'thing more than a man. This heresy of Artemon, which was in a manner extinguished, was

[a] Ινα μη ο Σαμοσατευς τροφασιν ευρη, ανθρωπον αυτον λεγων, ως αλλον οντα παρα τον θεον λογον. Ath. Ep. ad Max. T. i. p. 920. A.

[b] Ὁποιοι εισιν οἱ απο Παυλε τε Σαμοσατεως, ὑστερον αυτον μεῖα την εναν θρωπησιν εκ περικοπης τεθεοποιησθαι λεγοντες, τω την φυσιν ψιλον ανθρωπον γεγονεναι. De Syn. T. i. p. 739. E. Conf. Socrat. H. E. l. 2. c. 19. p. 98. D.

[c] Vid. Admon. in Ep. de Incarnat. Dei Verbi. T. ii. p. 33.

[d] Ει γαρ και θεον ενοικειν εν τω ανθρωπω λεγοιεν, μη παραδεχωμεθα. De Incarnat. ap. Ath. Op. T. ii. p. 35. A.

[e] Και ανεκαινισε την αἱρεσιν τε Αρτεμονος. Adv. Hær. lxv. p. 608. A.

[f] Φασκει δε ουτος, θεον πατερα, και υἱον, και ἁγιον πνευμα ἑνα θεον. ibid.

[g] Εν θεω δε αει ονλα τον αυτε λογον, και το πνευμα αυτε, ὡσπερ εν ανθρωπε καρδια, ὁ ἰδιος λογος· μη ειναι δε τον υἱον τε θεε ενυποστατον, αλλα εν τω θεω. ibid.

[h] Ελθοντα δε τον λογον, και ενοικησαντα εν Ιησε, ανθρωπω ονλι. Ib. B.

[i] Ib. A. B.

[k] Ουδε πλεον των Ιεδαιων, ὡς εφην, δοξαζοντες. p. 609. B.

[l] Hic Christum hominem justum, non Deum verum prædicabat, judaizans potius; qui et circumcisionem docebat. Unde et Zenobiam quamdam reginam in oriente tunc temporis ipse docuit judaïzare. Philast. Hær. 17.

[m] Vid. Basn. An, 264. n. v. Tillemont, et supra, Art. ii. p. 619.

[n] Εκεινοι δε κἰσμα λεγοντες τον εκ τε παντος υἱον τε θεε και λογον, ὁθεν διαφερεσιν εθνικων. κ. λ. ap. Athanas. de Vit. Anton. p. 848. Ed. Bened. Fit igitur Ario . . . ad familiaritatem Constantii imperatoris promtus aditus et facilis via. Suadetur Constantio, ut quosdam in Deo gradus credat: et qui per januam ab errore idololatriæ fuerat egressus, rursus in sinum ejus, dum in Deo deos quærit, tamquâm per pseudothyrum inducitur. P. Oros. Histor. lib. ii. cap. 29. p. 542. ed. Havercamp.

[o] See p. 599.

[p] Ὁτι επισης τω Ιεδαϊσμω και την τοιαυτην αἱρεσιν φριττομεν. Ep. 80. al. 189. p. 277. D.

[q] Cum Epiphanium longe Philastrio doctiorem invenerimus. August. Ep. 222. T. ii. p. 878. Bened.

[r] Ουτοι δε τον Ιεδαϊσμον παραβειροντες, ὁθεν περισσοτερον των Ιεδαιων κεκλημενοι, δευτεροι Ιεδαιοι κληθησονται. κ. λ. Hær. 65. p. 608. D.

[s] Τ' αληθη δε, ὁτι ὁτε περιτομην εχεσιν, ὁτε σαββατον. κ. λ. ibid.

[t] Αλλα προς μεν Ιεδαιες αρκει και ταυτα· επειδαν δε οἱ χωρις περιτομης τα εκεινων μιμεμενοι και ζηλεντες οἱ Παυλε τε Σαμοσατεως. κ. λ. Chrys. in. Ps. viii. p. 120. C. T. Tom. iii.

[u] Ενταυθα και τες απο Παυλε τε Σαμοσατεως επεξομισεν ικανως, οἱ την προαιωνιον ὑπαρξιν αναιρεσι τε μονογενες. Ει γαρ προ τε τοκε της Μαριας εκ ην, ὁδε ὑπηρχε πριν η φανηναι εν σαρκι, πως ενομιζετει ὁ μη ων; Serm. 24. T. V. p. 347. B. C.

[w] Pauliani, a Paulo Samosateno, Christum non semper fuisse dicunt; sed ejus initium, ex quo de Mariâ natus est, asseverant: nec eum aliquid amplius quam hominem putant. Ista hæresis aliquando cujusdam Artemonis fuit; sed cum defecisset, instaurata est a Paulo; et postea sic a Photino confirmata, ut Photiniani quam Pauliani celebrius nuncupentur. Aug. de Hær. cap. 44. T. viii. p. 13. Bened.

'revived by Paul, and since by Photinus; so that now the Photinians are better known than 'the Paulians:' or, they are now oftener called Photinians than Paulians.

What Marius Mercator writes of Paul's sentiment at the beginning of the fifth century deserves notice; I therefore put his words in the [a] margin for the sake of the learned, by whom they will be more easily understood, than they can be translated by me. They seem, however, to amount to this: That by the Word, Paul understood the displayed, manifested, effective power of God, not a personal subsistence or real substance distinct from the Father.

I would likewise refer to [b] Damascenus, though his article contains nothing but the [c] Synopsis of Epiphanius.

Theodoret's account of Paul and his sentiments was transcribed above: nothing needs to be added here.

All these are manifestly the accounts of enemies, as it was before hinted they would be, no other being now remaining. Though therefore they may be, for the main, just and right; yet possibly some things may be expressed harshly, if not improperly: nay, some of the accounts seem to differ; there must therefore be some mistake or misrepresentation; or else the seemingly opposite expressions must be understood with some qualification on one side or the other, or reconciled by a distinction. Paul is said to teach that Christ was a mere man, and nothing more than a man; and yet he is also allowed to have taught the indwelling of God in him, and that the Word came and dwelled in the man Jesus. He is said to have denied the preexistence of the First-begotten, and of Christ; but yet he is said to have taught, that the Word was always in God. It is said he refused to acknowledge that the Son of God came down from heaven; and yet he acknowledgeth in him the powerful Word from heaven and Wisdom. These last expressions, seemingly contradictory, may be reconciled perhaps after this manner: Understand by the Word a distinct subsistence from God, he denied his coming down from heaven: but understand by the Word the [d] Reason, the Wisdom, the Power of God, he taught that the Word from heaven came and dwelled in the man Jesus. This distinction may likewise be of some use elsewhere.

What became of Paul after his removal by Aurelian, in 272 or 273, is not known: but he had good opportunities for spreading his doctrine. His episcopate must have lasted twelve or thirteen years, nine years at least before he was deposed, and about three years afterwards, between the time of his deposition and final removal. The fathers in the second council [e] speak of his having flatterers among the bishops and presbyters of the neighbouring cities and villages about Antioch, and [f] of his being beloved and admired by others: though indeed they ascribe that respect for him to the presents he had made those persons. Since, then, Paul was of an active temper, and a man of popular gifts, as it seems, and his episcopate was chiefly under the mild governments of Odenatus, and his wife and successor Zenobia, it may be concluded, he had in that time made a considerable number of proselytes. And, very probably, he at first found some Christians in his diocese of the same sentiments.

Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, affirms that [g] Lucian, who afterwards suffered martyrdom in 312, adhered to Paul, and separated from the church; or was held excommunicated from the church during the time of three bishops of Antioch. One might be almost apt to suspect, from Alexander's words, that he thought Lucian had succeeded Paul in the episcopal care and oversight of those who were in Paul's sentiments at Antioch.

The council at Nice, in one of their canons, [h] appoint, that the Paulianists should be re-

[a] Nestorius circa Verbum Dei, non quidem ut Paulus sentit, qui non substantivum, sed prolatitium potentiæ Dei efficax Verbum esse definit. Mar. Mercat. de discrim. Pauli et Nestorii. num. i. p. 17. Ed. Jo. Garner. Verbum autem Dei Patris, non substantivum, sed prolativum, vel imperativum sensit, atque pronuntiavit, [P. Samos.] non ut fides habet catholica, Verbum in substantiâ, vel essentiâ, consubstantivum, id est, ὁμοουσιον Filium Dei Patris. Id. in Diss. de xii. Anathem. Nestorii. num. xvi. Differentia itaque inter Samosatenum et Photinum ista sola est, quâ Paulus Verbum Dei προφορικον, και πρακτικον λογον και ενεργητικον, id est, prolativum et potestatis effectivum Verbum sensit, non substantivum, quod Græci ουσιωδες dicunt. Id. ib. num. xix.

[b] Damasc. Hær. 65. p. 296.

[c] Epiph. T. i. p. 605.

[d] Hic est virtus Dei, hic ratio, hic sapientia ejus, et gloria. Hic in virginem illabitur, carnem, Spiritu Sancto cooperante, induitur. Cypr. de Idolor. Van. p. 15. Et ipse a Patre exaltatus sit, quia se in terris sermo, et virtus, et sapientia Dei Patris humiliavit. Id. De Unit. Ecc. p. 118.

[e] Οἱα και τους θωπευοντας αυτον επισκοπους των ὁμορων αγρων τε και πολεων και πρεσβυτερους. κ. λ. ap. Eus. L. 7. cap. 30. p. 281. B.

[f] Αλλα και πλουσιους απεφηνεν· εφ' ᾧ προς των τοιαυτα ζηλουντων φιλειται και θαυμαζεται. ibid. D.

[g] . . Παυλου του Σαμοσατεως συνοδῳ και κρισει των απανταχου επισκοπων αποκηρυχθεντος της εκκλησιας· ὁν διαδεξαμενος Λουκιανος αποσυναγωγος εμεινε τριων επισκοπων πολυετεις χρονους. Apud Theodoret. H. E. L. i. cap. iv. p. 15. B.

[h] Can. 19.

baptized when they return to the catholic church. St. Augustine [a] has taken particular notice of that canon. And yet it appears from [b] Athanasius, that the Paulians baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Paulians [c] are mentioned with others in an edict of Constantine against heretics. St. Chrysostom [d] often argues against the Paulians, and, I think, as then in being. Theodoret writes about 450, that [e] there were then no remains of them. And Pope Innocent the first, about 414, as [f] Tillemont observes, speaks of them as [g] if they subsisted no longer. However, St. Augustine, as we have seen, mentions them as if they were in being in his time, but the people of that sentiment were then oftener called Photinians than Paulians.

Neither Eusebius, nor the council of Antioch, nor Athanasius, that I remember, have any where charged Paul, directly or indirectly, with rejecting any books either of the Old or the New Testament. Epiphanius expressly says, that [h] Paul endeavoured to support his doctrine by texts of scripture. Vincentius Lirinensis speaks of [i] this as a common method of heretics; and [k] says particularly of the works of Paul, and some others, that there was scarce a page without citations out of the Old or New Testament. Paul then, and the Paulians, used the same scriptures with other Christians.

This is a summary account of what the ancients write of Paul and his followers. It ought to be observed, that I have made no use of [l] the epistle to Paul ascribed to Dionysius, nor of the questions and answers joined with that epistle. If my account therefore of Paul's opinions appears defective, when compared with that given by [m] Tillemont, or some other moderns, I had rather it should do so, than run the hazard of deceiving my readers by borrowing from suspected or manifestly spurious pieces, whose testimony is not to be relied upon.

There can be no question but Paul was an author. It is very likely he would publish some vindications of himself and his opinions. Vincentius actually makes mention of his writings, as we observed just now. But, as I take the abovementioned questions to be spurious, I suppose none of his works to be now remaining.

As we have not now before us any of Paul's writings, and have his history from adversaries only, we cannot propose to judge distinctly of his talents, nor draw his character at length: however, from the several particulars before put down, and collected from divers authors, some things may be concluded; and I apprehend that, laying aside for the present the consideration of his heterodoxy, we shall not mistake much if we conceive of him after this manner: he had a great mind, with a mixture of haughtiness, and too much affection for human applause. He was generally well respected in his diocese, and by the neighbouring bishops; in esteem with the great, and beloved by the common people. He preached frequently, and was a good speaker. And from what is said by [n] the fathers of the council, of [o] his rejecting or laying aside some hymns, as modern, and composed by moderns, it may be

[a] Istos sane Paulianos baptizandos esse in ecclesiâ catholicâ Nicæno concilio constitutum est. Aug. de Hær. ib.

[b] Οὕτω Μανιχαιοι, και Φρυγες, και οἱ του Σαμοσατεως μαθηται, τα ονοματα λεγοντες, οθεν ἡττον εισιν αἱρετικοι. Ath. Orat. 2 contr. Arian. p. 510. E.

[c] Euseb. de vit. constant. L. iii. cap. 64.

[d] Vid. Chrysost. in Ps. viii. T. 3. p. 120. B. C. et Tom. v. Serm. 20. p. 300. Serm. 24. p. 347. Ed. Front. Duc.

[e] Vid. Theod. H. Fab. l. 2. cap. xi. de Photino.

[f] See Paul de Samosates. Art. vi.

[g] Quia Paulianistæ in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritûs Sancti minime baptizabant. Innocent. i. Ep. 22. ap. Labb. Conc. T. ii. p. 1275. B.

[h] Epiph. ib. p. 608. B.

[i] Hic fortasse aliquis interroget, an et hæretici divinæ scripturæ testimoniis utantur? Utuntur plane, et vehementer quidem. Nam videas eos volare per singula quæque sanctæ legis volumina.... Vincent. comm. cap. 35. p. 356. Ed. Baluz. Paris. 1669.

[k] Lege Pauli Samosateni opuscula, Priscilliani, Eunomii, Joviniani, reliquarumque pestium: cernas infinitam exemplorum congeriem, prope nullam omitti paginam, quæ non novi aut veteris testamenti sententiis fucata et colorata sit. Id. ibid.

[l] Ap. Labbei Concil. T. i. p. 849... 893.

[m] Vid. Paul de Samosates. Art. ii. Mem. Ecc. T. iv. P. ii. p. 615. &c.

[n] See before, p. 625.

[o] Possibly those hymns were partly ancient, partly modern; having been altered and interpolated since their first original: and some of them might be entirely modern. Dionysius speaks of the many hymns [της πολλης ψαλμωδιας] composed by Nepos, with which many of the brethren were mightily pleased. Euseb. l. vii. c. 24. Dionysius does not expressly say that those hymns were sung in the public assemblies of Christians; but it is very probable they were. And so Cave supposeth; for thus he writes, Hist. Lit. P. i p. 86. de Nepote: Scripsit adhuc Nepos in ecclesiæ usum psalmos atque hymnos quam plurimos, pios admodum, et ab ipso Dionysio celebratos. And in his Apostolici, p. 194, in the Life of Dionysius, he says of Nepos; 'That he was a 'man eminent for his skill in the holy scriptures, and for the 'many psalms and hymns he had composed, which the 'brethren sung in their public meetings.' Conf Vales. An. ad Eus. l. vii. c. 24. p. 153. C. Such hymns as these, composed by private persons, are the hymns which Paul rejected, or laid aside, that is, would not allow to be used in public worship. And the 59th canon of the council of Laodicea forbids that any psalms or hymns composed by private persons should be sung in the church. So that what was reckoned in Paul to be a great fault, afterwards obtained general approbation.

argued, that he was a critic; which is a valuable accomplishment at all times, especially when uncommon.[a]

I have now given a sufficient history of the controversies of those times, and of the part Dionysius had in them.

IX. I need not enlarge in the account of Dionysius's works, several learned men having already composed catalogues of them, so far as we are informed of their titles by ancient authors; as Cave in his Apostolici, or Lives of the Primitive Fathers, vol. i. and in his Historia Literaria; and Fabricius in his[b] Bibliotheca Græca; both dividing his works into treatises and epistles, and the latter disposing his epistles in the alphabetical order of the names of the persons or people to whom they are directed. Tillemont[c] likewise, as usual, is exact and particular upon this head. Basnage[d] digests our author's works in the order of time, which also is[e] Du Pin's method. And Pagi[f] has judicious observations relating to the time of some of Dionysius's writings.

I have quoted several of his epistles, and mentioned some others, observing likewise sometimes the most probable date of them. It is necessary, however, that I add here a few things.

1. Particularly I would transcribe a passage of Eusebius, following what was formerly taken from him concerning Dionysius's writings against Sabellius. Says Eusebius; 'And[g] 'beside these he wrote many other epistles, still extant, and[h] some large treatises in an epis-'tolary form: as the books concerning Nature, inscribed to his son Timothy, and the book of 'Temptations, inscribed to the forementioned Euphranor. Moreover, in a letter to Basilides, 'bishop of one of the churches of Pentapolis, he mentions[i] a Commentary he had written 'upon the beginning of the book of Ecclesiastes. And there are many other letters of Dionysius 'to the same Basilides.'

From this passage it appears, that many of Dionysius's letters were of a great length; indeed they were properly treatises inscribed to friends, or others; and in some of them he displayed his copious learning without reserve, though without ostentation. His two books concerning the Promises, mentioned above, the fragments of which are to be transcribed hereafter, were[k] letters, or written in an epistolary form.

2. In Eusebius's Evangelical Preparation[l] are large and noble fragments of the books concerning Nature, which shew the author's excellent capacity, and his great learning, and intimate acquaintance with the Greek poets and philosophers, as well as with the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. If there were nothing else remaining, this fragment alone would be sufficient to shew that Dionysius was a fine writer.

3. St. Jerom confirms what Eusebius writes of the Commentary upon Ecclesiastes; for, enumerating this bishop's works, he says, 'there[m] were many letters to Basilides, in one of 'which he tells him, he had begun to write a Commentary upon the Ecclesiastes.' In another place Jerom mentions Dionysius, with several others, who, he says, had[n] largely explained the first epistle to the Corinthians.

4. We still have one letter to Basilides, now generally called a Canonical epistle. It is supposed to have been written[o] about the year 262. Fleury[p] says; 'Of all the writings of St. 'Dionysius of Alexandria, the only one that remains entire and unquestionable is the Canonical 'epistle to Basilides the bishop, who had consulted him upon several points of discipline.' But

[a] A learned writer among the moderns, whom I did think of when I drew the above character, confirms almost every part of it; for he allows Paul to have possessed the third see in the church, and to have had the patronage of a great princess, an appearance of piety, reputation for learning, flowing eloquence, and the favour of the multitude. Ex infimæ sortis homine factus est Antiochenus episcopus, et tertium ecclesiæ thronum iisdem artibus conscendit, quibus hæretici solent, feminæ principis potentiâ, specie pietatis, doctrinæ famâ, dicendi facilitate et multitudinis factiosæ gratia. J. Garner. Diss. i. de Hær. et Li. Nestor. cap. iii. sect. iii. p. 307.

[b] T. v. p. 263....267. [c] Mem. Ecc. T. iv. P. ii. [d] Ann. P. E. 247. n. vii.

[e] Nouv. Bib. T. i. p. 187, &c. [f] Vid. Pagi Crit. 257. n. iv. [g] H. E. L. vii. c. 26.

[h] Και δη και πολυστιχοις λογοις εν επιστολης χαρακτηρι γραφεισ· ως οι περι φυσεως Τιμοθεω τω παιδι προσπεφωνημενοι. ib. B. 277. A. B. [i] Φησιν εαυτον εις την αρχην εξηγησιν πεποιησθαι τε Εκκλησιαστε. ib. B. [k] Conf. Euseb. l. vii. cap. 26. in. et cap. 25. Vid. Vales. Annot. p. 154. B. [l] L. xiv. cap. 23....27. p. 772....784. [m] Ad Basilidem quoque multæ epistolæ: in quarum unâ se asserit etiam in Ecclesiasten cœpisse scribere commentarios. De V. i. cap. 69. [n] Origenes, Dionysius, Pierius, Eusebius Cæsariensis, Didymus, Apollinaris, latissime hanc epistolam interpretati sunt. Ep. 31. [al. 52.] p. 243. fin. Bened. [o] Vid. Basn. a. 247. n. vii. [p] Fleury's Ecclesiastical Hist. B. vii. ch. 56. Vol. i. p. 470. in the English edition.

perhaps we may add to this the epistle to Novatus, which, as recorded in [a] Eusebius, seems to be entire. I shall make use of that epistle to Basilides by and by, when I come to observe our author's testimony to the scriptures.

In the mean time, as the conclusion of it is too signal a proof of prevailing humility to be omitted, it shall be here transcribed. 'You [b] asked those questions, my dear son, not through 'ignorance, but only to do honour to us, and to cultivate our unanimity and friendship. And 'I, for my part, have declared my opinion, not as a teacher, but making use of that freedom 'with which it becomes us to speak to each other. Do you judge according to the under-'standing that is in you; and write me word what is best in your opinion.'. Dionysius writes thus, says [c] Fleury, out of humility: for indeed his authority was very great, on account of the dignity of his see, his age, and the glory of his having been twice a confessor, as well as on account of his virtues and learning.

5. Eusebius has preserved [d] large and valuable fragments of a letter of Dionysius to or against one Germanus, a bishop of those times: who had calumniated Dionysius, as if he had not taken due care of his people, or not shewn sufficient courage in time of persecution. This obliged Dionysius, in defence of himself, to relate his own sufferings at several times. This letter, according to Basnage's [e] computation, was written in the year 259. I have made use of the fragments of it inthe history I have given of Dionysius.

I would here put down a passage of Eusebius notyet transcribed. 'Beside [f] the foremen-'tioned letters, in that time [the persecution under Valerian, and Dionysius's exile] he wrote 'those Paschal epistles, which we still have...Of these, one is written to Flavius, another to 'Domitius and Didymus, in [g] which also he published a canon [or cycle] of eight years: after 'having shewn that Easter ought not be kept till after the vernal equinox.' I have put down this passage, as affording an argument of Dionysius's skill in mathematical learning, and astronomical computations.

They who are desirous of being informed of the nature of those Paschal epistles may consult [h] Valesius,[i] Du Pin, or [k] Tillemont.

7. It has been disputed, whether Dionysius ever wrote against Origen. Cave [l] declares himself with some positiveness on the affirmative side of that question. Nevertheless,[m] at this time, learned men are for the most part clearly of opinion, that he did not. We [n] have formerly observed Dionysius's discourse of martyrdom, inscribed to Origen, supposed to have been written in the time of the Decian persecution, when our author had been bishop several years. And Stephen Gobar, in Photius [o] says, 'That Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, wrote to Origen, 'and commended him after his death in a letter to Theotecnus, bishop of Cæsarea.' Dionysius therefore always retained a high respect for his master Origen.

8. There remains still one particular more to be considered in this place; whether Dionysius be author of [p] the Epistle to Paul of Samosata, containing likewise ten questions of Paul, with answers to them. That he wrote a letter relating to that affair a little before his death, is out of question. We saw the proofs of it formerly. The only dispute is, whether what we now have with the above-mentioned title be rightly ascribed to Dionysius. By [q] Cave it is called doubtful, or rather supposititious. By Valesius [r] it is rejected in a like manner. Du Pin [s] is of the same opinion, which he supports by the difference of style from Dionysius, and by other considerations: as does [t] Basnage likewise. Pagi [u] allows the Epistle not to have been written by Dionysius; but yet he thinks it might be written by some other bishop of that time: which supposition Basnage [x] endeavours to confute by arguments tending to shew it

[a] Eus. l. vi. cap. 45. [b] Ap. Labb. Conc. T. i. p. 836. D. E. [c] Ib. Vol. i. p. 471.

[d] Eus. H. E. l. vi. cap. 40. l. vii. c. 1.

[e] Dum exulem agit Dionysius A. 259, ab Æmiliano pulsus, adversus Germanum scripsit epistolam, quæ gravia passus est, complectentem. Basn. ibid.

[f] Lib. vii. cap. 20.

[g] εν ἡ και κανονα εκτιθεται οκταετηριδος. ib. 266. A. B.

[h] Annot. in Eus. p. 151. [i] Bib. des Ant. Ecc. Tom. i. p. 188. [k] Mem. Ec. T. iv. P. ii. p. 588. 589. Saint Den. d'Art. 13.

[l] Scripsisse Dionysium adversus Origenem exinde liquet, quod fragmentum profert Anastasius Sinaïta, quæst. 233. p. 266. εκ των κατα Ωριγενους, quo de situ paradisi agit. De hoc opere silent Eusebius et Hieronymus. Cav. H. L. P. ii. p. 51. [m] Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. Ann. 246. n. iii. iv. Fabr. Bib.Gr. T. v. p. 267. in Tillemont, ib. p. 610. Du Pin, ibid. p. 190. [n] See p. 614. [o] Cod. 232. p. 904.

[p] Ap. Concil. Labb. T. i. p. 849, &c.

[q] See Cave, as above-mentioned.

[r] Ann. in Euseb. l. vii. cap. 30.

[s] Bibl. p. 190. [t] Ann. 247. n. xi.

[u] Crit. 264. n. iii. [x] Ut Supra.

was written by some impostor a good while afterwards. Tillemont[a] doubts, whether the reasons of Valesius and Du Pin are of sufficient weight to induce us to reject that piece, as not written by Dionysius: and in a distinct note he treats of this point with a great deal of labour and learning, as well as modesty. Fabricius[b] is willing to allow the genuineness of that work, moved, as it seems, by Tillemont's arguments, and those of bishop Stillingfleet, to whom he refers. It is certain, however, that this epistle is now, and has been for a good while,[c] generally rejected by learned men as spurious: though[d] bishop Bull (good man!) was so happy as to know nothing of it; for which reason he securely quotes this piece as the genuine and undoubted work of St. Dionysius of Alexandria.

For my own part, I acquiesce in the reasons of the learned men beforementioned, so far as to think it highly probable that the piece in question is not the work of Dionysius, nor of any of his contemporaries, but of a much later date. For which cause I shall make no use of it in what follows in this chapter, as I have hitherto omitted to take any thing out of it. Indeed, if the probability of its spuriousness were somewhat less than it is, that might be a sufficient reason for an entire omission, or very slight notice of it in this work.

9. I need not stay to shew, that our Dionysius of Alexandria did not write any notes or commentaries upon the pretended Dionysius the Areopagite, (as some have thought) it having been already done by[e] others. And, as[f] Tillemont says, there are now scarce any persons, of ever so little learning, who believe the works ascribed to St. Dionysius the Areopagite were composed so early as the third century.

10. It has been observed, how few of Dionysius's works, either tracts or epistles, have come down to us entire. Du Pin[g] says, the loss of his works is one of the most considerable of this kind which we could suffer. We have, however, divers fragments, which are very valuable, and some of considerable length.

X. It may be now expected, that I should attempt the character of Dionysius, of whom so much has been said. He has the title of Great given him by[h] Eusebius,[i] Basil,[k] Gregory of Nyssa, and[l] other ancient writers. I scarce need to say, that[m] Dionysius is in Jerom's Letter to Magnus, among other Christian writers; who, he says, were equally admirable for secular learning and the knowledge of the scriptures. In[n] another place he calls him the most eloquent bishop of Alexandria. When Theodoret nameth the principal bishops who were present at the first council against Paul, or invited to it, the character he gives Dionysius is, that[o] he was a man illustrious for his learning: and certainly this part of his character is justified by the remaining fragments of his works, though, in all probability, his learning would be much more conspicuous if his works were extant entire. The many epistles sent by him to so many

[a] St. Denys d' Alex. Art. 17. p. 606. and note viii.

[b] Nec tamen suppositam [Vide Tillemontium nota viii. ad Vitam Dionysii Alex. et Stillingfleti Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity. p. 31.] illi videri, sed potius genuinam ejus esse Epistolam ad Paulum Samosatenum, et responsionem ad decem ejus propositiones; licet eam rejiciunt viri doctissimi Valesius ad Euseb. p. 155. seq. Elias Du Pin, Guil. Caveus, aliique etiam Harduinus ad Epistolam Chrysostomi ad Cæsarium p. 9. qui Eutychiano alicui tribuit. Fabric. B. Gr. T. v. p. 263.

[c] This appears from the names abovementioned. See likewise note[b] what is there transcribed from Fabricius. I would add here some words of Dom. Bernard de Montfaucon: Haud leve item illud est νοθειας indicium, quod ementitus ille Athanasius Epistolam Dionysii ad Paulum Samosatenum mittat ad Persas, quæ jam communi eruditorum calculo inter supposititia computatur. Vid. Monitum apud Athanas. Op. T. ii. p. 716. Ed. Bened. From which passage I also conclude, that Montfaucon himself likewise rejects this piece, as clearly supposititious.

[d] Tillem. in his note before referred to p. 886. observes, 'That bishop Bull often makes use of this 'as a certain and undoubted work of Dionysius, and says, 'that Dionysius there speaks almost divinely of the divinity 'of Jesus Christ. He likewise is very angry with Sandius who 'rejects it.' This remark is too just; for bishop Bull does quote that piece as Dionysius's. Vid. Defens. Fid. Nic. sect. ii. cap. [illegible]. sect. xi. p. 134. al. 148. And whereas Sandius had alleged an argument from Brockmand, a German writer, to prove it spurious; Bull answers that he does not know, nor care, who Brockmand is. ibid. sect. 12. p. 135. And at last says, that all writers, ancient and modern, except perhaps that forementioned Brockmand, did unanimously ascribe it to Dionysius. . . Epistolam contra Paulum Samosatenum; quam revera scripsisse Dionysium, auctores cuncti, tam veteres quam neoterici, (si unum fortasse Brockmandum illum excipias) unanimi consensu agnoscunt. ib. p. 135. Insomuch that, in the late edition of bishop Bull's works, Dr. J. E. Grabe thought himself obliged to add from Cave, by way of correction, the following note: Multis suspecta est hæc Epistolâ, quod patres Antiocheni in Epistolâ Synodicâ apud Euseb. l. 7. cap. 30. diserte affirmant Dionysium quidem ad universam Antiochensium ecclesiam literas direxisse, Paulum vero ne salutatione dignatum. Vid. Cav. in Dion. Alex.

[e] Vid. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 5, et 263.

[f] St. Den. d' A. art. 18. p. 610.

[g] Bibl. ib. p. 190.

[h] ὁ μεγας ἡμιν Αλεξανδρειων επισκοπος Διονυσιος. Eus. l. viii. in Proœm.

[i] τον μεγαν Διονυσιον. Bas. p. 269. D. Ep. 188. [al. Canon. i.]

[k] Gr. Nyss. de Vit. S. Gr. Thaum. p. 536. D.

[l] Vid. Vales. in notis ad Eus. l. vii. in Pr. et Pagi Crit. An. 265. n. iv.

[m] Ep. 83. p. 656.

[n] Vir eloquentissimus Dionysius Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ pontifex. In. Is. l. xviii. pr. p. 478.

[o] ανηρ επισημος εν διδασκαλια γενομενος. Theod. Hær. Fab. l. ii. c. 8.

different persons in several and remote parts of the world, upon the various points in question at that time, assure us of the general repute and esteem he was in. He was a person[a] of undissembled humility and modesty, and of great[b] simplicity, to a degree uncommon in men of his extensive learning, and long and wide experience. He had[c] a great deal of natural good humour, cultivated by the principles of religion; by which means he excelled in that moderation and charity, which the Christian religion so earnestly recommends. His undisguised probity, or some vehemence of natural temper, rendered him liable to be sometimes off his guard, insomuch that in disputes he was apt to go into extremes; for, as St. Basil[d] says, a man who intends to make a crooked plant straight, sometimes bends it too much the other way: so Dionysius, in opposition to Sabellianism, asserted not only a distinction of subsistences, but a difference of essence, and an inequality of power and glory. And perhaps some may think they see another like instance in the argument to be hereafter produced concerning the revelation; where Dionysius disputeth the genuineness of that book, when it might have been sufficient to confute the false interpretations which some had put upon it. We must not forget his generous zeal for truth, for the sake of which he practised much self-denial, renouncing the honours and riches and grandeur of this world; thereby shewing true greatness of mind, and acquiring to himself glory and riches, preferable to all the advantages of a transitory life. He had a quick apprehension, and a lively fancy. His style is usually florid, and he wrote with spirit to the last; which, after the fatigues of above thirty years public service in the church, as catechist, or bishop, and after two confessions before heathen magistrates, and the sufferings that followed; beside the malicious calumnies, or false and unfair insinuations, at least of some of his brethren, and the unkind and unfriendly charges and accusations of some other Christians; may be reckoned the proof of a firmness of mind, which is very glorious: for it could be founded on nothing so much as the consciousness of his integrity, and other supports and consolations of religion. To conclude, Dionysius fulfilled the duties of his station, and shined in his sphere. Unquestionably he was one of the ornaments of that age; and he[e] may be esteemed the chief glory of the see of Alexandria for three centuries, from the time of the first founder of that church, who, as is generally supposed, was St. Mark, or, if not, very probably some other eminent Christian of the apostolic age; who, by the abundance of his spiritual gifts, which were common at that time, would have a distinction and pre-eminence above the greatest of his successors.

XI. Finally, we proceed to observe this writer's testimony to the books of the New Testament.

I begin with the Letter to Basilides, which we still have entire. In answer to a question sent him by that bishop, Dionysius observes; 'By[f] what you write you shew that you well 'understand the divine evangelists, and that they have not precisely related the hour when 'the Lord arose; for the evangelists have expressed themselves differently concerning the 'time when those persons came to the sepulchre, and all of them say that they found the 'Lord already risen; "And in the end of the sabbath," as Matthew says, chap. xxviii. 1. '"And early when it was yet dark," as John, chap. xx. 1. "And very early in the morning," 'as Luke, chap. xxiv. 1. "And very early in the morning, at the rising of the sun," as Mark, 'chap. xvi. 2. But when he arose, no one has expressly said.....And let us not think[g] that the 'evangelists disagree, or contradict each other, although there be some small difference. Let us 'therefore honestly and faithfully endeavour to reconcile them.' Then Dionysius recites those several places of the four evangelists more at large, with some remarks, and in the same order.

This passage is extremely valuable. It shews there were four evangelists, or sacred authentic historians of the life and doctrine of Jesus Christ, received by Christian people, and no more, and who they were. The order likewise in which they are quoted is observable; first, the two apostles, Matthew and John; then the two companions or fellow labourers of

[a] See before, p. 630, and other places.

[b] For this I would refer to the history which Dionysius gives of Serapion in a letter to Fabius. Eus. l. vi. cap. 44. and to another history in a letter to Xystus, bishop of Rome, l. vii. cap. 9; and I suppose that this quality appears in some of the passages of Dionysius which I transcribe at length.

[c] Dionysius's good humour, moderation, and charity, are manifest in the fragments of the books concerning the promises, to be transcribed hereafter, as well as elsewhere.

[d] Vid. Ep. 9. [al. 41.] p. 90. C. D.

[e] See Tillemont S. Den. d'Alex. art. 1. at the beginning.

[f] Labb. Con. Tom. i. p. 832. Can. i.

[g] Και μηδε διαφωνειν, μηδε εναντιεσθαι τες ευαγγελιςας υπολαζωμεν· αλλ' ει και μικρολογια τις εινα δοξει περι το ζητουμενον. .. αλλ' ημεις ευγνωμονως τα λεχθεντα και πιςως αρμοσαι προθυμηθωμεν. ib. E. et p. 833. A.

apostles, Luke and Mark. Very probably this was the order of many codes, or volumes, of the four gospels.

In this Epistle[a] Dionysius refers to the woman cured of her infirmity by touching the hem of Christ's garments, recorded by more than one of the evangelists.

Here[b] also is quoted Rom. xiv. 23; and, lastly, some[c] words of 1 Cor. vii. 5, expressly as Paul's.

XII. In the passages formerly transcribed from Dionysius we saw divers texts of the Acts of the apostles, and St. Paul's epistles, expressly quoted or clearly referred to. I might here observe some other like quotations, or references, to several of St. Paul's epistles in other remaining fragments of Dionysius; but it is needless: and, besides, some more instances will appear in a long passage, which must be necessarily produced hereafter. I would therefore only observe here, that Dionysius received the Epistle to the Hebrews as the apostle Paul's. This appears evident, I think, from what he writes to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, relating the early sufferings of the Christians at Alexandria before the publication of Decius's edict. Says he, 'The[d] brethren withdrew, saving themselves by flight; and "took joyfully the spoiling 'of their goods," like unto those whom Paul commends;' Heb. x. 34.

Here it should be observed again, that I do not make use of the forementioned epistle to Paul of Samosata with the questions and answers. There[e] is quoted Heb. x. 28, 29, as the apostle's, meaning Paul, and other texts of that epistle. But as we have very probable arguments to induce us to think that piece is a composition much later than the age of Dionysius, I take nothing out of it.

XIII. I do not recollect any thing in the genuine fragments of Dionysius, that shews his opinion about the controverted catholic epistles, except what we shall see presently in the passage concerning the book of the Revelation, where St. John's three epistles are expressly mentioned. However, in another passage cited by Athanasius, Dionysius observes, that[f] the apostle has the expression of "doer of the law; which expression is in Rom. ii. 13. and James iv. 11. And therefore both these texts are put in the margin by the Benedictine editor of St. Athanasius's works. But it is well known, that by the apostle in ancient ecclesiastical writers, is to be understood Paul; therefore it cannot be well doubted, but Dionysius intends the text in the epistle to the Romans: and if he had designed to refer also to the text of James, he would have signified it some way or other.

XIV. In the time of Dionysius's episcopate there were great numbers of Christians in the district of Arsinoe in Egypt, who were very fond of the millenary notion, expecting a kingdom of Christ here on earth, in which men should enjoy sensual pleasures. These persons were much confirmed in this opinion by a book of Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, entitled A Confutation of the Allegorists. Dionysius had a disputation or conference with those Christians, of which he gave an account in one of his books, written upon that subject. In a fragment, which we have in Eusebius, he writes to this purpose: 'When,' says he,[g] 'I was in the province of Arsinoe, where you know this opinion has for some time so far prevailed as to cause 'divisions and apostasies of whole churches; having called together the presbyters and 'teachers of the brethren in the villages, admitting likewise as many of the brethren as pleased 'to be present; I advised that this opinion should be publicly examined into. And when they 'produced to me that book as a shield and impregnable bulwark, I sat with them three whole 'days successively, from morning till evening, discussing the contents of it.' He goes on, highly applauding the good order of the dispute, the moderation and candour of all present, their willingness to be convinced, and to retract their former opinions, if reason so required: 'With a good conscience,' says he, 'and unfeignedly, and with hearts open to the sight of 'God; embracing[h] whatever could be made out by good arguments from the holy scrip-'tures. In the end, Coracio, the chief defender of that opinion, engaged and promised, in the 'presence of all the brethren, that he would no longer maintain, nor defend, nor teach, nor

[a] Ib. Can. ii. p. 836. [b] Ib. Can. iv. [c] Can. iii.

[d] Εξεκλινον δε και ὑπανεχωρουν οἱ αδελφοι· και την ἁρπαγην των ὑπαρχοντων, ὁμοιως εκεινοις οἱς και Παυλος εμαρτυρησε, μετα χαρας προσεδεξαντο· ap. Eus. H. E. l. vi. c. 41. p. 237. B. C. [e] Conc. T. i. p. 868. A.

[f] Και ποιητης, ὁ αποστολος ειπε, νομου. ap. Athan. De Sent. Dionys. T. i. p. 257. E.

[g] ενθα, ὡς οιδας, προ πολλου τουτο επεπολαζε το δογμα, ὡς και σχισματα και αποστασιας ὁλων εκκλησιων γεγονεναι· συγκαλεσας τους πρεσβυτερους και διδασκαλους των εν ταις κωμαις αδελφων. κ. λ. ap. Eus. l. vii. c. 24. p. 272. A.

[h] . . . τα ταις αποδειξεσι και διδασκαλιαις των ἁγιων γραφων συνιστανομενα καταδεχομενοι. ib. p. 272. B. C.

'make mention of it, as being fully convinced by the arguments on the contrary side. And 'all the brethren who were present rejoiced for the conference, and their mutual reconciliation 'and agreement.'

This was the dispute. Of the books written by Dionysius upon this subject, Eusebius speaks after this manner, and gives us farther the following passages, which we are now to transcribe, and make the best use of we are able. 'Beside[a] all these [before mentioned by 'Eusebius] there are two books of his Concerning the Promises. The occasion of them was 'Nepos, a bishop in Egypt: who taught that the promises made to the saints in the divine 'scriptures were to be fulfilled in a Jewish sense; affirming, that there would be a certain 'thousand years of bodily pleasures upon this earth. He[b] thinking that he could support this 'opinion by John's Revelation, wrote a book upon this argument, with the title of A Confu-'tation of the Allegorists. This book Dionysius answers in his books Concerning the 'Promises. In the first book he lays down his own opinion. In the second he discourseth 'of John's Revelation. And at the beginning of this book he speaks of Nepos to this 'purpose: "But because they produce a book of Nepos, on which they mightily rely, as if he 'had beyond all contradiction demonstrated, that there shall be a kingdom of Christ upon this 'earth: on many other accounts truly I respect and love Nepos; for his faith, and industry, 'and study[c] of the scriptures, as well as for the many hymns composed by him, with which 'not a few of the brethren are still much delighted. And I reverence him the more, because 'he is dead. But truth is to be preferred and esteemed above all things; and as we ought 'without envy to approve, and readily commend what is well said, so have we also a right to 'examine and censure whatever appears otherwise. Since, then, the book is public, and by 'some thought to be plausibly written, and[d] there are some teachers who look upon the law 'and the prophets to be of no value, and neglect to follow the gospels, and despise the epistles 'of the apostles; whilst at the same time they extol the doctrine of this book, as containing 'some great and hidden mystery, and suffer not the weaker of our brethren to conceive any thing 'great and magnificent, either of the glorious and truly divine "appearance of our Saviour," '(Tit. ii. 13.) or of our resurrection from the dead, and "our gathering together," (2 Thess. ii. 1.) 'and "likeness to him, (1 John iii. 2.) but only to expect in the kingdom of God poor and 'mortal things, and such as we now enjoy in the present state; it is necessary that we 'enter into dispute with our brother Nepos, as if he was present."

'Afterwards,' says[e] Eusebius, 'of the Revelation of John he writes thus: "Some[f] who 'were before us have utterly rejected and confuted this book, criticising every chapter [or 'paragraph] shewing it to be throughout unintelligble and inconsistent; adding moreover, 'that the inscription is false, forasmuch as it is not John's: nor is it a revelation which is 'hidden under so obscure and thick a veil of ignorance; and[g] that not only no apostle, but 'not so much as any holy or ecclesiastical man, was the author of this writing; but[h] that 'Cerinthus, founder of the heresy called after him Cerinthian, the better to recommend his 'own forgery, prefixed to it an honourable name. For[i] this (they say) was one of his parti-'cular notions, that the kingdom of Christ should be earthly; consisting of those things 'which he himself, a carnal and sensual man, most admired, the pleasures of the belly, and of 'concupiscence; that is, eating, and drinking, and marriage; and for the more decent pro-'curement of these, feastings, and sacrifices, and slaughters of victims. But,[k] for my part, I 'dare not reject the book, since many of the brethren have it in high esteem: but allowing it 'to be above my understanding, I suppose it to contain throughout some latent and wonderful 'meaning; for though I do not understand it, I suspect there must be some profound sense in 'the words; not measuring and judging these things by my own reason, but ascribing more

[a] l. vii. c. 24. in.

[b] Δοξας ȣν ȣ̓τος εκ της Αποκαλυψεως Ιωαννȣ την ιδιαν κρατυνειν ὑποληψιν, ελεγχον αλληγοριςων λογον τινα περι τȣτȣ συνταξας επεγραψε· προς ὁν ὁ Διονυσιος εν τοις περι επαγγελιων ενιςαται. ib. p. 271. A.

[c] Και της εν ταις γραφαις διαλριβης, και της πολλης ψαλμῳδιας, ἡ μεχρι νυν πολλοι των αδελφων ευθυμȣνται. ib. p. 271. B.

[d] . . . και τινων διδασκαλων τον μεν νομον και τȣς προφητας το μηδεν ἡγȣμενων, και τοις ευαγγελιοις ἑπεσθαι παρεντων· και τα, των αποςολων επιςολας εκφαυλισαντων. ib. C. [e] Ib. c. 25. in.

[f] Τινες μεν ȣν προ ἡμων ηθετησαν και ανεσκευασαν παντῃ το βιβλιον, καθ' ἑκαςαν κεφαλαιον διευθυνοντες. ib. p. 272. D. 273. A.

[g] και ȣχ ὁπως των αποςολων τινα, αλλ' ȣδ' ὁλως των ἁγιων η των απο της εκκλησιας τȣτȣ γεγονεναι ποιητην τȣ γραμματος. Κηρινθον δε. . . αξιοπιςον επιφημισαι θελησαντα τῳ ἑαυτȣ πλασματι ονομα. ib. 273. A.

[h] Conf. Eus. l. iii. c. 28. p. 100. B.

[i] Τȣτο γαρ ειναι της διδασκαλιας αυτȣ το δογμα, επιγειον εσεσθαι την τȣ Χριστȣ βασιλειαν. 273. A.

[k] Εγω δε αθετησαι μεν ȣκ αν τολμησαιμι το βιβλιον, πολλων αυτο δια σπȣδης εχοντων αδελφων. B.

'to faith, I esteem them too sublime to be comprehended by me. Nor do I condemn what I 'have not been able to understand: but I admire the more, because they are above my reach." Then, examining the whole book of the Revelation, and shewing it impossible it should be understood in the obvious meaning of the words, he goes on: 'And having finished in a 'manner his prophecy, the prophet pronounceth those blessed that keep it, and also himself. 'For "blessed is every one," says he, "that keepeth the words of the prophecy of this book; 'and I John, who saw and heard these things:" Rev. xxii. 7, 8. I do not deny, then, that his 'name is John, and that this is John's book; for I acknowledge it to be the work of some holy 'and divinely inspired person.[a] Nevertheless, I cannot easily grant him to be the apostle, the 'son of Zebedee, brother of James, whose is the gospel inscribed according to John and the 'Catholic Epistle; for I conclude, from the manner of each, and the turn of expression, and 'from the conduct [or disposition] of the book, as we call it, that he is not the same person: 'for[b] the evangelist no where puts down his name, nor does he speak of himself neither in 'the gospel nor in the epistle.' Then a little after he says again: 'John no where speaks as 'concerning himself, nor as concerning another. But he who wrote the Revelation, immediately 'at the very beginning prefixeth his name; "The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God 'gave unto him to shew unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass. And he 'sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John, who bare record of the word of God, 'and his testimony, the things which he saw." Rev. i. 1, 2. And then he writes an epistle: '"John unto the seven churches in Asia. Grace be unto you and peace," v. 4. But[c] the 'evangelist has not prefixed his name, no not to his catholic epistle; but, without any cir-'cumlocution, begins with the mystery itself of the divine revelation: "That which was from 'the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes," 1 John, i. 1. And 'for the like revelation the Lord pronounced Peter blessed; saying, "Blessed art thou, Simon 'Bar-jona, for flesh and blood has not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven," 'Matt. xvi. 17. Nor[d] yet in the second or third epistle ascribed to John, though indeed they 'are but short epistles, is the name of John prefixed; for without any name he is called the 'Elder. But this other person thought it not sufficient to name himself once and then pro-'ceed, but he repeats it again; "I John, who am your brother and companion in tribulation, 'and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle called Patmos for the tes-'timony of Jesus," Rev. i. 9. And at the end he says; "Blessed is he that keepeth the sayings 'of the prophecy of this book; and I, John, who saw and heard these things," chap. xxii. 7, 8. 'Therefore that it was John who wrote these things ought to be believed, because he says so. 'But who he was is uncertain; for he has not said, as in the gospel often, that he is "the disciple 'whom the Lord loved;" nor that he is he "who leaned on his breast;" nor the "brother of 'James;" nor that he is one of them who saw and heard the Lord: whereas he would have 'mentioned some of these things if he had intended plainly to discover himself. Of these 'things he says not a word: but he calls himself our "brother and companion, and witness of 'Jesus," and "blessed," because he saw and heard those revelations. And I suppose there were 'many of the same name with John the apostle, who for the love they bore to him, and because 'they admired and emulated him, and were ambitious of being beloved of the Lord like him, 'were desirous of having the same name: even as many also of the children of the faithful 'are called by the name of Paul and Peter. Moreover, [e] there is another John in the Acts of 'the apostles, surnamed Mark, whom Paul and Barnabas took for their companion: concerning 'whom it is again said; "And they had John for their minister," Acts xiii. 5. But that he is 'the person who wrote this book, I do not affirm. Nor is it written that he came with them 'into Asia. But it is said; "Now when Paul and his company loosed from Paphos, they 'came to Perga in Pamphylia: and John, departing from them, returned unto Jerusalem:" 'v. 13. I[f] think, therefore, that he is another, one of them that dwelled in Asia; forasmuch

[a] αγιον μεν γαρ ειναι τινος και θεοπνευστου συναινω· ειμην ραδιως αν συνθειμην τουτον ειναι τον αποστολον, τον υιον Ζεβεδαιου, τον αδελφον Ιακωβου· ειναι τουτο ευαγγελιον το κατα Ιωαννην επιγεγραμμενον, και ην επιστολη η καθολικη p. 273. D.

[b] ο μεν γαρ ευαγγελιστης ουδαμου το ονομα παρεγγραφει· ουδε κηρυσσει εαυτον, ουτε δια του ευαγγελιου, ουδε δια της επιστολης. p. 274. A.

[c] ο δε γε ευαγγελιστης ουδε της καθολικης επιστολης προεγραψεν εαυτου το ονομα. B.

[d] Αλλ' ουδε εν τη δευτερα φερομενη Ιωαννου και τριτη, και τοι βραχειαις ουσαις επιστολαις, ο Ιωαννης ονομαστι προκειται· αλλα ανωνυμως ο πρεσβυτερος γεγραπται. C.

[e] Ειτι μεν ουν και ετερος Ιωαννης εν ταις Πραξεσι των αποστολων, ο επικληθεις Μαρκος. p. 275. A.

[f] Αλλον δε τινα οιμαι των εν Ασια γενομενων. 275. B.

'as it is said, that there are two tombs at Ephesus, each of them called John's tomb. And 'from the sentiments, and words, and disposition of them, it is likely that he is different from 'him [who wrote the gospel and epistle.] For the gospel and epistle have a mutual agree-'ment, and begin alike. That says; "In the beginning was the word." This, "That which 'was from the beginning." That says; "And the word was made flesh, and dwelled among 'us. And we beheld his glory, the glory, as of the only begotten of the Father." This has the 'same with little variation; "That which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, 'which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the word of life. For the life 'was manifested." These things he says by way of preface, pointing, as he afterwards shews, 'at those who asserted that the Lord was not come in the flesh. Therefore he also presently 'subjoins; "That which we have seen we testify, and declare unto you that eternal life, which 'was with the Father, and was manifested unto us. That which we have seen and heard 'declare we unto you." He is uniform throughout, and wanders not in the least from the 'points he proposed to himself; but prosecutes them in the same sentences [literally, chapters] 'and words, some of which we shall briefly observe: for whoever reads with attention will 'often find in both, "life;" frequently, "light; avoiding of darkness;" oftentimes, "truth, 'grace, joy, the flesh, and the blood of the Lord; judgment, forgiveness of sins, the love of 'God towards us, the commandment of love one toward another; the judgment of this world, 'of the devil, of antichrist; the promise of the Holy Spirit; the adoption of the sons of God; 'the faith required of us in all things; the Father and the Son," every where. And, in a 'word, throughout the gospel and epistle it is easy to observe one and the same character. 'But the Revelation is quite different and foreign from these, without any affinity or resem-'blance, not having so much as a syllable in common with them. Nor does the epistle (for I 'do not here insist on the gospel) mention, or give any hint of the Revelation, nor the Reve-'lation of the epistle. And [a] yet Paul in his epistles has made some mention of his revelations, 'though he never wrote them in a distinct book. Moreover, it is easy to observe the differ-'ence of the style of the gospel and the epistle from that of the Revelation; for they are not 'only written correctly according to the propriety of the Greek tongue, but with elegance of 'phrase and argument, and the whole contexture of the discourse. So far are they from all 'barbarism and solecism, and even idiotism of language, that nothing of that kind is to be 'found in them: for he, as it seems, had each of those [b] gifts; [or [c] words, 1 Cor. xii. 8, 10.] 'the Lord having bestowed upon him both these, knowledge and eloquence. As to the other, 'I do not deny that he saw the Revelation, or that he had [the gift of] knowledge and 'prophecy. But I do not perceive in him an accurate skill in the Greek tongue; on the 'contrary, I observe in him barbarisms, and some solecisms, which it is not necessary I should 'now shew particularly, for I do not write by way of ridicule; let no one think so. I only 'intended to represent, after a critical manner, the difference of these pieces.'

XV. I have now transcribed the whole of this argument, so far as it is preserved by Eusebius: it may afford occasion for many remarks; and I would hope for my reader's patient attention, whilst I mention these following observations.

1. We have here a proof of the great respect shewn to the scriptures by all Christians in general. Dionysius, describing the good temper of those who entered into conference upon the millenary doctrine, says, they were disposed to embrace whatever could be made out by good arguments from the holy scriptures. It was the temper of all parties; and Dionysius himself approved of it, for he mentions it by way of commendation. Moreover, this is one thing he says in praise of Nepos, and for which he highly esteemed him, that he was much addicted to the study of the scriptures.

2. We cannot but observe the general division of those scriptures, which were so greatly respected: The law and the prophets, for the Old Testament: gospels and epistles of the apostles, for the New. This is very remarkable, and entirely agreeable to several [d] passages already alleged. It shews that no epistle, or treatise, or doctrinal work, was esteemed by Christians, as of authority but what was supposed to be written by apostles. When Dionysius censures some teachers, who had too great a regard for the

[a] Παυλε δια των επιστολων υποφηναντος τι και περι των αποκαλυψεων αυτε, ας εκ ενεγραψε καθ' αυτας, p. 276. B.

[b] ἑκατερον γαρ εικεν, ως εοικε, τον λογον, C.

[c] Compare 1 Cor. xii. 8. "To one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge. v. 10. . . . "to another prophecy."

[d] See p. 486. 488. 561; and see hereafter in St. Cyprian, ch. 44. numb. 10.

doctrine contained in the book of bishop Nepos, he blames them for undervaluing the law and the prophets, for neglecting the gospels, and despising the epistles of the apostles. If there had been any other sacred books among Christians, which had been of authority, as a rule by which opinions were to be judged, tried and determined, he would have mentioned them also by their general title and character. This shews, that writings of prophets, or other inspired persons of low rank, in the time of the gospel dispensation, were not canonical, or of authority; excepting only the historical writings of Mark and Luke, which undoubtedly were universally received, as has been shewn abundantly; and we have in particular seen that they were received by our great author.

3. In the passages just cited we have seen a very valuable testimony to divers parts, or books, of the New Testament; as, the gospels of Matthew and John, particularly the beginning of this gospel; the Acts of the apostles also distinctly cited by Dionysius, and express mention of St. Paul's epistles. He likewise assures us, that the first catholic epistle ascribed to John was written by the apostle and evangelist. He so describes the second and third epistles ascribed to John, as to satisfy us he meaneth the same we still have. And he speaks of these three epistles in such a manner as to confirm the testimonies of other writers about this time; that they were all well known; the first universally acknowledged as the apostle John's; and the other two also ascribed to him, but not altogether received without dispute. Lastly, with regard to the book of the Revelation, Dionysius bears witness, not only that Nepos founded his doctrine upon it, but likewise that it was in high esteem with many other of the brethren.

4. We have seen Dionysius's observations upon the book of the Revelation, which I think must be allowed to be a good critique for those times. Dionysius was a learned man; and perhaps he had some considerable assistance from more ancient writings of the same kind. He actually speaks of some before him, who had criticised every period of this book. Whether he means Caius only, or some others likewise; I believe my readers may join with me in wishing, that we had them all before us, together with Nepos's book against the Allegorists, and Dionysius's answer in his books of the Promises, entire. However, we should be thankful for what we have, and duly improve it.

5. It may be questioned, whether this critique of Dionysius, about the middle of the third century, or any other critique whatever, can be sufficient to induce us to doubt of the genuineness of the Revelation, which by many ancient authors is expressly ascribed to John the apostle and evangelist. Besides, Dionysius's critique may be criticised, and perhaps the force of several of his observations may be abated. There are divers learned men, who have professedly examined Dionysius's argument, to whom [a] the reader is referred: though I intend to borrow some of their remarks, as well as add some of my own.

6. Here I desire to begin with considering what Dionysius alleges from others, which consists of several particulars.

For, 1. he says, that some before him had utterly rejected this book, criticising every period or section, and shewing it to be throughout unintelligible. Here I cannot but say it appears to be a defect in Dionysius, that he has not named some of these critics, nor informed us of their character nor time: unless we could suppose that he had done this in some other part of his work not transcribed by Eusebius; or that there were some reasons to think he might suppress their names out of tenderness, it being not very popular to write against the book of the Revelation; or those authors having expressed themselves in an offensive manner, and taken too great liberties in opposing that book. Mill [b] thinks, that Caius only is intended, though Dionysius speaks in the plural number; and he flourished not above forty years before our author: and indeed part of what Dionysius allegeth afterwards from the writings before him suits what [c] Eusebius has in another place transcribed from Caius; but as Dionysius speaks in the plural number, I think it reasonable to understand him of more than one; for though we know not at this time of any one catholic writer by name, before Dionysius, who had disputed the genuineness of the Revelation, except Caius, it is not unlikely there might be more.

[a] See Mill. Proleg. n. clxii. ..clxxx. The bishop of London's third Pastoral Letter, p. 58.... 60. Mr. Leonard Twells's Critical Examination of the late New Text and Version of the New Testament, Part iii. p. 105.... 121. Beausobre et Lenfant, leur Preface sur L'Apocalypse, p. 606.... 608. Du Pin. Diss. Prelim. sur la Bible Liv. ii. ch. ii. sect. 13. p. 68, 69. Fr. Ad. Lampe Prolegom. in Joann. l. i. cap. 7. n. xxvi.... xxviii. p. 126.... 130.

[b] Caium intelligit, &c. Mill. Proleg. n. clxiii. vid. ibid. clxi.

[c] See p. 484.

It is not very easy to be supposed that Caius should be altogether singular: if he was the first, so plausible a writer would not be without followers. That there had been some controversies about the book of the Revelation before the time of Dionysius, may be argued from a work of Hippolytus, formerly [a] taken notice of, supposed to be written in defence of St. John's Gospel and the Apocalypse; or possibly to shew, that both these books came from that apostle, and that the Revelation was written by no other than him who wrote the Gospel. It seems to me to be to very little purpose to say, that no catholic authors had written against the genuineness of the Revelation before Dionysius, except Caius only, because neither Eusebius nor Jerom has mentioned them; for Jerom had his chief dependence on Eusebius; and if they were not mentioned by him, we have no great reason to expect them in Jerom. It ought farther to be observed, that scarce any beside Eusebius have taken particular notice of that passage of Caius against the book of the Revelation; and that Eusebius, who here transcribes this passage of Dionysius, does not contradict him. Once more, it ought to be observed that Dionysius did not, so far as we know, mention Caius by name. As he omitted a particular mention of him as a catholic writer, though probably he had some assistances from him, there may have been other writers of the church to whom he refers, though he has not named them.

2. They objected against the title, that it is improperly called a Revelation, which is so obscure; but I take this to be a trifling objection. The author, if he pleased, might call that a revelation which had been communicated to him in an extraordinary manner, though he had received it, and was to represent it, in a figurative and emblematical style. Besides, it is often spoken of as a prophecy; see ch. i. 13. xxii. 7. 10. 18. 19. And it is no strange thing, that prophecies should be obscure when delivered, and for some time after. See 1 Pet. i. 10, 11, 12, and Luke xxiv. 25, 26, 27. 32. 44. 45. 46.

3. They said that the inscription is false, for the book was not written by John, nor by any apostle, nor by any holy and ecclesiastical man, but by Cerinthus. But all or most of these assertions, are without ground and reason. The author was certainly a holy man, and the book is a truly pious and religious book. I suppose I may appeal to every man of taste, if the book is not written in a high strain of piety; and therefore it follows, that the writer's name is John, as he calls himself; for so good a man could not be a downright liar and impostor. Consequently, likewise, Cerinthus could not be the author, unless he also was called John.

But there are other things, chiefly two, which are usually said by learned men in answer to that assertion, that Cerinthus was the author of the Revelation: first, that [b] the Revelation contradicts many of Cerinthus's opinions, and therefore could not be the work of Cerinthus. Irenæus [c] informs us that, among other things, Cerinthus denied that God made the world: whereas the writer of the Revelation often teaches the contrary; See Rev. iv. 11. x. 6. Another point of Cerinthus was, that Christ did not suffer, but Jesus only. But the author of the Revelation calls Jesus, Christ, not Jesus alone, the first begotten of the dead; and adds, that the same Jesus Christ washed us from our sins in his own blood; Rev. i. 5. Again, v. 7. he says of the entire Jesus Christ, that he was pierced. It is therefore improbable to the highest degree, that Cerinthus should write the Revelation under the name of John; for had he meditated such a fraud in favour of his millennium, he would have so contrived it as not to hurt his other equally favourite opinions. Secondly, it is said, that the Revelation does not establish Cerinthus's notions of the millennium, as it is described by the objectors, but directly contradicts and overthrows them; for [d] the author of the Apocalypse expressly tells us, that fleshly impurity shall keep men from entering into the new Jerusalem; or, [e] in other words, St. John describes his Jerusalem as inhabited by none but pure and holy persons; Rev. xxi. 27. xxii. 14, 15, while Cerinthus's Jerusalem was to be the residence of the earthly and the sensual. His citizens were to serve their passions and their pleasures: whilst the men of John's Jerusalem were to serve God, and the Lamb, Rev. xxii. 3; or, as it is happily expressed by a great [f] author, 'His millenary state was not the life of saints, as the Apocalypse 'represents it, but the life of libertines.'

As for the first of these reasons, it appears to me not only just and solid, but alone sufficient to overthrow the objection, and to shew that Cerinthus did not compose the Revelation.

[a] See p. 503.
[b] Vid Mill. Proleg. n. clxvii. Mr. Twells, as before, p. 109.
[c] Iren. lib. i. cap. 26. al. 2.
[d] Mr. Twells, as before, p. 110.
[e] Mr. Twells, p. 101.
[f] My Lord of London in his Third Pastoral Letter, p. 58.

But with regard to the second answer, with all due submission I would say, that I am not fully satisfied that it is just; for, allowing the character here given of Cerinthus by enemies to be in the main right and true, that he was a carnal man, and too fond of sensual enjoyments; still there is nothing impure or vicious in their description of his millenary state. They do not say he taught that the kingdom of Christ should consist in riot and excess, and intemperance, adulteries, and all manner of uncleanness; but in eating and drinking, and nuptial entertainments, and other festivities; none of which are unlawful. It is true, this was low and mean, but such was the notion of all the Chiliasts at that time, so far as appears. Eusebius says: Nepos taught that the promises made to the saints in the divine scriptures were to be fulfilled in a Jewish sense; affirming that there would be a certain thousand years of bodily pleasures upon this earth: and he supposed he could defend that notion by the book of Revelation. Dionysius likewise assures us, that they who admired Nepos's book suffered not the weaker of the brethren to conceive any thing great and magnificent, either of Christ's future glorious appearance, or of our gathering together and likeness to him; but only to expect in the kingdom of God poor and mortal things, and such as we now enjoy in the present state.

Here is a fair occasion for me to consider, what was the notion of the Chiliasts, or Millenarians of that time, who in other respects were orthodox: and likewise, whether Cerinthus was a Chiliast, of which, though it is generally taken for granted, I have some doubt, because Irenæus [a] says nothing of it. But though I defer a particular discussion of those points, there are some things to be taken notice of here, and which I have reserved for this place; otherwise I should have observed them before, either in the history of the affair of Nepos, or in the account of Dionysius's works.

For Theodoret expressly [b] says, that, beside Caius and others, our Dionysius likewise wrote against the heretic Cerinthus. But it is [c] very propable that Theodoret means only these two books of the Promises, or some part of them.

On the other hand, Jerom says, that Dionysius wrote against Irenæus, who is among the most orthodox writers of the church; intending nevertheless, as is [d] supposed, the same books that Theodoret does, those written against Nepos: for the two books against Nepos being against the Millenarians in general, as [e] Tillemont says, they were by consequence against Irenæus, who was one of the most celebrated defenders of that opinion. And it is likewise easy to suppose, that he was here confuted by name.

Jerom's words in his commentary upon the prophecies of Isaiah are so remarkable, and so much to our present purpose, that I shall venture to transcribe them. 'If [f] we understand 'the Revelation literally, we must Judaize; if spiritually [or figuratively] as it is written, we 'shall seem to contradict many of the ancients, particularly Latius, Tertullian, Victorinus, 'Lactantius; and Greeks likewise, especially Irenæus bishop of Lyons, against whom Dio- 'nysius bishop of the church of Alexandria, a man of uncommon eloquence, wrote a curious 'piece, deriding the fable of a thousand years, and the terrestrial Jerusalem, adorned with gold 'and precious stones; rebuilding the temple, bloody [g] sacrifices, sabbatical rest, circumcision, 'marriages, lyings-in, nursing of children, dainty feasts, and servitude of the nations: and 'again, after this, wars, armies, triumphs, and slaughters of conquered enemies, and the death 'of the sinner a hundred years old. Him Apollinarius answered in two volumes, whom not 'only the men of his own sect, but most of our own people likewise follow in this point. So that

[a] Vid. Iren. Con. Hær. l. i. cap. 26. [al. 25.] et lib. iii. cap. 11. init. [b] Hær. Fab. l. 2. cap. 2.

[c] Vid. Tillem. S. Den. d' Alex. art. 10.

[d] Vid. Pagi Crit. 263. n. 2.

[e] Tillemont, as before.

[f] .... et quâ ratione intelligenda sit Apocalypsis Johannis, quam si juxta literam accipimus, judaizandum est; si spiritualiter, ut scripta est, disserimus, multorum veterum videbimur opinionibus contraire, Latinorum, Tertulliani, Victorini, Lactantii; Græcorum, ut cæteros prætermittam, Irenæi tantum Lugdunensis episcopi faciam mentionem; adversus quem vir eloquentissimus Dionysius, Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ pontifex, elegantem scribit librum, irridens mille annorum fabulam; et auream atque gemmatam in terris Jerusalem; instaurationem templi; hostiarum sanguinem; otium Sabbati; circumcisionis injuriam, nuptias, partus, liberorum educationem, epularum delicias, et cunctarum gentium servitutem: rursusque bella, exercitus, ac triumphos, et superatorum neces, mortemque centenarii peccatoris. Cui duobus voluminibus respondit Apollinarius, quem non solum suæ sectæ homines, sed et nostrorum in hac parte dumtaxat plurima sequitur multitudo; ut præsagâ mente jam cernam, quantorum in me rabies concitanda sit. Hieron. in Es. l. 18. in Procem. p. 477, 478. Ed. Bened.

[g] Bloody sacrifices.] Those words deserve to be taken notice of, as affording a remarkable instance of agreement between the millennium of the orthodox Christians (of which Jerom here speaks) and of Cerinthus, as above described. See p. 634.

'it is no hard matter to foresee, what a multitude of persons I am like to displease.' Thus writes Jerom.

And it must be owned, that the orthodox Chiliasts, or Millenarians, do speak of a thousand [a] years reign of Christ before the general resurrection; which good men, having been raised up from the dead, should spend on this earth; when there shall be [b] an extraordinary plenty of the fruits of the earth; when also [c] they shall feast upon them; when [d] Jerusalem shall be rebuilt; when likewise there will be marriages and bringing forth of children: but that they received marriage and fruits of marriage to belong to any of the raised saints, does not appear to me a clear point. Origen, [e] and [f] some others, speak as if this was the expectation of the Chiliasts, even of such as were orthodox, as it seems, at least of [g] some of them: which Origen therefore [h] mentions with great concern of mind, being apprehensive that such an opinion, if known by the heathens, might be a reproach upon the Christian religion. And [i] St. Jerom, immediately after the words just cited from him, insinuates the same thing of the orthodox Millenarians of his time: for which reason he reminds them of the saying of our Lord and Saviour, Matt. xxii. 29, 30, "Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God. For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage: but are as the angels of God." Jerom [k] writes to the same purpose in another place of his Commentaries upon the same prophet: but [l] Irenæus and [m] Lactantius, who were Millenarians, do not express themselves in that manner: what they say is, that at the time of the first resurrection there will be found some good men living upon the earth, and that of them in the space of a thousand years shall be born a numerous race, a godly seed; over whom likewise the raised saints are to reign, and by whom they are to be served. Pleasing delusion!

But I add no more at present relating to this matter. I shall only refer in the margin [n] to some ancient writers, beside those already cited, who may be consulted by such as have leisure.

However, I would now mention a few observations relating to the passage of Dionysius under consideration.

[a] Verum ille, cum deleverit injustitiam, judiciumque maximum fecerit, ac justos, qui a principio fuerunt, ad vitam instauraverit, mille annis inter homines versabitur, eosque justissimo imperio reget. Lactant. l. vii. cap. 24. p. 722. Eodem tempore fiet secunda illa et publica omnium resurrectio in quâ excitabuntur injusti ad cruciatus sempiternos. id. cap. 25. p. 728. f. Conf. Iren. l. v. cap. 31. et seqq.

[b] Sol autem septies tanto, quam nunc est, clarior fiet. Terra verò aperiet fecunditatem suam, et uberrimas fruges suâ sponte generabit. Rupes montium melle sudabunt: per rivos vina decurrent, et flumina lacte inundabunt. Lact. ib. cap. 24. p. 724. Conf. Iren. ib. cap. 33. n. 3.

[c] .... non facient omne terrenum opus, sed ad accentem habebunt paratam mensam a Deo, pascentem eos epulis omnibus. Iren. ib. n. 2. Tales itaque promissiones manifestissime in regno justorum istius creaturæ epulationem significant. id. cap. 34. n. 3. Et hoc est triclinium, in quo recumbent ii, qui epulantur vocati ad nuptias. cap. 36. n. 2. Vivent itaque homines tranquillissimam vitam, et copiosissimam. Lact. ib. cap. 24. p. 726. in. [d] Hæc autem talia universa non in supercœlestibus possunt intelligi: .... sed in regni temporibus revocatâ terrâ a Christo, et reædificatâ Hierusalem, secundum characterem quæ sursum est Hierusalem. Iren. ib. cap. 35. n. 2.

[e] Vid. Orig. de Princ. l. ii. cap. 11. n. 2. p. 104. Bened. et Comm. in Matth. p. 498. E. Huet.

[f] Ap. Phot. Cod. 232. 4. 893. n. 10

[g] Και μετα την αναστασιν..... εσθιειν ημας μελλειν τα τοιαδε βρωματα, και πινειν· τινες δε και τεκνοποιειν. Philoc. cap 26. p. 99. Cantabr. Select. in Psal. p. 570. B. C. Bened.

[h] Ταυτα δε φιλοσοφια και εις τες απο των εθνων, μεγαλης ευηβειας δοξαν απενεγκασθαι ποιησει τον Χριστιανισμον, πολλω ξελλιτα δογματα εχοντων τινων αλλοτριων της πιστεως. Orig. ib.

[i] Quibus non invideo, si tantum amant terram, ut in regno Christi terrena desiderent; et post ciborum abundantiam, gulæque ac ventris ii gluviem, ea quæ sub ventre sunt quærant. De quibus apostolus Paulus: 'Esca,' inquit, 'ventri; et venter escis: Deus autem et hunc et illas destruet.' [1 Cor. vi. 13.] Et, 'non est regnum Dei cibus et potus.' [Rom. xiv. 17.] Et Dominus atque Salvator: 'Erratis,' inquit, 'nescientes scripturas, neque virtutem Dei. In resurrectione enim neque nubent, neque nubentur: sed erunt similes angelorum.' Hieron. ibid.

[k] Nunc breviter perstringendum est, quid plurimi de hoc loco sentiant,... Judæi et nostri Semijudæi, qui auream atque gemmatam de cœlo expectant Jerusalem, hæc in mille annorum regno futura contendunt: quando omnes gentes servituræ sunt Israël.... et omnes oves Cedar congregentur; arietesque Nebajoth veniant, ut immolentur super altare templi, quod fuerit extructum. De insulis quoque, et maxime navibus Tharsis, volare filias illius et columbas, auri et argenti divitias conferentes.... Hæc illi dicunt, qui terrenas desiderant voluptates, et uxorum quærunt pulchritudinem, ac numerum liberorum. Hieron. Comm. in Is. cap. 60. 1, 2, 3, &c. p. 446, 447.

[l] .... et illos quos Dominus in carne inveniet, exspectantes eum de cœlis, et perpessos tribulationem, qui et effugerint iniqui manus: Ipsi sunt, de quibus ait propheta: 'Et derelicti multiplicabuntur in terrâ.' Et quotquot ex credentibus ad hoc præparavit Deus, ad derelictos multiplicandos in terrâ, et sub regno sanctorum fieri, et ministrare huic Jerusalem, &c. Iren. l. v. cap. 35. sub init.

[m] Tum qui erunt in corporibus vivi, non morientur; sed per eosdem mille annos infinitam multitudinem generabunt; et erit eorum soboles sancta, et Deo cara. Qui autem ab inferis suscitabuntur, ii præerunt viventibus, velut judices. Lact. ib. cap. 24. init. p. 722.

[n] Vid. Just. M. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 307. et seq. Paris. Euseb. H. E. l. iii. cap. 24. Gennad. de Ecc. Dogm. ap. August. in app. T. iii. cap. 55. Ed. Lovan. in app. T. viii. cap. 25. Ed. Bened. Tertullian. Contr. Marc. l. iii. cap. 24. Philastr. Hær. 59. De Chilionetitis, p. 119. Ed. Fabric.

1. I am now better satisfied than [a] formerly, that when Caius spoke of a book of Revelations, which he ascribed to Cerinthus, he meant our Revelation written by John.

2. I take it for granted, that by some of the arguments above alleged, it has been fully shewn, that the supposition of the Revelation having been written by Cerinthus is without foundation.

3. The descriptions of the millennium of Cerinthus, and of the catholic Christians, as given by those who were not Millenarians, is much the same.

4. Therefore it is of no importance to shew, that the Revelation does not establish Cerinthus's notion of the millennium; for neither does it, in the opinion of most learned men among the moderns, confirm the notions which some ancient catholics had of a millennium: though they certainly grounded their sentiments upon the Revelation, and upon other books of the Old and New Testament, universally received.

5. It follows likewise, that there is not, as [b] Mr. Lampe thought, any good ground to conclude, that Cerinthus corrupted and interpolated the genuine Revelation of St. John, to support his fond expectation of a thousand years to be spent in nuptial festivities, and other such like sensual enjoyments: for many catholic, or orthodox Christians, had the same expectations, though they used our book of Revelation pure and uncorrupted. There might be likewise other arguments insisted on to shew, that this supposition is groundless and fictitious; as, that Cerinthus is not charged by the ancients with this crime of interpolating the Revelation; and, that if he had interpolated and altered this book to make it favourable to his notions about an expected millennium, he would also have made it agreeable to his other peculiar sentiments, of which he was equally fond.

We have now considered the objections of some before Dionysius, which he does not adopt.

7. We are in the next place to consider Dionysius's own objections, which seem to be more material.

The general design of Dionysius's argument is, that the writer of the Revelation is not John the son of Zebedee, one of Christ's twelve apostles, writer of the Gospel and the first Catholic epistle, because the Revelation differs very much from those other pieces in several respects.

1. The evangelist no where puts down his name, neither in the gospel, nor in the epistle: but the writer of the Revelation mentions himself by name more than once. To this it is answered as follows;

1. Though St. John has not expressly named himself in his gospel, he has there so [c] described himself, as that it is impossible not to know him: and, as for the epistles, they to whom they were sent could not be ignorant from whom they came.

2. The other evangelists have forebore to mention their names, as well as John: nor is there any name prefixed to the epistle to the Hebrews.

3. The character of a prophet is different from that of an evangelist. The apostle might omit his name in his other writings, and yet put it here; where, indeed, he was obliged to put it in conformity to the ancient prophets, who had inserted their names at the beginning, and in other parts of their prophecies: and above all, Daniel frequently mentions himself, whose manner the apocalyptic writer useth more than that of any other ancient prophet whatever.

But I question whether this last observation can be allowed, as fully satisfactory; for if the apostle, who had omitted his name in his other works, mentioned it here in imitation of Daniel, and other ancient prophets, why did he not also specify the time of his prophecies or visions, by declaring the reign, and year of the reign, of the prince or emperor in whose time they were received, as is usual with the ancient prophets, and [d] Daniel in particular?

2. Dionysius objects, that though the writer of the Revelation calls himself John, yet he has not shewn us, that he is the apostle; for he does not say, as in the gospel, that he is the disciple whom the Lord loved, nor who leaned on his breast, nor the brother of James, nor that

[a] See Ch. 32.

[b] Hanc inter alia inde subnatum auguror, quod Cerinthus hæreticus Apocalypsin Apostoli quibusdam in locis, præsertim ubi ultima ecclesiæ fata proponuntur, corruperit, quam corruptam alii cum ipsâ Joannis Apocalypsi confuderunt. Fr. Ad. Lampe Proleg. in Joann. l. i. cap. 7. n. 29. p. 129. Jam verò nostra Apocalypsis nihil habet de regno millenario Hierosolymis erigendo, neque de voluptatibus corporis aut festis nuptialibus mille annorum spatio continuandis. . . . Neque tamen prorsus aliam, sed certis tantum locis corruptam, atque ad Cerinthi mentem accommodatam fuisse colligo. ib. p. 130.

[c] See John xxi. 24, and other places.

[d] See Daniel ch. vii. 1, 2; viii. 1; ix. 12; x. 1; xi. 1.

he is one of them that saw the Lord; whereas he would have mentioned some of these particulars, if he had intended to discover himself, and to have it thought that he was the apostle of that name. To this several things may be [a] replied.

1. The author of the Revelation calls himself John, without any farther distinction, and therefore he is likely to be the principal person of that name then living; that is John the evangelist: for such an one is ordinarily and sufficiently distinguished by his bare name, and needs no additions; but when a person inferior to others of the same name is mentioned, common perspicuity requires an additional title to prevent mistake. Since therefore, throughout the Apocalypse, the person that saw the visions, and committed them to writing, is barely styled John, it is obvious thence to imagine, that none but John the apostle an evangelist is meant by that name.

2. The [b] author of the Revelation was one who had "borne record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus, and of the things which he had seen:" Rev. i. 2. It is added, 'That [c] the concluding words of this verse, "the things which he saw," undoubtedly appro-'priate all that goes before to John the apostle; for had any John then living seen the trans-'actions of the gospel, save John the apostle?'

So Mr. Twells. But all those words may be very properly understood [d] of this book, the Revelation, or the things contained in it; for the book begins thus, chap. i. v. 1. "The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass: and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John." Then in the second verse the writer says, that he discharged his office in this book, having therein faithfully recorded the word of God, received from Jesus Christ, and all the visions he had seen; v. 2, "Who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all things that he saw." This seems a very natural and obvious sense of these words; and that it is the real design and meaning of them, may be confirmed by comparing them with the beginnings of some of the books of the ancient Jewish prophets; as Is. i. 1, "The vision of Isaiah, the son of Amos, which he saw....." Ezek. i. 3, 4, "The word of the Lord came expressly unto Ezekiel the priest, ... and I looked."..... In these words therefore the writer, after the manner of many other good writers, sets before his readers, in brief, the design and substance of the whole book.

3. 'The [e] Revelation is the work of that John who was in the isle of Patmos for the testi-'mony of the gospel, which was then the peculiar case of John the apostle: which circumstance 'not only agrees with the history of John the evangelist, but is also peculiar to him, and 'marks him out as effectually as if he had been expressly so called; for [f] the ancients declare, 'that this John was banished in the latter end of Domitian's reign to that island; but we do 'not find, from ecclesiastical monuments, that any other named John was at that time banished 'into the isle of Patmos.'

I have been unwilling to omit this observation; but perhaps some will think it not very properly mentioned in this place. They may say, that this serves to shew that some ancient writers did own the Revelation was written by the apostle John; and it would be fitly enough insisted on in an account of their testimonies concerning it; but it ought not to be mentioned as a distinct consideration: for those writers, supposing this book to have been written by John the apostle, concluded thence that he was banished into the island of Patmos.

4. 'The [g] epistle of John to the seven churches of the Minor, or Proconsular Asia, and

[a] See, beside Mill. Prolegomena, n. 174. Mr. Twells, as before, Part iii. p. 21, &c.

[b] See Mr. Twells, as before, p. 22, 23. [c] Ibid.

[d] The note of Mrs. de Beausobre and Lenfant upon those words is this; '"Who bare record of the Word of God and 'of the testimony of Jesus Christ." See 1 John i. 1, and John 'xxi. 24. For though it is not certain that the gospel of St. 'John was then written, it sufficeth, that the apostle had by 'word of mouth preached the same things that are in his 'gospel. "This place," says St. Ambrose, "shews, that 'this book was not written by any other John than he who 'wrote the gospel." Nevertheless these words may be also 'applied to the Apocalypse itself. On peut pourtant aussi 'rapporter ces paroles à l'Apocalyse même.' It ought to be remarked, that the piece from whence that observation is taken, is not really St. Ambrose's, though sometimes ascribed to him, but the work of some writer of the eighth century, or later, as those commentators well knew; but for brevity sake, I suppose, they quoted it by the name of St. Ambrose. Vid. Ambrosii Opera. T. ii. p. 497, 498, 499, in App.

[e] Mr. Twells, as before, p. 24.

[f] 'See Clem. Alex. in his book, Quis Dives salvetur. cap. '42. p. 959. Tertul. de Præscr. Hær. c. 36. Euseb. Chron. 'ad ann. Domit. 14, and H. E. l. iii. c. 18. 20. Of the same 'mind were Epiphanius and Sulpitius Severus, and Jerom in 'Cat. V. I. and in l. i. contr. Jovin, c. 14.' So Mr. Twells in a note p. 24 [g] Mr. Twells, p. 25.

'consequently the Revelation itself, was most probably written by that John who had the 'immediate and particular care of those churches; namely, John the apostle: for the presidence 'of our apostle is a fact attested by early antiquity. Eusebius [a] tells us from tradition, that, 'upon the dispersion of the apostles, Asia fell to John's lot: and as Ephesus was the principal 'city of the province, there John chiefly resided; visiting and directing the neighbouring 'churches, as occasion required.'

These things therefore may be reckoned sufficient to signify to every one who is the author of this book. He calls himself John; he is one who bore record of the word of God; he had been in the isle of Patmos for the testimony of Jesus; he writes to the seven churches of Asia, where the apostle and evangelist is supposed to have presided.

So it has been argued by learned men; and certainly these are particulars that deserve consideration, though they be not all of equal importance, as has been shewn in passing along. They are of use to weaken this objection of Dionysius; but whether they confute and overthrow his argument, I cannot certainly say. It had been very easy, in my opinion, for the apostle to design, or describe himself in a more peculiar and distinguishing manner, if indeed he was the author of this book: and since the writer of the Revelation, as Dionysius observes, nameth himself more than once, and calleth himself our brother and companion, and says he was in Patmos for the testimony of Jesus; why did he not somewhere say, that he was the disciple whom Jesus loved, or who leaned upon his breast; and that he was an eye-witness of the word, or of the sufferings of Jesus; or plainly call himself apostle? As the writer seems willing enough to characterise, and describe himself, it may be thought somewhat strange that he has not plainly expressly some such characteristics as these, if they belonged to him.

3. Dionysius objects, that the Revelation does not mention the catholic epistle, nor the epistle the Revelation.

But I think this observation to be of little moment: for, not to say any thing here about the exact time of writing any of these pieces, of the gospel, or the fore-mentioned epistle of St. John, or the Revelation, nor which was first or last written; it is not the custom of the sacred writers to quote themselves, or refer to their own works. When they write more than one epistle to the same churches, or persons, they make mention of their former epistle to those churches or persons; this is natural, and it is done by St. Paul: but in his epistle to the Romans, though he had then written several epistles, he does not there say any thing of those former epistles.

4. Dionysius argues, that there is a great likeness of sentiment and expression between the gospel and catholic epistle of John; but that the Revelation is quite different, without any affinity or resemblance, not having so much as a syllable common to them. By way of reply to this, several things have been said.

1. As, that [b] this argument, taken from the difference of style, is altogether insignificant, and of no consequence; for allowing it to be true, that there were as great a difference as Dionysius asserts, every body knows, that the style of history is different from that of an epistle or a prophecy. The style of history is simple; of an epistle, familiar; and that of prophecy is grand and sublime, as certainly is the style of the Revelation.

2. Another [c] part of the answer is, by denying the fact. The difference between the Revelation and the acknowledged writings of St. John is not so great as represented by Dionysius. Nay, it is said, 'there [d] is in many instances a conformity both of sentiment and expression 'between the Revelation and the uncontested writings of John the apostle: and this agree-'ment is so remarkable, as to be itself no bad argument, that they were all written by one hand; 'for how else could there be any tolerable resemblance of this sort in writings of so different a 'nature?' Divers such coincidences have been observed by [e] learned men. 'In [f] the Revela-'tion, (chap. xix. 13.) it is said of Christ, that "his name is called the Word of God;" and in 'the gospel of St. John he is styled the Word, (ch. i. 1.) and in his first epistle "the word of 'life:" ch. i. 1. In the Revelation he is called the Lamb, (ch. v. 6. 12.) and in the gospel of 'St. John, the "Lamb of God;" ch. i. 29. 36. In the Revelation the name of Christ is, "He 'that is true:" ch. iii. 7...." he that is faithful and true:" (xix. 11.) and in the gospel of St.

[a] Hist. Ec. l. iii. c. 1
[b] See Beausobre and Lenfant Préface sur l' Apocalypse, p. 607.
[c] Mr. Twells, p. 112.
[d] Mr. Twells, as before.
[e] Vid. Mill. Proleg. n. 176, 177.
[f] See the bishop of London's Third Pastoral Letter, p. 59, 60.

'John, "he that is true...full of truth," (ch. i. 14.) and the "truth:" xiv. 6. 1 John v. 20. In 'the Revelation, manna is applied to spiritual food; and so it is applied in the gospel of St. 'John: Rev. ii. 7. John vi. 32. In the Revelation it is said, "And every eye shall 'see him, and they also which pierced him;" (Rev. i. 7.) and in the gospel of St. John, from the 'prophet Zachary, "They shall look on him whom they pierced:" John xix. 37. In the Reve-'lation Christ saith, "If any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and 'sup with him, and he with me:" Rev. iii. 20. In the gospel of St. John, "If a man love me, 'he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make 'our abode with him:" ch. xiv. 23.'

These are instances of agreement between the Revelation and the confessed writings of St. John, which are commonly insisted on; but I own I have scruples with regard to divers of these instances. May I then be allowed to propose some difficulties upon this head, and go over again each of these particulars? When I have done so, I will add a few other.

1. 'In Rev. xix. 13. Christ is called the "Word of God." But there is no parallel to that expression that I know of in St. John's confessed writings. Indeed, at the beginning of his gospel, he speaks of the Word, and at the beginning of his first epistle of the Word of life: but still here is a difference. Mr. Twells[a] says, 'in Rev. xix. 13. Christ is termed "the Word 'of God;" and every one knows that he is more frequently so styled in the uncontested writ-'ings of St. John than elsewhere.' But though Mr. Twells says 'every one knows this,' I must entreat him to make an exception for me till somebody has shewn me the several texts of St. John's uncontested writings, where Christ is so called, for at present I do not know of one.

2. 'Then Christ is called the Lamb of God in the gospel of St. John, and the Lamb in the 'Revelation.' But here is no exact resemblance; for in the gospel Christ is called the Lamb of God; in the Revelation the Lamb. In the gospel Christ is but twice only called the Lamb of God, and that by John the baptist; but in the Revelation he is very frequently called the Lamb. And besides, he is compared to a lamb in other books of the New Testament; as 1 Pet. i. 19. See likewise Acts viii. 32.

3. 'In Rev. iii. 7. 14. and again ch. xix. 11. Christ is[b] emphatically styled ο αληθινος, he that 'is true. And the very same character is given to him, 1 John v. 20. See also John i. 14. and 'xiv. 6. But such expressions occur no where else.' So argues Mr. Twells. And it may be owned that this is somewhat remarkable: but still, as Dionysius observed, the word Truth, so common in St. John's gospel and epistles, is wanting in the Revelation. And it may be said, that equivalent things are found in the writings of St. Paul, and other books of the New Testament; as when Paul says of Christ, (1 Tim. vi. 13.) that "before Pontius Pilate he witnessed a good confession;" and when the gospel is called the truth, or the word of truth, as it often is. And even insidious enemies were obliged to give our Lord the character of a sincere teacher of truth, as recorded Matt. xxii. 16. "Master, we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth." See also Mark xii. 14.

4. 'In Rev. ii. 17. are these words; "To him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the 'hidden manna." And spiritual food is spoken of under the image of manna in John vi.' But I cannot perceive these texts to be parallel; however,[c] Mr. Twells lays a good deal of stress upon this coincidence.

5. 'In Rev. i. 7. "Behold, he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they 'also which pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth shall wail, because of him." In Zech. xii. 10. are these words; "And they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they 'shall mourn for him"...And that text is cited John xix. 37. "And again, another scripture 'saith: They shall look on him whom they pierced; but no[d] where else in the New Testa-'ment.' But I would observe, that in the Revelation there is no citation as in St. John's gospel: and the text of the Revelation suits as well a text of St. Matthew's as of St. John's gospel; "And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory:" Matt. xxiv. 30.

6. 'In Rev. iii. 20. our Lord promiseth the obedient; "I will come unto him, and sup with 'him, and he with me." And so in the gospel of St. John xiv. 23. "I and my Father will come unto him, and will make our abode with him.' It must be allowed that here is some resem-

[a] As before, p. 28. [b] See Mr. Twells, p. 28. [c] See him, p. 27, 28. [d] See Mr. Twells, p. 27

blance: nevertheless, it would have been a great pleasure to see in the Revelation the word of abode, or abide, so common in St. John's gospel and first epistle.

7. Farther, 'Rev. i. 5. "Unto him that hath loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood." So the apostle John, 1 John i. 7. "And the blood of Jesus Christ his son cleanseth 'us from all sin." But this coincidence appears to me to be of very small moment; because the love of Christ in washing, or cleansing, or redeeming, or saving us from our sins by his blood or death, is a subject insisted on in every book of the New Testament, and could not be omitted by any Christian writer or speaker in the early days of the gospel.

To these coincidences, insisted on by others, Mr. Twells has added several more. And, besides, he proceeds still farther, adding some propositions, and supporting them by various examples under each. His propositions are these: 'First, the[a] sameness of construction and 'acceptation of words in the Revelation, and the unquestionable writings of St. John, and which 'are less frequent with the other sacred penmen, makes it extremely probable that one person 'was the author of them all. Secondly, there[b] are many instances in the Revelation of con-'struction and acceptation of words altogether peculiar to John the evangelist, which demon-'strate he wrote that book.' So Mr. Twells. But I have not room for his particular instances; and he may be read, not only in his own English, but likewise in Mr. Wolff's fourth[c] volume of Curæ Philologicæ et Criticæ upon the New Testament; Mr. Wolff having translated a large part of Mr. Twells's work into Latin entire, and the rest of it in the way of a copious abridgment.

I shall, however, transcribe here a particular or two.

8. One of the coincidences observed by Mr. Twells, additional to those above mentioned, is this: 'In Rev. iii. 21. Christ[d] says, Εγω ενικησα, "I have overcome." Just as he declares, 'Joh. xvi. 33. Εγω νενικηκα τον κοσμον, "I have overcome the world." Again, Christian firmness under trials is frequently called "overcoming" in the second and third chapters of the Revelation, as it is also 1 Joh. ii. 13. 14. iv. 4. v. 5. language peculiar to St. John.'

I would add likewise two instances of construction and acceptation of words, which[e] Mr. Twells reckons altogether peculiar to John the evangelist.

9. 'In Rev. ii. 26. "He[f] that keepeth my works unto the end." Here[g] works, says Mr. Twells, is plainly put for[h] words: and so Grotius upon the place: but we no where find the like acceptation of this word, save in John xiv. 10. "The[i] words which I speak unto you, I 'speak not of myself: but my Father that dwelleth in me, he doth the works." Here is an 'opposition of sense, which cannot be made out, unless we suppose, that speaking words and 'doing works mean the same thing. The sense therefore of the passage is this: The words 'which I speak are not merely my own, but my Father which dwelleth in me, he is the joint 'author of them. And this sense our Lord gives us in express terms, v. 24. of this chapter: "The word, which ye hear, is not mine, but my Father's which sent me." And, again ch. viii. '28. "I do nothing of myself, but as my Father has taught me, so I speak."

10. 'Keeping[k] the word, or words, is an expression not uncommon in the Revelation: see 'ch. iii. 8. 10. xxii. 7. 9. But in no other book of the New Testament do we meet with it, 'except in St. John's gospel and first epistle: see John viii. 51. 52. 55. xiv. 23. 24. xv. 20. 'xvii. 6. 1 Joh. ii. 5.' So[l] Mr. Twells. However, the phrase, "keeping the commandments" is in Matth. xix. 17. St. Matthew has the same verb in other places, and particularly xxviii. 20. "Teaching them to observe" [or keep] "whatsoever I have commanded you:" that verb is also in other books of the New Testament, and "keeping Christ's commandments" is in John's gospel, as xiv. 15. 21. xv. 10. and often in his first epistle, and sometimes in the Revelation, as ch. xii. 17. xiv. 12. So that the verb Keep, τηρεω, is oftener used by St. John than any other writer of the New Testament, and the phrase "Keeping Christ's word," or words by him alone: but yet, perhaps, this peculiarity is not very remarkable.

3. I have now enlarged upon this part of the answer to Dionysius's argument, which consists in denying the fact, and in shewing that the difference between the Revelation, and the acknowledged writings of St. John is not so great as he has represented it. Nevertheless it

[a] As before, p. 30.
[b] Ib. p. 32.
[c] P. 387, &c.
[d] See Mr. Twells, p. 29.
[e] Ib. p. 32.
[f] ὁ τηρων αχρι τελους τα εργα μου.
[g] εργα.
[h] λογους.
[i] Τα ῥηματα ἁ εγω λαλω ὑμιν, απ' εμαυτου ου λαλω· ὁ δε πατηρ, ὁ εν εμοι μενων, αυτος ποιει τα εργα.
[k] Τηρειν λογον or λογους.
[l] Ib. p. 33.

must be owned, as I apprehend, that this part of his critique is just and true in the main; for Dionysius observed, that there are certain words, or expressions, such as "light," "life," "truth," and several others, very common in St. John's gospel and epistle, but not to be found at all, or very rarely, in the Revelation. Nor have any of our modern sharp-sighted critics been able to shew those expressions in this last mentioned book, nor with all their industry directly to confute and overthrow that observation.

And perhaps Dionysius's collection of this kind might be enlarged; for the verb μενω, "abide," or "dwell," is very common in St. John's gospel [a] and first epistle, but scarce occurs at all in the Revelation, except one place, ch. xvii, 10, which I suppose does not deserve particular notice here. Moreover, as Mr. Blackwall says, 'St. John often takes one thing 'two ways, both in the affirmative and negative; 1 Joh. v. 12, "He that hath the Son, hath 'life; and he that hath not the Son, hath not life." This is the only example alleged by Mr. Blackwall; but he says St. John does so often; and it is certain there are several such instances in his [b] first and [c] second epistle, and others in his gospel. Thus of John the baptist he writes; (Joh. i. 20.) "And he confessed, and denied not, but confessed, I am not the Christ." And our Lord says to Thomas, (chap. xx. 27.) "And be not faithless, but believing;" but I do not remember such forms of speaking in the Revelation.

It may be also said to the advantage of Dionysius, that his critique does not consist of minute particulars, but of such things as are very considerable, and must hold, I think, as proofs of a great agreement of sentiments and expressions between St. John's gospel and first epistle, and of a remarkable difference of the Revelation, and the unquestioned writings of the evangelist.

Mr. Blackwall however says, 'The [d] Revelation is written much in the same style with 'St. John's gospel and epistles.' On the contrary, Joachim Camerarius says, 'The [e] difference 'of the style of the Revelation from that of the gospel and epistle is manifest, and may be 'easily perceived by any one who has attained to only a moderate knowledge of the Greek 'language.' And he [f] speaks of these critical remarks of Dionysius in terms of great respect.

Beza, likewise, in his preface to the Revelation, having answered divers objections to the genuineness of this book, concludes; 'that [g] he cannot but think it most probable, that it was 'written by John the apostle: but that if a conjecture was to be made from the style, who 'else could be reckoned most likely to be the writer; he should think of Mark, who was also 'called John, there being a great resemblance in words, phrases, and manner of writing, 'between this book and Mark's gospel.'

And this I suppose to be the more general opinion of learned men, that there is a considerable difference of sentiments and words and manner in the Revelation and the acknowledged pieces of the apostle John, whatever this difference is owing to; whether it be that these writings are not all the compositions of one and the same author; or that it is entirely owing to the diversity of subject and design, which was mentioned [h] formerly, or to some other cause. I shall, however, mention another thing to be considered. If there were any reason to think that there was some considerable distance of time between the composing of any of these books, that might be one good way of accounting for differences of style; for it is not unlikely that one and the same person, writing upon different arguments, and at a great distance of time, especially if he be one who does not frequently exercise his style, or write in the intermediate space, should have a very different manner in his several performances.

Thus far then of the argument concerning difference of sentiment and expression.

5. Dionysius's last objection is founded upon the diction or language of the Revelation:

[a] See Sac. Classics, Vol. i. p. 333.

[b] See 1 John i. 5, 6. iv. 2, 3, 6, 7, 8. [c] 2 John. ver. 9.

[d] As before, p. 334.

[e] Sane orationem hujus dissimilem esse ejus, quâ conscripta extat Evangelii expositio et Epistolæ compositio, evidens est, atque perspicitur facile ab aliquo, qui non etiam peritissimus linguæ Græcæ, sed illius mediocrem saltem notitiam consecutus est studio suo. Joach. Camer. ad Apoc.

[f] Sed nihil est opus nostrâ disputatione longiore, cum, ut opinor, ea, quæ debeant et possint dici de hoc libro, exstent commemorata in libro vii. Historiæ Eusebii, excerpta ex quâdam epistolâ Dionysii Alexandrini. Id. ib.

[g] Quæ cum ita se habeant, quamvis non censuerim quidem ego pertinacius de scriptoris nomine litigandum, tamen Johanni apostolo potius quam cuiquam alii hunc librum tribuerim. . . . Quod si quid aliud liceret ex stylo conjicere, nemini certe potius quam Marco tribuerim, qui et ipse Johannes dictus est: adeo non in verbis tantum, sed etiam in formulis dicendi plerisque similis, ac pene idem est Evangelii Marci et hujus libri character. Bez. Pr. in Apoc.

[h] See p. 643.

for he says that the gospel and epistle of John are written correctly, and not only according to the propriety of the Greek tongue, but with elegance of phrase, argument, and composition; quite free from barbarism and solecism, and even idiotism of language: but the writer of the Revelation discovers no accurate skill in the Greek tongue; on the contrary, he has barbarisms, and some solecisms.

In answer to this, several things have been said by learned men of late times; for Mill[a] allows that there are solecisms in the Revelation. It is a thing, he says, too manifest to be denied; but then, as he adds, the other writers of the New Testament are not free from the like defects; no, not John the evangelist, the purity and elegance of whose language is so commended by Dionysius. Mr. Twells's[b] answer here is to the like purpose. 'We do not pretend,' he says, 'to 'assert that the language of the Revelation is pure Greek.' But he is persuaded that it is now much worse than when Dionysius passed his censure upon it: nay, he supposeth that there were not half the solecisms in the copies of Dionysius's times that now occur in the printed copies; and that our printed copies abound with solecisms. But then, as the Greek of the Revelation was always far from being pure, so Dionysius has beyond measure extolled that of St. John's gospel and canonical epistle, which has it's faults likewise.

So write those two learned men. But Mr.[c] Blackwall blames Dr. Mill for striking in so far with Dionysius as to allow there is false Greek and solecism in the Revelation; and he offers solutions of several constructions in that book which have been supposed ungrammatical; and Mr. Wolff, in a note[d] upon his Latin translation of this part of Mr. Twells's work, gives a caution against receiving that supposition, that there are solecisms in the Revelation.

Thus critics are divided upon points of this nature. I think, therefore, we may set aside this part of the argument until they are better agreed among themselves.

Before that is done it seems needless to inquire after the reasons of the imperfections of the language of the Revelation, or to examine those reasons which have been assigned. However, to observe somewhat briefly relating to this matter may not be amiss. Mr. Twells[e] says, 'That if this book be found to have rather more of these imperfections than St. John's other 'writings, two causes may be assigned for it. First, that being of the prophetical sort, the 'Holy Ghost thought it most congruous to use the same forms of speech as the prophets of 'the Old Testament do, which occasions more Hebraisms in it. Secondly, as prophetic 'language is generally least cultivated in point of beauty and perspicuity, so we are not to 'wonder if the same negligence should appear in the grammar of it. A writer big with the 'mysteries he relates, may well be supposed less attentive to diction, than when he draws 'up a history or an epistle.' So Mr. Twells. 'As for the language of the Revelation,' says[f] Tillemont, 'beside other reasons that might be alleged, may it not be said, that, being 'banished into Patmos, St. John had not by him the same persons he had at Ephesus to assist 'him in the choice of terms and expressions? And possibly, too, the power of the Spirit of 'God constrained him to write quickly what he had seen, without concerning himself about 'purity and elegance of speech, which are of no value in the sight of God.'

I own I have no great opinion of these reasons; but, as before observed, since learned men are not as yet agreed about the fact, there is no immediate necessity that we should scrupulously examine the supposed causes of it. I therefore pass on.

8. We are now to observe, after all, Dionysius's own opinion of the author of this book.

In this critique upon the Revelation he says, he dares not reject it, and we find that he actually made use of it in his writings. Eusebius informs us, that in a letter to Hermammon, speaking of Valerian and his persecution, Dionysius saith: 'And[g] John had a revelation to this 'purpose: "And there was given unto him," saith he, "a mouth, speaking great things, and 'blasphemies: and power was given unto him to continue forty and two months." Rev. xiii. 5.

[a] Et certe Apocalypten subinde minus Græce scribere, etiam et σολοικιζειν, notius est quam ut negari possit. Proleg. n. 179.

[b] As before, p. 113, 114, 115.

[c] See Sacred Classics, Vol. i. p. 140. . . 142.

[d] Cave, heic Twelsii judicium probes. Omnem enim solœcismorum suspicionem ab illis, qui illorum postulantur, locis alienam esse infra ex notis apparebit. Wolf Cur. T. iv. p. 417.

[e] As before, p. 115, 116.

[f] See Mem. Ec. T. i. P. iii. p. 1089. St. Jean l'Evangeliste, note ix.

[g] και τῳ Ιωαννῃ δε ὁμοιως αποκαλυπτεται· Και εδοθη γαρ αυτῳ, φησι, ϛομα. . . . Αμφοτερα δε εϛιν επι ουαλεριανῳ θαυμασαι. ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 7. c. 10. init.

'It is wonderful to see both these things in Valerian.' So Dionysius. This passage is a proof that the Revelation was then well known, and in great reputation.

Among these his critical observations he likewise acknowledgeth this book to be the work of some holy and divinely inspired person; but, he thinks, not the work of John the apostle the son of Zebedee; but, rather, of some other John who had his chief residence in Asia.

And, certainly, Dionysius is in the right to own, that the writer was a truly good and holy man. I think the book itself puts that out of question.

Consequently also, he was divinely inspired; for he says he "was in the spirit;" Rev. i. 10. And the book is declared to be, or contain, (v. 1.) "the Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him to shew unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John." It is added afterwards, (v. 19.) "Write the things which thou hast seen.....and the things which shall be hereafter." Again (chap. iv. 1.) "I will shew thee things which must be hereafter." It is also called[a] a "prophecy." Now prophecy is not an human attainment, but the gift of God.

Nevertheless, Dionysius thinks it not the writing of the apostle, but of some other John, whom he does not certainly know, but probably of that other John who is said to have had his residence in Asia, there being two tombs at Ephesus with that name.

Against this supposition should be observed all the arguments above mentioned relating to the inscription; that there are many ancient writers who receive the Revelation as the writing of John the apostle and evangelist; that we have no particular account of any John having been an exile in the isle of Patmos about that time except John the apostle, and the writer calling himself John, without any particular characteristic, gives ground to conclude he is the principal person of that name then living: and it may be judged very unlikely that the Spirit of God should admonish and reprove the seven churches of Asia by John the elder, (allowing that there was such a person) whilst John the apostle was living and presided in those parts.

XVI. I suppose I have now paid a due regard to this critique of Dionysius: but before I proceed, I will take a brief review of it, and add two or three remarks.

This whole critique may be said to consist of three parts: objections of some before Dionysius; then his own objections; and, lastly, his own judgment or opinion.

The objections of those before Dionysius I suppose to have been fully answered; and their opinion, that Cerinthus was the writer of the Revelation, confuted.

But Dionysius's own objections are more material: they are five in number. First, that the evangelist John has not named himself neither in his gospel nor in his catholic epistle, but the writer of the Revelation nameth himself more than once. Secondly, that though the writer of the Revelation calls himself John, he has not shewn us that he is the apostle of that name. Thirdly, that the Revelation does not mention the catholic epistle, nor that epistle the Revelation. Fourthly, that there is a great agreement in sentiment, expression, and manner, between St. John's gospel and epistle: but the Revelation is quite different in all these respects, without any resemblance or similitude. Fifthly, that the Greek of the gospel and epistle is pure and correct, but that the Revelation has barbarisms and solecisms.

These are Dionysius's objections. The third we have supposed to be of little force. The fifth depending upon a matter of much niceness, about which very few are able to judge, and about which even the learned are not agreed, we have not much insisted upon it; nor did Dionysius enlarge, or enter into, particulars here. As for the first, several things have been alleged by way of answer to it; but whether that answer be full and complete, may be questioned. As for the second objection, several things also have been observed sufficient to weaken, if not to confute and overthrow it. With regard to the fourth objection, it has been observed, that the subject matter and design of the Revelation being very different from those of the acknowledged pieces of the evangelist John, that must needs occasion some considerable difference in sentiment and expression; but that the difference is not so great as represented by Dionysius. Nevertheless, I am of opinion, that this difficulty has not been quite removed; and I must acknowledge, that the Revelation, when compared with the apostle's unquestioned writings, has an unlikeness not easy to be accounted for.

[a] See Rev. ch. i. 3. xxii. 7. 10. 18. 19.

Dionysius's own opinion is, that the Revelation was written by some holy and inspired person named John; but who that John was he does not know: he might be John the elder, said to have resided for some time at Ephesus in Asia; but the reasons before mentioned satisfied Dionysius he could not be John the apostle. Of this judgment of our author we have lately spoken; and have now nothing more to add, beside the two following general remarks.

First, If the writer of the Revelation be supposed not an apostle, then this book is greatly degraded, it's authority is lessened, and it can no longer be reputed canonical. Doubtless, Dionysius knew what he was about: he did not take all these pains to shew that the Revelation was not written by an apostle for no end and purpose. If the book of the Revelation was not the writing of an apostle, but of some other John, who at the most was only an elder, or a prophet, it's authority would be diminished; the Millenarians themselves, if they could be persuaded to come into this opinion, would not have retained the same value for it they had formerly, nor would they be quite so diligent in the study of it; nor would their adversaries, the Allegorists, pay so great a regard to any arguments or particular opinions founded upon it. In one word, then, this book would be no longer a part of he rule of faith and practice to Christian people.

Learned men therefore are in the right to produce every thing tending to justify and support the common opinion concerning the writer of this book, and to observe all evidences internal and external of it's being the work of John the apostle.

Secondly, as [a] I said before, It may be questioned whether this critique of Dionysius, or any other critique whatever, can be sufficient to create a doubt concerning the author of this book; which was owned for a writing of John the apostle and evangelist by many ancient writers before Dionysius and before Caius, and, so far as we know, before the most early of those who disputed it's genuineness. This observation is agreeable to the judgments of several very eminent men,[b] Grotius,[c] Flacius Illyricus, and [d] Socinus; whose words, in part at least, have been alleged by [e] Mr. Simon in a like argument, and cannot be omitted in this work. It is likewise agreeable to the sentiment of[f] Stephen Le Moyne,[g] Mill, and other learned men, whose words need not to be transcribed at present.

XVII. Dionysius then received, as sacred and divine scriptures, the four gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the Acts of the apostles, the epistles of Paul, and particularly the epistle to the Hebrews, as a writing of that apostle. Concerning the seven catholic epistles, we do not certainly know his judgment; but he has mentioned expressly and often the three epistles of the apostle John; the first as unquestionably genuine and received by all, the other two as well known. And it may be justly taken for granted that he received the first epistle of the apostle Peter, it having been all along universally received by catholic Christians. As for the rest we can say nothing positively of his opinion about them. The Revelation he allowed to be the work of John, a holy and divinely inspired person; but he was not satisfied that it was written by John the son of Zebedee, apostle and evangelist. However, in his argument concerning that book, he lets us know that it was then generally received by Christians as written by John the apostle. In Dionysius we have seen likewise evidences of

[a] See p. 637.

[b] Apostoli Johannis esse hunc librum credidere illi, quibus merito creditur, Justinus contra Tryphonem, Irenæus, Tertullianus adversus Marcionem iv. et aliis multis in locis; quibus consentiunt Clemens Alexandrinus, Origenes, Cyprianus, et post eos alii multi. Grot. Annot. in Tit. Apocal.

[c] Si iis habeatur fides patribus, qui propius ad hoc accesserunt seculum, uti certe æquissimum est, quales sunt Justinus, Tertullianus, Irenæus, Apollonius, Theophilus, Antiochenus ... affirmari poterit eam ut Johannis apostoli illo primo seculo habitam. Cur enim tam certo Johannis apostoli esse confirmarent, si dubias de eâ extitisse sententias antecessorum cognovissent? Flac. Illyr. arg. in Apoc.

[d] Non videtur propter parvam aliquam, aut etiam magnam dissimilitudinem rationis scribendi in universum ac styli ab aliis ejusdem Johannis scriptis longe diversi generis debere aut posse dubitari, quin ejus sit, opus, maxime cum simul adsint tot alia testimonia. Socin. Lect. Sacr. p. 306. Quocirca non videtur, propter parvam, aut etiam magnam dissimilitudinem rationis scribendi in universum, ac styli ab aliis ejusdem Johannis scriptis longe diversi generis, (quæ omnium fortasse rationum potissima est, quæ afferuntur ad probandum scriptum illud non esse ipsius) debere aut posse dubitari quin ejus sit opus. Id. De Auct. Sacr. Scrip. cap. 1. n. ii. p. 269.

[e] Hist. Crit. du Texte du N. T. c. 19.

[f] Quod mirum, cum reverâ aliter senserint viri et antiquitate et meritis gravissimi ante Dionysium. Sic enim Justinus Martyr, exeunte seculo secundo. Sic labente et fere lapso eodem seculo Theophilus Antiochenus, Clem. Alexandrinus, et Irenæus. Sic ineunte seculo tertio Origenes. Sic adulto eodem seculo Melito Sardensis episcopus. Qui omnes, Dionysio Alexandrino priores, et superiores, et ætati Johannis apostoli viciniores et propiores, illi Apocalypsim constanter tribuerunt. Sic etiam Hippolytus noster, qui annis etiam plurimis ætatem Dionysii superavit. Le Moyne Var. Sacr. T. ii. p. 1014.

[g] Mill. Prol. n. 227. . . 229.

that peculiar respect shewed by Christians to the sacred scriptures: which they looked upon as the rule of judgment in things of religion, by which all points in controversy were to be decided. And what those scriptures were, he shews by these general titles and divisions of them: 'The Law and the Prophets, the Gospels and Epistles of Apostles.' Nor have we perceived, in the remaining works and fragments of this great and learned bishop of Alexandria, any marks of respect for any Christian apocryphal writings.

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